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This companion volume to "Education in the States: Historical Development and Outlook" (SP 002 973) provides information in 16 areas of concern to state departments of education. Each chapter was written separately and is devoted to one of the areas: the legal and constitutional powers in education of the states; the development, functions, and working conditions of the state departments of education; the development and organization of state school systems; major developments in state school financing; the purposes of education and ways to achieve these purposes in public schools; the history and philosophy of vocational education; the expansion and implementation of programs for lifelong education such as adult education; the development and organization of pupil personnel services; the development of teacher education, certification, and accreditation; the effects of school construction design on pupil achievement; the impact of federal legislation and policy on state departments of education; important stages and developments of federally supported school food services; the ways and means to implement vocational rehabilitation programs; the history of the relationships between the organized teaching profession and state departments of education; the functional relationships between state departments of education and higher education; and the public relations activities of state departments of education. (SM)

Education in the States: Nationwide Development Since 1900

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A project of the Council of Chief State School Officers

Edited by
Edgar Fuller and Jim B. Pearson

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Foreword

Provision of education of broad scope and high quality to serve all the people is a major responsibility of the states. Standing in a strategic position between the local school agencies, on the one hand, and the federal government, on the other, the state department of education is an important factor in making such educational opportunities available in each state.

This is the second of two volumes reporting a nationwide study of state departments of education, conducted since June 1966 by the Council of Chief State School Officers. The first volume, *Education in the States: Historical Development and Outlook,* traces the developments since 1900 of each of the 50 state departments of education and the central school agencies of Puerto Rico, American Samoa, Guam, the Panama Canal Zone, and the Virgin Islands. This smaller volume deals on a nationwide basis with 16 areas of concern to all state departments of education. It is intended for use by schoolboard members, legislators, educational administrators and supervisors, teachers, and other citizens interested in the structure, functions, and relationships of state education agencies. It is intended also for use as a university text and research reference in the fields of educational administration and supervision and educational history. Both volumes fill voids in the existing literature in education as related to the state level.

February 15, 1969

Edgar Fuller, *Project Administrator*
Jim B. Pearson, *Project Director*

Acknowledgments

A large number of organizations and individuals have contributed generously to the project. We shall identify the organizations, then name individuals and the authors. We gratefully acknowledge the encouragement and assistance of all.

The U.S. Office of Education

Approximately one-half of the total financing of the project—originally scheduled for 18 months but which required a period of more than 2 years—was supplied by the U.S. Office of Education. The project would not have been launched without this substantial contribution of funds, nor would it have proceeded so well without the helpful encouragement and splendid cooperation of the Office of Education personnel.

The Project Advisory Committee

This committee held only a small number of meetings, but these were extremely helpful in giving direction to the project.

The Chief State School Officers and Their Council

The chief state school officers directly or indirectly supplied almost one-half of the financial support of the project and in numerous ways assured its successful completion. The officers and directors of the Council appropriated substantial funds and authorized their Washington office to spend the necessary staff time and resources. We recognize especially the work of Assistant Executive Secretary Blanche E. Crippen in coordinating the preparation and organization of the materials of both volumes prior to publication.

Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc.

This branch of the Ford Foundation made a modest contribution to pay for special work on the chapter on educational facilities.

The Publications Division of the National Education Association

The two volumes of the project report have been published and distributed on a nationwide basis by this division of the National Education Association. Its assumption of responsibility for these services makes certain that the results of the project will be made available nationwide and abroad. We gratefully acknowledge the perfect cooperation and generous contributions made by Director Sidney Dorros and his colleagues in the NEA Publications Division.

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Introduction

This book is unusual if not unique. Its chapters are centered on problems and issues broader than those dealt with in most casebooks in law, business, and educational administration. Moreover, they do not resemble the more neatly outlined and generalized narratives of typical textbooks in education.

The 16 chapters deal with 16 important areas of educational concern to the states. They are organized largely within a framework of historical development and are focused expertly and with considerable realism and candor on the problems and issues in the 16 areas. They pinpoint controversial issues with documentation that should stimulate thought and lead to discussion of popular impressions and elements of accepted theory in the governance of education. The authors often infer and occasionally hazard a guess about what the future may bring, but principally they have sought to leave an authentic picture of accomplishments, failures, and next steps at the state level of educational responsibility.

The book is loosely organized under the following headings. Under each heading the content of individual chapters is summarized briefly and is followed by one or more questions that might be triggered by study of it. Both comments and questions are addressed to serious readers, who may desire to rearrange the order in which the chapters are to be studied.

Organization

The first four chapters deal with the basic organization of public education. Chapter 1 examines the constitutional and legal basis of education as a state function, including the law governing organization and operation of intermediate and local agencies. It describes the basic legal framework for all organized education. On the basis of these materials, students might raise important questions such as the following: Have the laws and court decisions on education been appropriate in scope and wise in substance? Do they currently provide governmental structure that facilitates learning in terms of sound public policy? Should we evaluate interpretations of the federal Constitution which directly affect education nationwide since they prevail over educational provisions of state constitutions and laws, such as the use of tax funds for private institutions of education? What constitutional principles are involved in racial discrimination and in the enforcement of desegregation in schools? To what extent do the several types of public and private institutions at all levels of education operate within federal and state constitutions and laws?

Chapter 2 examines the state department of education and its working environment. There are wide variations among the 50 state education agencies in regard to most aspects of organization, scope of operation, and definitions of the state role in education. In terms of the evidence presented, what are some of the constitutional and statutory patterns of organization that seem most suitable for these departments? What are desirable roles for the education department, the governor, and the legislature? Have these state agencies worked together effectively to establish a viable local-state-federal partnership in education?

Chapter 3 deals with intermediate and local educational agencies, including rural consolidation and urban decentralization. What should be the state and local roles in such areas as services from intermediate agencies, rural consolidation, and urban decentralization? In what ways is the educational structure within your state effective or ineffective?

Chapter 4 discusses the theories and practices of the state financial aids to local school systems that account for about 40 percent of nationwide public school financing. How does the share supplied by your state compare with the national average? Are state funds distributed appropriately according to need and with proper regard for the taxpayers in your state? Can you outline a better system for your state, considering educational needs, revenue systems, distribution formulas, and fiscal incentives?

Educational Purposes and Programs

The next six chapters deal with curriculum and supporting areas related to instruction. Chapter 5, The School Curriculum in American Education, deals with purposes of education and ways to achieve these purposes in elementary and secondary schools. Its treatment of the scope of elementary education reflects a policy of the Council of Chief State School Officers since 1948: that a suitable program of public education should be free and available to all children more than three years old. So far as practicable, the curriculum is regarded as a continuum from the age of 3 to approximately 18. Should school practices move in this direction?

Chapter 6 supplements the previous chapter in presenting the history and philosophy of vocational education and the world of work generally. It is possible that the elementary and secondary aspects of this topic could have been dealt with in Chapter 5. However, reflecting the degree of organizational separation that has prevailed in vocational education since 1917, the educational literature made it of doubtful practicality. We ask whether preparation for the world of work now or soon can be fully incorporated into a continuing curriculum of more fully individualized instruction for persons from ages 3 to 18.

Chapter 7 picks up the instructional continuum idea with an account of the comparatively undeveloped adult education field. Why is adult education so often unable to compete for public attention and tax funds, since its span is lifelong and continuing from the end of formal education to the end of life? Are the obstacles immovable?

Chapter 8 relates the growth of pupil personnel services, which strongly support effective learning in schools. Most federally assisted programs for children and youth established since 1964 could probably be classified as pupil personnel services or special education. What should be the respective roles of health, education, and welfare agencies at federal, state, and local levels in pupil personnel services? To what extent is interagency cooperation practiced in your state?

Chapter 9 deals with teacher preparation as an indispensible prerequisite for making effective instruction available on a broad scale. Do teacher certification requirements bar any exceptionally talented person from teaching in your state, provided he is willing to spend at least one summer in formal preparation and is desired as a teacher in the schools? What should be the role of each state and the states collectively in attracting a continuing supply of competent teachers?

Chapter 10 is included in the curriculum group because the physical facilities it discusses tend either to facilitate or to interfere with achievement in schools. Federal, state, and even local school construction programs have been made dependent on solutions of political and social problems, including segregation, eligibility of church-related schools for tax funds, and reorganization of rural, suburban, and city school districts. How could our responsibilities be met for planning, financing, locating, constructing, and maintaining seriously needed school facilities?

Federal Participation

Chapter 11, Impacts of Federal Programs on State Departments of Education, describes the development of federal financial aids to education. Most such aids are categorical in character. Some have raised questions about federal administrative decisions at the local level, such as federal approval of projects and supplementary service centers under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. After vigorous debate in 1967, Congress decided this issue in favor of state, rather than federal, approval of local projects. What have been the impacts of federal aids to education since 1964? What are the principal alternative ways to organize, distribute, and account for federal financial support for elementary and secondary education in the states?

Chapter 12 traces the development of federally supported school food services, an area of large federal financing in terms of funds and commodities for use in elementary and secondary schools. This alliance between the U.S. Department of Agriculture and education at the state and local levels dates from the Depression of the 1930's, when unmarketable agricultural products were processed to feed hungry children. Many millions of children now are served daily, with special attention given to proper nutrition and availability to those who are needy. Has your state done its share in this field? What needs to be done to improve the programs?

Chapter 13 reports on another federally subsidized program, originally and still primarily a federal-state enterprise in vocational rehabilitation of adults. For many years, the programs have emphasized physical rehabilitation, vocational preparation, and job placement. They are distinctive because in most states they are operated directly from the state education agency to eligible individuals throughout the state. In recent years, the federal interest in rehabilitation has been extended through new educational programs for handicapped and disadvantaged children operated by local school agencies. The age of eligibility for the adult programs has been lowered almost to a level where the two programs are joined. Should social and personal rehabilitation programs be provided generally for adults, even though employment cannot be an immediate result? Should programs for very young children and for adults be administered by agencies of education or of welfare?

Relationships

The remaining three chapters survey relationships between state departments of education and the teaching profession, institutions of higher education, and the general public. Similar accounts could be given about departmental relationships with scores of other organizations and groups.

Chapter 14 deals with the organized teaching profession. In the nineteenth century, it was not uncommon to find a new state education association promoted and organized with the chief state school officer as its part-time executive. Some association offices were established in state departments of education. Increasingly independent state associations have more recently allied themselves primarily with their national and local counterparts. They maintain important relationships with the official agencies, but give relatively increased emphasis to programs concerned with the welfare of their members. What directions are these relationships likely to take? How can arrangements be made to preserve cooperation and increase mutual efforts to develop better education? Do state officials and teachers have fundamental conflicts in objectives?

Chapter 15 concerns relationships of state departments of education with institutions of higher education. Many state departments have had contacts with higher education institutions primarily in connection with preparation and certification of elementary and secondary teachers and administrators. Direct state operation of junior colleges, community colleges, teacher colleges, and state colleges has declined in recent years. Stimulated by federal aid laws since 1963, statewide higher education agencies now exist in a majority of states. Are the authors on firm ground in describing numerous points of mutual interest at both state and federal levels in which mutual efforts to achieve common goals are indicated?

Chapter 16 deals with public relations in state departments of education. It describes methods of operations at different periods in the past and the recent rise of public information offices in the departments. After directing a nationwide study of public information programs in state departments, the author concludes that many continue to leave much to be desired. Considering that the state department of education usually deals with groups taking a variety of differing views on most important state issues in education, how would you organize and define the objectives of its public information program in your state?

Chapter 1

Constitutional and Legal Basis for State Action

George J. Collins

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Constitutional and Legal Basis for State Action

INTRODUCTION

Underlying the individuality of each state of the United States is a common desire to form a more perfect union established by and based upon written laws. Respecting the complexities of such a viable cohesion, our Constitution expressly provides for a division of governing authority between the "enumerated powers" of the national government and "residual powers" of the states.

Out of widely varying origins and histories, each state established a unique constitution supported by legislative enactments to implement its constitutional policies. Notwithstanding the singularity of action, states provide a commonality of fundamental rights and services to people. Among these services, the state assumes a responsibility for the education of its people. Legislative enactments for education require additional interpretations from state and local boards of education and administrative regulations, sometimes followed by opinions from law officers and decisions of courts.

Under our federal system of government, sovereign powers fundamentally reside with the people of the state and are expressed in federal and state constitutions. Constitutions of the states contain the authorization for legislative assemblies to enact laws and appropriate funds to meet the requirements of government and the collective needs of the people. When constitutions neither expressly authorize nor prohibit enactments by the states, legislatures have inherent powers to act on any necessary governmental concern of the people.

Education remained among the "residual powers retained by the states" at the adoption of the federal Constitution in 1788. The Constitution has never expressly mentioned education because "the responsibility for education is primarily the concern of the states" (1). This interpretation may be reasoned from the Tenth Amendment and case law.

> Amendment 10. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

Interpretations of the Tenth Amendment were debated from its inception Madison reasoned that "if the power was not given, Congress could not exercise it; if given, they might exercise it although it should interfere with the laws or even the Constitutions of the States" (2).

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AND LEGISLATIVE ESTABLISHMENT OF EDUCATION

State Constitutions

Education is expressly a duty of the states in most state constitutions, and all legislatures have enacted statutory authority for appropriations to administrative agencies to provide for the education of children and youth of the state. Education for an agrarian society or to teach immigrants to read and write was much simpler than preparing youth for a highly technical and complex culture. Fortunately, initial legislative enactments to meet agrarian needs are often amended or replaced by new legislation more responsive to an advancing technological society.

By 1900, constitutions had become outmoded in most of the states, but one-half of the state constitutions in effect in 1968 were adopted in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Many were inflexible, restrictive, and outdated almost from their inception.

Written contracts for the establishment of government are uniquely American. When the Colonies declared their independence from tyranny, taxation without representation, and the rule of arbitrary royal governors, they could rely on charters of settlement, court decisions of common law, and some basic human ideals for establishing their new governments. With this background, it is understandable that the drafters would entrust the greatest powers to representative legislatures and restrict the executive officers of the state.

Virginia paved the way for contractual government in 1776 with a masterpiece of brevity in about 1,500 words. In other states, however, the breaches in charters, betrayals of confidence, and the overrulings of court decisions by arbitrary royal governors stimulated many more explicit restrictions and much longer fundamental documents. (The Constitution of Louisiana contains more than 200,000 words; in 1968, California was revising its Constitution of more than 75,000 words.)

Uniquely, the American constitutional movement has led the world in—

1. Preventing arbitrary overrulings and actions by one man.
2. Separating governmental powers into the legislative, executive, and judicial branches.
3. Establishing the superior authority of legislative assemblies.
4. Expressing a system of written laws.
5. Providing for individual liberties, rights, and implied responsibilities.
6. Developing a continuous system of checks and balances.
7. Prescribing an independent judicial system.

State constitutions are essentially the written fundamental laws of the people establishing the government of the state. They allocate powers and express limitations of power. The basic elements include a preamble to describe the nature or purpose of government; separate articles to preserve the Bill of Rights for citizens; and articles to prescribe the legislative, executive, and judicial structures, powers, and limitations of government. Provisions for amendments and revisions comprise the last universal necessity, but many states have included references to other matters. The California Constitution has been widely regarded as poor in form, not always consistent, too detailed, and as covering numerous substantive matters better left to the Legislature in order to be more flexible and easier to keep up to date in statutory form.

An analytical review of state constitutional provisions in general was prepared for President Eisenhower in 1955 and indicated that—

> State constitutions restrict the scope, effectiveness, and adaptability of State and local action. The self-imposed constitutional limitations make it difficult for many States to perform all of the services the citizens require, and consequently have frequently been the underlying cause of State and Municipal pleas for Federal assistance (3).

State constitutions limit as well as authorize revenues, often attracting industry but restricting public services. Federal competition for tax resources through withholding taxes has been a factor in deterring states from removing financial restrictions by bold revisions. Only five states have adopted completely new constitutions since 1900.

Although complete constitutional revisions are rare, gradual changes take the form of amendments, minor revisions, carefully drafted legislation, court decisions, and interpretations by the executive and administrative agencies of the state. Prior to World War II, 21 states held constitutional conventions, but many of these were restricted to the limiting authority of the call establishing the convention, and consequently revisions were not substantial. New York has a built-in authority to revise its Constitution every 20 years. In 1947, New Jersey adopted one of the better instruments and used only about 500 words in excess of the 12,000 recommended by the National Municipal League for a model constitution (4). Most of the remaining state constitutions are longer, although the new states of Alaska and Hawaii use less than 12,000 words, while Connecticut and Rhode Island use half that number.

The Establishment of Education Under the Law

Education is mentioned in every state constitution in varying detail. For most of this century, Connecticut relied on three brief paragraphs, one of which was more explicit in its commitment to Yale College than to establishing schools. It did establish a perpetual fund to support schools and granted a great deal of latitude for the organization and grade structure of schools to the General Assembly. The method of distribution of state funds requires a formula to provide "equal benefits of all" in one part of the Constitution and calls for "justice and equity" in the same section. Connecticut distributed the major portions of its state aid funds on a per-pupil basis in 1967, but varied the amount per pupil according to the number of pupils in the local educational agency. Few state constitutions are as restrictive.

In Illinois, the constitutional intent under Article VIII, Section 1, was to make available a common school (elementary) education for everyone, but it ignored secondary education. These narrow provisions required the use of the inherent powers of the Legislature to provide for secondary schools and institutions of higher education.

The broad authority of Michigan's Constitution reflects the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 and obligated the state to provide, foster, and protect educational facilities for all. In Article VIII of the 1964 revision, Michigan retained this broad mandate and provided specifically for all levels of education. Like many other state constitutions, the older mandate required liberal construction in order to imply authority for secondary education. The Michigan court decided a challenging case in 1874 that has been generally followed throughout the country.

The school district of Kalamazoo had used tax funds to establish a public secondary school between the common schools and the university, but without specific constitutional and legislative authority. The court reasoned that—

> Two things are specifically noticeable in these provisions: First, that they contemplated provision by the State for a complete system of instruction, beginning with that of the primary school and ending with that of the university; second . . . no restriction was imposed upon its power to establish schools intermediate to the common district school and the university, and we find nothing to indicate an intent to limit their discretion as to the class or grade of schools . . . or as to the range of studies . . . if their voters consent in legal form to bear the expense and raising the taxes for the purpose (5).

The Kalamazoo decision was not a binding precedent for other state courts, but Illinois and six other states made similar decisions. School districts providing secondary education were upheld by judicial interpretations of state statutes in spite of the limited mandates for education and taxation in their state constitutions.

At present, statewide action by state boards of education increasingly complements constitutional, legislative, and judicial provisions for educational change. For instance, the Massachusetts State Department of Education requires every town to provide kindergartens by 1973. The Department assumed this authority from broad powers given by the Legislature, appointed a study committee, and complied with the regulations and requirements of the Administrative Procedures Act in making an enforceable regulation.

State and local school officials have suggested numerous changes in educational programs which have been implemented by board action and subsequent financial support. Resolutions by local boards of education and local administrative rules also have established numerous broader and richer educational programs for children.

In reviewing constitutions to find express authority for education, it is evident that constitutions in about 45 states provide for the establishment of common schools, and about 35 states expressly establish methods for financial support of schools. More than 30 states express duties and manners of choosing or removing chief state school officers. About 30 states explicitly prohibit the use of public funds or tax revenues generally for the support of religious institutions, and others prohibit specified funds.

Most states have established institutions or systems of higher education, usually with separate institutional boards. Land-grant colleges and universities reflected federal inducements through the Morrill Act of 1862. About a dozen states expressly provide for institutions of higher education in constitutions, but only half that number expressly provide for normal schools or institutions for teacher training. About half of the state constitutions provide for educating the deaf and the blind, and about one-third provide for reformatory education in penal institutions.

Nearly 30 states have established procedures for incurring local capital indebtedness, and most of those states expressly limit the amount of obligations. The debt limits are sometimes so low that they enable local officials to be irresponsible and nonresponsive to the building needs of local communities. Liability provisions have been enforced to protect communities from irresponsible local spending for capital construction.

About half of the states constitutionally prohibit their legislatures to enact specific laws on the management of school districts. In another quarter of the states, statutes prevent special legislation on local matters. In about three-quarters of the states, authority for home rule or optional laws to establish and adopt a federated system of government prevents state intervention in local government by specific enactments for a particular community. At the other extreme, Massachusetts allows special state legislative acts to dissolve or establish specific school districts. Before universal suffrage for women, educational issues provided the first opportunity for women to vote in five states.

About one-quarter of the state constitutions indicate that school districts are created by the legislature and are under the control of the legislature. Three-fourths of the state constitutions expressly enumerate an assortment of subjects for instructional programs in schools. In a number of these states, science is notably omitted. More appropriately, one-quarter of the state constitutions do not specify courses of instruction.

Constitutional provisions for textbooks vary greatly. Three states provide expressly for furnishing textbooks; one state prohibits changing textbooks more frequently than each 6 years. Three states prohibit any state prescription of textbooks; one state specifically precludes the board of education from authorizing textbooks. In addition, four states prohibit state officials from writing or having any financial interest in textbooks.

Such specific requirements in state constitutions often prove to be unfortunate, especially in states having cumbersome procedures for their amendment. States without specific constitutional limitations permit local boards of education to adopt rules and regulations that hasten the advance of knowledge and the selection of textbooks. The Constitution of Iowa illustrates the grant of broad authority to local boards of education to make the necessary rules and regulations with the force and effect of law without defranchising the plenary power of the Legislature. Under Article 9, Section 8, the local board of education has full authority to make all needful rules and regulations, of course always subject to the power of the Legislature to decide differently.

State constitutions and laws usually provide for the important state administrative functions of education through (a) a state board of education, (b) a chief state school officer, and (c) a department composed of supporting staff members. Explanations of the responsibilities and functions of the state educational agency are to be found in Chapter 2, "State Departments of Education Within State Governments."

Establishment of School Districts and Their Reorganization

Constitutions of the first 13 states were silent on the establishment of school districts. States which joined the Union thereafter were sometimes more explicit, and by 1900 a number of states referred to school districts in their constitutions. Article 12, Section 10, of the Florida Constitution, for instance, authorizes the division by the Legislature of any county or counties into convenient school districts.

Many more states referred to the limitations of local boards of education and funding of schools in school districts, indicating that districts were established as political subdivisions of the state. They are an administrative convenience to execute the constitutional mandate to maintain public schools as a state function. Because of their specific and limited educational function, school districts are technically quasi-corporations, and their school boards are technically officers of the state who are locally selected under state law. Thus they are distinguished from municipal corporations, such as towns and cities, which are local agencies of general authority. Few would doubt that the state legislature has the ultimate power to dissolve or create school districts as part of its authority to enact any legislation not prohibited by federal or state constitutions. In a great many cases, the courts have held that education is essentially and intrinsically a state function.

The Indiana court held in 1890 that school boards derive all of their authority from statutes of the state and can exercise no powers except those expressly granted or those powers which result from the necessary implications of the grant (6).

School property located in districts is generally held in trust by the board of education, and the legislature may take school facilities with or without notice, hearing, or compensation to local inhabitants. As was held by the Illinois court in 1955:

> The State may hold or manage the facilities directly or indirectly. The area of the district may be contracted or expanded, it may be divided, united in whole or in part with another district, and the district may be abolished. All this at the will of the legislature. The property of the school district is a misleading phrase . . . being in fact and law the property of the State and subject to the legislative will (7).

The necessity for regrouping districts came about with the advent of the explosion of knowledge, the increase in the cost of education, and the demands for quality education. At the secondary school level, where a wide selection of courses should be offered to youth, the cost of education has increased substantially. In smaller secondary schools, the number of different course preparations by teachers decreased the quality of teaching over the full year. By bringing small classes of 15 or fewer children into school centers where class size can be increased to 25, the cost of the additional students becomes negligible. The proliferation of all types of governmental units has made planning difficult, but nowhere among the authorized agencies of the state has progress toward consolidation of small local agencies been more rapid than under the leadership of personnel in state education agencies.

Since 1931, there has been a great movement throughout the nation to reorganize school districts. Table 1 reveals the number of local basic administrative units (school districts) for the period from 1931-32 to the fall of 1967. As a result of state efforts to reorganize and consolidate into larger attendance centers, the number of school districts has undergone a continuous reduction from 127,531 in 1931-32 to 20,388 in the fall of 1967. Not all districts operate schools. A review of the reorganizational efforts of selected states reveals the impetus for change and the progress resulting from courageous leader-

Table 1—NUMBER OF LOCAL BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS (SCHOOL DISTRICTS) IN THE UNITED STATES, 1931-32 TO FALL 1967

Year	Number
1931–32	127,531
1951–52	71,094
1961–62	35,676
1967–68	20,388

ship and legislation at the state level of education.

For example, in 1933 the West Virginia Legislature encouraged consolidation by abolishing all districts and making each of the 55 counties in the state the unit of local school government. Altogether, a total of 13 states have organized all or substantially all their school districts into county units for administrative purposes.

State Action

Since 1946, the state legislatures of numerous states have enacted into law provisions to implement school district reorganization. Some of the laws are permissive, depend upon local initiative, and result in relatively slow progress. Others mandate action on a statewide basis and reduce the number of local educational agencies much more rapidly. In a summary of progress in consolidations, Ovian reports a number of states achieving noteworthy progress toward reducing the number of local administrative units (8).

Between 1947 and 1967, the 1,500 school districts in Idaho consolidated into 117 units. In 1947, Illinois supported 11,955 school districts, but in the fall of 1967 there were 1,309, representing a reduction of 10,646 districts. The number of school districts in North Dakota in 1947 was 2,271, but in 1967 there were only 438 operating districts in the state.

The Wisconsin Legislature in 1947 enacted legislation which created county school committees to make reorganization plans and empowered them to establish larger school administrative units. Subsequent amendments in 1949 and 1951 strengthened the original legislation. Since 1947, the number of school districts decreased from 6,385 to 487 in the fall of 1967.

Although local school district reorganization in New York began in 1914, it was not until 1925, when amendments providing state financial incentives were added, that the law became operationally effective. In 1947, the State Legislature enacted legislation which required a master plan for school district reorganization. This master plan has guided the efforts of the commissioner of education and the New York Education Department (9) to reduce the number of districts to 762 operating units. Nonetheless, New York still has a number of small districts.

In 1957, Maine enacted legislation to promote the formation of public school systems "large enough to provide adequate education at a reasonable cost." The Maine School District Commission reported that "six years of progress has seen 103 towns organize into 32 school districts" (10), and in 1968 there are 270 operating districts.

Although there have been several efforts to reorganize school districts in Colorado, it was not until 1959 that the School District Organization Act was enacted. It was the vehicle for reducing 947 districts in 1957 to 181 in the fall of 1967 (11).

The Oregon Legislature in 1957 passed the School District Reorganization Act with particular care to provide procedural democratic safeguards. The Act delegated a nine-member county committee to prepare plans of proposed districts. After a public hearing held by the county committee and a representative of the state department of education, the plans for reorganizing the district were then voted upon in the proposed districts. There were 2,556 school districts in Oregon in 1917, reduced to 1,250 by 1948, and to 709 in 1957. The result of this legislation has been a further reduction of school districts in Oregon to 390 in 1966 (12).

Although the Kansas School District Act of 1945 was declared unconstitutional by the Kansas Supreme Court, legislation followed to reorganize school districts that met the objections of the Court but produced results too slowly. In 1963, however, the Kansas Legislature passed the School Unification Act to expedite reorganization of school districts and for the general improvement of the public schools in Kansas. Between 1964 and 1966, the 1847 districts were consolidated into 349 (13).

In 1964, the Michigan Legislature appointed a state committee charged with the specific responsibility of formulating policies, principles, and procedures for a statewide school district reorganization program. The law which created this committee also stated that the 708 operating districts should be reduced to fewer than 500, with all the new districts operating at least 12 grades (14).

The Pennsylvania School District Reorganization Act of 1963 gave specific responsibilities to the state education agency by providing that—

> The State Board of Education within ninety days . . . shall adopt standards for approval of administrative units, taking into consideration the following factors: topography, pupil population, community characteristics, transportation of pupils, use of existing school buildings, existing administrative units, potential population changes and the capability of providing a comprehensive program of education (15).

In an action to contest the validity of the law, the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania found that the Legislature propounded sufficient standards to establish the required constitutional guidelines. The Court cited the procedural protections of allowing the State Department of Public Instruction to adopt specific plans and standards for the reorganization of administrative units which county committees would implement. The Court agreed that legislative power cannot be granted to any other agency of the state, but nevertheless distinguished the present case by ruling that—

> It may, where necessary, confer authority and discretion in connection with the execution of the law; it may establish primary standards and impose upon others the duty to carry out the declared legislative policy in accordance with the general provisions of the act (16).

The Pennsylvania Court reasoned that the "true purpose and effect" of the constitutional responsibility of the Legislature is to provide a thorough and efficient system of public schools, and that the Act was most specific in revealing its purpose and the results which the Legislature sought to accomplish (17). In responding to the petitioner's complaint that the reorganization law "impairs the obligation of contract" in violation of the Pennsylvania Constitution (Article 1, Section 17) and the U.S. Constitution (Article 1, Section 10), the Court made the following definitive statement:

> We have repeatedly held that a School District is a creature or agency of the Legislature and has only the powers that are granted by statute. . . . That the Legislature reserves its powers to alter the school laws is necessarily implied in contracts made by school districts. . . . Surely, these school districts may not act in such a way as to forever bind the Commonwealth to a form of existence upon which they agree at one point of time. . . . The continued ability to alter the organization of the school system throughout the Commonwealth is a prerequisite to the fulfillment of the Legislature's constitutional duty to provide for the maintenance of a thorough and efficient system of public schools (18).

IMPROVING THE SCOPE AND QUALITY OF EDUCATION

Pioneer initiative, "manifest destiny," and the development of agriculture had led to wide dispersal of 77 million persons in the nation in 1900. Legislation encouraged the establishment of schools without considering efficient operations. Thousands of one-room rural schools sprang up in vast, newly developed rural areas, utilizing legislative enactments for school districts, facilities, educational programs, and financing arrangements. The problems of the times involved the rudiments of a comparatively simple school system emphasizing 8 years of schooling. One of the necessities was a school building usually within walking distance for its pupils. The legal basis of state activities can be illustrated by the work in connection with the school facilities of the day.

At first, state departments of education encouraged the establishment of schools without regard for size or quality. Shortly before the turn of the century, the Legislature in Minnesota (1897) enacted a law entitling schools outside of incorporated villages and cities to receive state aid for the support of education when minimum requirements established by the State Department of Education were met. These requirements related to the length of operating term, qualifications of teachers, safety of buildings, and supply of equipment. Table 2 shows the items appearing on 15 or more of 30 score cards used by departments of education in 1925. Wisconsin, in 1901, followed the lead of Minnesota. In 1907, Illinois added a qualitative improvement by inaugurating the concept of awarding door plates for superior schools.

By 1925, departments of education in 34 states had "standardized" over 40,000 schools (19). Leadership for this effort ini-

Table 2—MINIMAL STANDARDS THAT APPEAR ON 15 OR MORE OF THE SCORE CARDS FROM 30 STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Item	Number of score cards
1. Site	
Area of playgrounds	15
Ornamentation	15
2. Buildings	
Exterior structure	
Condition of repair	21
Interior structure	
Walls—finish, color scheme	17
Floors—material, finish, color scheme	20
3. Lighting	
Placement of windows	22
Glass area	25
Shades	20
4. Heating and Ventilation	
Jacketed stove, standard heating and ventilating plant, or furnace	20
5. Equipment	
Outdoor	
Flag	17
Playground apparatus	20
Indoor	
Pupils' desks—material, kind	26
Blackboard—amount of space	20
Dictionary—kind	15
Maps—kind, number	17
Library—care in selection	15
Globe—kind, size	18
Musical instruments—phonograph, organ, or piano	15
6. Teacher	
Academic and professional qualifications	28
7. Organization	
Average daily attendance	15
Length of term	15
Daily program—posted, followed	16
State course of study to be followed	16
8. Hygiene of the school plant	
Seating of pupils	
With reference to size of seats	20
With reference to light	20
Individual drinking cups or sanitary bubblers	15
Toilets	
Number—two	16
Type	20
Condition	17
9. Community	
Frequency of community meetings	18
Community spirit	18

tiated from legislative authorization in 15 states, from rules and regulations of the state boards of education in 6 states, and from the chief state school officers in 13 states.

Economic, social, and technical developments have led the people to demand a major evolution in education within this century, and education has greatly accelerated these developments. Leadership of state and local officials caused political bodies to enact early legislation. Then a growing profession of public educators became influential in enunciating the desires of the public for universal education at public expense, and a distinctive American institution evolved.

Today the physical conditions of most of the 90,000 school plants are satisfactory, and more than half of them have been constructed since World War II. The preparation of nearly 2 million teachers has risen from an average of less than a high school diploma at the beginning of the century to an average of 5 years of higher education by 1968. Educational opportunities for 44 million children in public school districts have extended in scope from free prekindergarten classes to junior college instruction and in depth to advanced courses in electronics, calculus, the sciences, humanities, and the arts. Remedial work is available for many students, but gaps still remain in our efforts to equalize educational opportunities in the cities and rural areas. The accomplishments of this century foretell that education will continue to improve its scope and quality in terms of its goals.

Curricular Development

Leadership in curriculum development before 1900 came primarily from state-level leaders, such as Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, William T. Harris, and Ella Flagg Young, and the normal schools and teachers colleges they founded. Soon after 1900 some academic leaders in universities began to show more interest, especially in regard to secondary schools. Legislatures since then have responded to changing demands by making normal schools successively teachers colleges, state colleges, and even universities. At present, all but a few of the public and private degree-granting institutions are interested in teacher preparation and in the curriculums of elementary and secondary schools.

The scope of instruction in most states has followed course offerings similar to those authorized by law in Massachusetts in 1915:

> Orthography, reading, writing, the English language and grammar, geography, arithmetic, drawing, the history of the United States, physiology and hygiene, and good behavior, bookkeeping, algebra, geometry, one or more foreign languages, agriculture, sewing, cooking, vocal music, physical training, civil government, ethics, thrift, and such other subjects as the school committee may determine may be taught in the public schools (20).

Later laws required that special instruction must be given on alcoholic drinks and narcotics, tuberculosis, and first aid. Spelling and shopwork were noticeable additions in school laws for New York. Ohio expressly provided for ancient and modern languages, political or mental science, English and American literature. Civics, patriotism, and other virtues were listed. Science and business education were noticeably omitted.

In 1968, thousands of courses were taught in the public secondary schools without specific legal authority, many no doubt variations of nomenclature for similar content. Many of the states have statutes requiring the teaching of the ill effects of alcohol and narcotics—43; U.S. Constitution—28; physical education—25; U.S. history—23; physiology and hygiene—22; geography—21; and reading and spelling —20. Ten states require more than 20 subjects in their statutes. Iowa, California, Indiana, and Massachusetts prescribe more than 30 subjects. Some states continue to retain subjects devoted to the moral and behavioral well-being of society. These and such fields as teaching about alcohol and narcotics are so vaguely defined in content and time to be spent that they have become partially or totally disregarded in practice.

The state legislatures have the power to mandate the course requirements and content of education, but the evidence shows sporadic action, antiquated requirements, and usually incomplete curriculums of poor quality. Even a casual survey of what legislatures have prescribed, often on the spur of the moment, indicates that the appropriate function of the legislature is to lay out general purposes and levels of support for education, leaving the methods of achieving them largely to professionals prepared for teaching and the operation of schools.

Textbooks

Textbooks were the dominant instructional tools throughout most of the century. Most teachers and students in the earlier decades of this century slavishly followed written textbooks, word by word. In 1904, some states, such as California and Missouri, forbade the use of any books other than uniform textbooks prescribed by the state (21). In New York, a penalty of $50 to $100 was assessed for superseding the textbooks adopted by local boards of education. In other states, the chief state school officer prepared a list of textbooks. Local boards of education in 24 states were specifically required by legislatures to adopt textbooks, and 9 other states left the field open to local school agencies by failing to provide for any authority. The remaining 13 states expressly authorized statewide adoption of textbooks.

In the absence of constitutional or statutory authority to select textbooks used in public schools, a Montana court held that the local school board may designate the textbooks to be used under its general powers to conduct and manage schools (22). A Missouri court held that failure of proper authorities to select and adopt specific textbooks permits teachers to designate the textbooks to be used in their classes (23).

Where the Indiana Constitution expressly authorized the Legislature to provide by law for a general and uniform system of common schools, the Indiana Supreme Court held in 1889 that the Legislature was empowered to provide for a uniform series of textbooks throughout the state (24). Ten years later a Tennessee court held that the Legislature had the same powers without an express constitutional mandate (25).

It is difficult to conceive in a period of rapid innovation and multiplying sources of knowledge that our forefathers in South Carolina limited the frequency of changing textbooks (26). Even obsolete materials and the "suitableness, nature, arrangement and general fitness" of a book were not decisive factors in changing textbooks more often in West Virginia (27).

An Illinois court held in 1925 that authority to furnish textbooks free to children cannot be inferred, but must be found in constitutional or statutory provisions. Unless there was a statutory prohibition, establishment of free education was held not to deprive the trustees of a school of the right to charge the cost of textbooks to parents able to pay (28).

State legislatures generally permit local purchase of textbooks and provide them free to pupils as one of many educational services eligible for state financial support. In a few instances, the state provides the funds or purchases the textbooks directly. By 1916, legislatures authorized free textbooks in 41 states, and all 48 provided some type of commission or authority to select textbooks. The most restrictive law was in California, where it was a misdemeanor for a school officer or teacher to use textbooks other than those prescribed by proper authority (29).

A constitutional controversy involving free textbooks to children in private schools reached national importance when the U.S. Supreme Court decided the case of Cochran v. Board of Education in 1930 (30). The Court validated the purchase of books with public funds as an individual benefit to children attending parochial schools. This case evolved from a 1928 Louisiana law providing free textbooks and contemplating that the same books would be furnished to pupils attending public and private schools. The act was first tested in the Borden case in 1929 and was found not in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting the use of public funds for support of private or sectarian schools. Chief Justice Hughes delivered the opinion of the Court in the Cochran case and quoted the Louisiana Supreme Court in the Borden case as follows:

> One may scan the acts in vain to ascertain where any money is appropriated for the purchase of school books for the use of any church, private, sectarian or even public school. The appropriations were made for the specific purpose of purchasing school books for the use of school children of the state, free of cost to them. It was for their benefit and the resulting benefit to the state that the appropriations were made. True these children attend some school, public or private, the latter sectarian or non-sectarian, and that the books are to be furnished them for their use, free of cost whichever they attend. The schools however are not the beneficiaries of these appropriations. They obtain nothing from them, nor are they relieved of a single obligation because of them. The school children and the state alone are the beneficiaries. It is also true that the sectarian schools, which some of the children attend, instruct their pupils in religion, and books are used for that purpose. . . . Among these books, naturally, none is to be expected, adapted to religious instruction (31).

The U.S. Supreme Court held that—

> Viewing the statute as having the effect thus attributed to it, we cannot doubt that the taxing power of the state is exerted for a public purpose. The legislation does not segregate private schools, or their pupils, as its beneficiaries or attempt to interfere with any matters of exclusively private concern. Its interest is education, broadly; its method, comprehensive. Individual interests are aided only as the common interest is safeguarded (32).

The Supreme Court did not consider whether the plan violated the prohibition of establishment of religion in the First Amendment because the First Amendment was not made applicable to the states until a decade later (33). By 1968, state courts had upheld statutes in three states requiring that free secular textbooks be supplied at public expense to private schools, and one other state permitted such distribution. In all, three states permit and four require that free textbooks be distributed to children attending nonpublic schools, while the courts of three other states have found the distribution of textbooks to nonpublic school children a violation of their state constitutions. In 11 states, opinions of attorney generals prohibit such distributions.

Based on the Cochran decision, a federal law currently authorizes funds for library materials for the use of pupils and teachers in private schools on an equitable basis (34). The intent of the law was to make library materials available to public schools and through them to children in nonpublic schools on a loan basis. Legal title to all materials is vested in public school districts. In Oklahoma and Kansas, because the state and local educational agencies were considered to be without authority to administer the program for private school pupils and teachers, special arrangements with agencies outside of the state departments of education had to be made to distribute funds for the benefit of children attending nonpublic schools.

This federal law was being tested in the courts as it began the third year of funding. The U.S. Supreme Court accepted jurisdiction of a case from the Federal District Court of New York on this issue late in 1967. The question on appeal was the lack of standing of citizens to bring an action to prevent the use of federal funds for benefits for private school pupils and teachers under the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The 1923 case of Frothingham v. Mellon (35) had held that neither a state nor an individual taxpayer was entitled to a remedy in the courts against an alleged unconstitutional appropriation of federal funds. On June 10, 1968, the Supreme Court held, in a case from New York appealed on pleadings alone without testimony in the lower court, that textbooks loaned to private school pupils at public expense did not violate the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution (36). On the same day, the Court decided in another case that federal taxpayers have standing to sue to test the constitutionality of similar First Amendment cases (37). Other decisions will undoubtedly follow on this issue as additional cases involving different factual situations are brought before the courts.

In 1940, the Mississippi Supreme Court upheld the authority of the State Textbook Board to lend uniform textbooks to children in public schools "and in all other schools located in the state which maintain educational standards established by the state department of education" (38).

In 1931, the Oregon Legislature passed a law permitting the state to purchase textbooks for elementary school children and to lend them to private schools. When study guides prepared by the Archdiocese of Portland illustrated how the secular textbooks could be used to teach religious concepts, an Oregon court ruled in 1961 that the Archdiocese went beyond the principles established in the Cochran case and that the distribution of free textbooks to parochial schools was "for the benefit of religious institutions" and thus violated the state Constitution. The court further reasoned that this was not a denial of equal protection to children attending parochial schools (39).

The Supreme Court of South Dakota held in 1943 that a statute authorizing the distribution of free textbooks to pupils of a school district does not permit the issuance of free textbooks to children attending private, sectarian, or parochial schools (40).

A Kentucky statute prohibits public school officials from selling textbooks to private schools. California, however, expressly authorizes the State Department of Education to sell textbooks at cost to private schools, individuals, or dealers under rules and regulations of the State Department of Education.

Many states continue to follow strict constitutions forbidding the use of any public funds for sectarian schools, particularly those entering the Union after the introduction of the proposed Blaine Amendment in the U.S. Congress—about 1870 (41).

Libraries

Express constitutional authority to establish libraries cannot be found in any state. Publicly supported libraries have an important role in education, and when local and state boards of education provided libraries in schools this was another example of leadership preceding statutory enactments. Every state has established a number of special libraries for educational, cultural, and recreational interests. State laws and regulations provide the foundation, support, and operating conditions of publicly supported libraries in municipalities and schools. No two states seem to have established and operated libraries identically, but many common objectives are evident.

Each state provides for four major programs: (1) local public elementary and secondary school libraries, (2) college and university libraries, (3) public libraries, and (4) state governmental libraries. For public libraries and state government libraries, legislatures created governing boards expressly to establish policies and to assume responsibilities for their continuing operations. For school, college, and university libraries, the educational authority was assumed by local officials from general authority to conduct educational programs.

State legislatures have assigned responsibilities for public school libraries at the state level to state boards of education or state library commissions. In each structure, the duties are similar. A comprehensive list of legally authorized responsibilities was presented in a publication by the U.S. Office of Education in 1956 as follows:

1. To supervise a statewide system of libraries which are operated by individual governing boards
2. To establish rules, regulations, and standards for the conduct of the system of libraries within the framework prescribed by the law
3. To prescribe statewide accounting and reporting procedures
4. To require reports from the libraries within the system
5. To approve budgets of institutions within the system [applies chiefly to regulatory boards for state-level institutions]
6. To provide consultative and advisory services to the governing boards of the libraries and their staffs
7. To disseminate information on desirable practices to the governing boards of libraries and their staffs
8. To conduct and stimulate research and studies pertinent to the state program of publicly supported libraries
9. To initiate and conduct in-service training programs in library management for governing boards and their staffs
10. To coordinate the library work of the several governing boards under their general supervision
11. To employ a chief executive officer to carry out the policies adopted by the board
12. To employ staff members, upon recommendation of its chief executive officer (42).

Libraries in Public Elementary and Secondary Schools. In 1900, only one of every four schools constructed had a library (43). An Arkansas case in 1932 held that authority conferred on local school organizations to borrow money may be exercised only for the purposes which are properly within the meaning of constitutional and statutory provisions (44). State boards of education relied upon their general authority in recommending establishment of libraries in schools. An Arkansas court in 1941 sustained such recommendations on the ground that libraries constitute a proper purpose for which a school organization could borrow money under its general constitutional and statutory authority (45). In 1968, nearly every newly constructed school had a library. In addition, many older school buildings are being renovated and modernized to include library facilities.

The broad reading of statutory authority by educational leaders to provide libraries without specific authority was fortunate. The modern library has now reached the electronic age. Audiovisual materials and equipment supplement the reading materials which comprised all the materials of a library constructed prior to 1950. From the judicial approval of "apparatus" (46) as a proper educational expenditure, the modern library has expanded to include TV, study carrels, copying machines, dial access to audio tapes, video tapes, books, periodicals, and yesterday's lecture for the absentee. Computer terminals, programed learning machines, light pens, and talking-video typewriters are also in the ultramodern facilities. In addition to the familiar reading tables, there are browsing areas, lounge facilities, discussion and conference rooms, and a substantial number of study carrels for individual learning.

Constitutions are silent on library facilities, but authority for including libraries in public schools is now sufficiently accepted to be unquestioned. There is a question in some states on the dual use of public and school libraries. Statutes in some states restrict the use of state funds to the construction of libraries for school use solely and expressly.

In Massachusetts, for example, statutory authority does not provide for the use of state school funds to construct any space not specifically used for a school purpose. A community facility, adult public library in an elementary school, and spaces for day care centers are not expressly authorized. The statute in Massachusetts is an example of an overly explicit statute.

Ideally, the legislative act would be more effective and flexible if the statute authorized the construction of schools and then allowed the board of education to make specific rules and regulations for the spaces. Regulations of a board are more responsive to change than the legislative process.

College and University Libraries. Many early public colleges and universities of the states were part of the state department of education. The trend in the early decades of this century was toward independence, with separate boards of trustees for higher education. More recent federal legislation has resulted in statewide higher educational planning commissions in regard to physical facilities similar to the established state boards of education for public elementary and secondary schools. Legislatures have placed libraries for public institutions of higher education under the control of boards of trustees and presidents of colleges and universities.

Public Libraries. The first public library extension agency was legally authorized by Massachusetts in 1890. By 1900, there were 15 states with similar services, and by 1910 there were 34 states providing public library extension agencies to serve local public libraries. The gap between actual and adequate service has been vast. Public library services have recently received much needed support from a number of federal enactments.

State Governmental Libraries. Library services for the personnel of state governments grew from a total staff of 177 persons in 1900 to over 9,500 in 1950, for servicing nearly a million state officers and employees. Since then, staff members have continued to increase to well over 15,000 employees. State governmental libraries provide the following important services: (a) general state library, (b) law library, (c) legislative references, (d) state archives, (e) state history. The necessity for such services is readily apparent to legislators, and the rapid growth of these services in the last 20 years was essential and understandable.

THE RESPONSIBILITIES AND RIGHTS OF TEACHERS

The following section on rights and responsibilities of teachers is primarily of interest as legal background and historical development rather than as current law and modern practices. It should be read in historical perspective to show the meager beginnings and amazing progress of public education since 1900. Social and economic changes are clearly reflected, e.g., married women could not teach at all in many local school systems in the earlier decades, but later their equality with men in teaching (although it suffered setbacks in times of economic depression) made exceptional gains in wartime or other periods of teacher shortage. Organized and militant teachers have moved rapidly into collective bargaining in regard to salaries and working conditions since 1960, after decades of slow and irregular movement toward such status. The concluding pages of this discussion indicate some of these changes.

Teacher Certification

The state legislature has the constitutional duty to establish and maintain a system of public schools, including the power to set up qualifications for teachers. It usually delegates much of this responsibility to the state department of education. Generally, the qualifications for teaching and other educational positions are prescribed by (a) statutes, (b) rules and regulations of state boards of education, (c) administrative guidelines at the state level, (d) policies of boards of education, and (e) administrators at the local level. Except for the legislature and, in limited ways, the courts, none of the state or local agencies or administrators may increase or decrease the constitutional or statutory requirements. Where the statutes are silent, however, each level of delegated legal responsibilities for employees may prescribe employment conditions within the reasonable limits permitted by general law.

Ordinarily, a teaching license or certificate of qualification is not a constitutional right or a contract (47), but only a privilege (48) to be exercised under the restrictions imposed by the constituted authorities for conducting the schools. Possession of the appropriate license is a prerequisite of employment in public education that can be waived only in extenuating circumstances.

At the turn of the century, only California and Utah required a degree from a 4-year college for teachers in secondary schools. By 1920, only eight states had joined the leaders. In 1930, California became the first state to require a degree for teachers in elementary schools. Table 3 shows the progress of states requiring the bachelor's degree to teach in elementary and secondary schools.

Table 3—NUMBER OF STATES REQUIRING A DEGREE TO TEACH IN ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOLS

Year	Elementary	Secondary
1900	0	2
1920	0	10
1940	10	40
1965	45	50

At present, states usually specify personal requirements for age, health, loyalty oaths, citizenship, number of credits in specific areas of specialization, and student teaching experience. Some also have special requirements, such as a course in the history of the state.

There is a persistent trend among the states to reduce the certification requirements and to make them more general. Legislatures have joined in this trend. Many states approve institutional programs of preparation, and some accredit the institutions themselves for the preparation of teachers. The graduates apply individually for certificates to teach. In almost every state, institutions of higher education preparing teachers or conducting specific programs of teacher preparation are approved by state boards of education with or without specific legislative authority. Delaware is a state with a typical statute for certification:

> The State Board of Education shall prescribe rules and regulations governing the qualifications and certification of teachers in all the public schools of the State (49).

Other significant requirements appearing more frequently in statutes include a fifth year of graduate work, a master's degree after a period of probationary teaching, use of a national examination of teachers, accreditation of colleges, or preparation in a special subject field for teachers in elementary grades.

In 1968, there still remained about 80,000 teachers without regular state certificates to teach, which represents about 5 percent of the teaching force. Significant increases in the number of teachers with college degrees are evident, perhaps as many as 1.7 million more than the number with degrees in 1900, when most teachers were not graduates from 4-year institutions of higher education.

Cooperative relationships among state departments of education, educational institutions, and voluntary national accrediting agencies have existed for many years. More recently, state departments of education have become closely associated with the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) and directly involved in the program of accreditation by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). State directors of teacher education and certification, with the assistance of NCATE, have developed comprehensive minimal standards for institutions of teacher education. Application of these standards has led to greatly increased quality of staff members, better working conditions and facilities in institutions preparing teachers. In a competitive market for quality staff, legislative enactments, financial authorizations, and appropriations are important to further quality in teacher education. There is increasing willingness among state departments of education to recognize the professional approval of accrediting agencies as the basis for the exercise of the legal authority of the state in certification of teachers.

Armstrong and Stinnett have traced the progress of certification laws in each state for several decades. Their latest manual was published in 1967 (50). State legislatures consistently delegate authority to departments of education and boards of education to establish requirements or standards for obtaining certificates to teach, to issue certificates, and to establish procedures with the protection of "due process" to revoke certificates. In turn, legislatures also have given local boards certain authority to employ teachers, apply for emergency certificates, and to dismiss teachers.

Employment Conditions

In this area, case law has contributed to an understanding of the statutes in many states. Where statutory enactments are similar, case laws cited in one state may carry some weight at a hearing in another state. Statutes with only slightly different wording, however, most often mean that the out-of-state case represents only general information for the hearing tribunal. The following cases do represent some generally accepted principles of law applicable to teacher certification requirements in the states in which the cases arose.

Teachers are employees hired by a state agency—a school district—which in a technical sense has closer legal proximation to the state than to the community which it serves. A court in Oregon ruled that teachers "serve the State in the exercise of its sovereign powers as mandated by Article VIII, Section 3 of the Oregon Constitution" (51). Teachers are not public officers but employees of the board of education; consequently, in this case a teacher was allowed to hold a publicly elected office in the state legislature while remaining a teacher.

Local boards of education cannot legally employ a teacher who does not possess the certificate required by the state. In Pennsylvania, a board "may require, however, any additional qualifications that are reasonable" (52). In this case, a board of education required male sex as one qualification for a principal of an evening school in mechanics. In was upheld in 1898 as a valid additional qualification. Today, discrimination because of sex would violate federal and state laws, but most evening school students in mechanics are probably men for reasons other than discrimination.

Tenure and Contract. The majority rule is that a statute providing for tenure of teachers does not create a contract between the state and a teacher (53). A teacher with permanent tenure in Wisconsin was retired at the age of compulsory retirement, and it was found that this did not impair the contract clause of the U.S. Constitution, Article I, Section 10, which forbids states from passing laws "impairing the obligation of contracts" (54).

Rules and Regulations or Policies of the Board. The board of education has authority to make bylaws, ordinances, rules and regulations, or policies necessary to carry out its educational purpose. Since the leading case of Dees v. Board of Education (55), courts have held that a board can make its own reasonable rules in education. In this Michigan decision in 1906, the board reserved the right in its rules and regulations to remove teachers at will with the following provision:

> The conditions of appointment are that you are subject to assignment or transfer at the discretion of the board; to dismissal upon thirty days' notice or at any time for willful violation of any rule of the board.

A Kansas court held in 1896 that a board of education has no authority to dismiss a teacher at will even if it reserves to itself such power (56):

> What then is the construction to be given to the words, "unless sooner removed by vote of the board . . . ?" There is no statute which prescribes the cause for which the board of education of a city of the second class may remove a teacher. Neither is there any rule or regulation prescribed by this board in which such causes are enumerated except for sufficient cause.

When a teacher entered into a contract in Missouri in 1884, she agreed by implication to obey all reasonable rules and regulations of the board of education (57). In Indiana in 1941, a teacher also agreed to obey subsequent rules and regulations adopted at a later date (58).

Teaching Skill. Teachers agree in accepting employment, sometimes expressly or otherwise by implication, that they will bring to their work a reasonable degree of teaching skill. In the 1873 case of City of Crawfordsville v. Hays (59), an Indiana court said:

> Now if a teacher, although he has been employed for a definite length of time, proves to be incompetent, and unable to teach the branches of instruction he has been employed to teach, either from lack of learning, or from utter want of capacity to impart his learning to others; or if he in any other respect fails to perform the obligations resting upon him as such teacher, whether arising from express terms of his contract or by necessary implication, he has broken his agreement on his part, and the trustees are clearly authorized to dismiss him from such employment.

Reasons for Dismissal. A school board may discontinue the employment of teachers on tenure for reasons of economy when there is a reduction in enrollment of pupils in a district. The Minnesota court said clearly:

> Our teachers should be the first to recognize that the tenure law was not intended as a guarantee of continuous employment . . . regardless of whether the number of pupils or the availability of positions justifies their continued retention (60).

In Horasko v. School District (61), the Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that an occasional drink of beer, serving beer to customers, and shaking dice with customers for drinks on the part of a woman teacher constituted behavior which was the same as incompetency since she conducts herself so as to forfeit the respect of the community. Even this 1939 case seems somewhat out of date today, when the personal lives of teachers are not closely supervised by school boards as long as their professional work is satisfactory.

"The principle of impartiality, disinterestedness and fairness on the part of a judge" was invoked and upheld for a Washington superintendent who appealed a decision of his board of education to discharge him in 1898. He contended successfully on appeal that the board was disqualified by reason of bias and prejudice (62). When the Massachusetts statute provided that a teacher may be dismissed for "cause only," a teacher was held in 1924 to be entitled to notice of the charges against him and an opportunity to appear with counsel in his own defense (63).

Some courts in the past have strictly interpreted contract provisions for dismissal, such as incompetency, cruelty, gross immorality, neglect of business, or even marriage (in the case of a female teacher). The board of education may dismiss a teacher on tenure who violates a rule. In the case of McQuaid v. State (64), the Indiana Supreme Court ruled that the marriage of a woman teacher may be cause to terminate her contract. Both social attitudes and conditions of employment have changed since this 1937 case was decided. Marital prohibitions are seldom if ever in force today. Modern practices are far more favorable to teachers. The procedures necessary to satisfy the constitutional requirements of "due process" in dismissal of teachers minimally include notice of charges, a hearing, and a right to be represented by legal counsel.

Pay for Unfair Dismissal. The rulings in educational cases follow the sound legal principles of contracts in cases where a teacher is unfairly dismissed, and whether a dismissal is valid must take into account the constitutional principle of "due process of law." A Minnesota court held that a teacher dismissed without notice and opportunity for a hearing could recover the balance on her contract because due process was lacking (65).

A teacher who has been illegally dismissed may sue the school district for breach of contract, but she cannot recover from members of the board of education personally unless they have acted maliciously or in bad faith.

In Campbell v. Jones (66), a dismissed teacher brought an action against an individual board member. The Texas court held in 1954 that—

> To hold them personally liable when they were guilty of no wrong whatsoever, but in good faith were trying to comply with what reasonably appeared to be the then rulings of the State Superintendent, would be to impose upon public officials charged with discretionary duties personal liability for mistaken judgment. We cannot assent to that doctrine.

Laws for Minimal Salaries

Minimal salaries and statewide inspections went hand-in-hand during the first part of the century. Later, when regulatory inspections for standardization declined in the states, certification of teachers and minimal salaries were regarded as necessary to assure minimal standards of competency. Statewide minimal salaries were intended to attract a higher quality of teachers; local school authorities previously may have sought persons who would accept the lowest salary. In a competitive market for quality personnel, a reasonable minimal salary assures local school officials and taxpayers of the continuous interest of the state in a supply of competent teachers.

In 1882, the Legislature in West Virginia adopted a minimal salary for teachers. Five states had similar laws by 1915, 15 states by 1930, and 34 by 1955. This number settled to 31 states with laws setting minimal salaries by 1960. Five additional states have allocations for teachers' salaries in state foundation laws. Under these circumstances, most districts in a state soon exceed the statutory minimal salary to gain competitive advantages over neighboring school districts.

Recent legislation shows trends toward including more detail in the statutes for minimal salaries, such as (a) providing schedules of minimal salaries related to numbers of years of experience, (b) specifying increases for master's degrees and higher levels of preparation by teachers, and (c) requiring minimal salaries for other professional educators, i.e., superintendents, supervisors, principals, vocational teachers, and nurses.

Collective Negotiation for Public Employees

The effective militant postures of labor unions during the middle third of this century have expanded into the field of education. Reluctantly, teachers have learned from the history of labor. Harsh words, rejections, and sanctions have given way to strikes, elections for recognition, contractual agreements, negotiation rights, grievance procedures, arbitration, mediation, and appeals as a new vocabulary for educators. Throughout most of this century, teachers have assumed the role of professionals. Services to children and not salaries were uppermost in joint discussions. Boards of education and finance committees listened politely one evening each year, then benevolently conceded to small improvements. Today, the negotiation meetings between teachers and the board may last for weeks or months. The press magnifies the negotiations of wages and working conditions, and the teachers are ready to use threats to resign and strikes to obtain improvements in working conditions.

The newest form of legislative action to improve salaries for professional staff members in education received additional impetus from enactment of enabling legislation for collective negotiations between representatives from groups of public employees and local educational agencies. About one-third of the states require local school agencies to negotiate with representatives of professional and nonprofessional employees. Three states—North Carolina, Virginia, and Texas—prohibit collective negotiation with labor organizations. Some local educational agencies, especially in large cities, have conducted negotiations without specific legislation.

Philadelphia was recognized in 1937 as the first municipality to enter into bilateral agreements with labor organizations for public employees. This recognition of collective public employees followed the "New Deal" legislation to facilitate the organization of private employees and the Supreme Court rulings to uphold the right of employees to organize (67). Federal legislation throughout the first third of this century was ineffective as attempts were made to balance the power between large industrial employers and employees, to change the common law rules of the courts, and to prevent a conspiracy to raise wages. Subsequent federal attempts failed to modify the early labor cases which protected individual property rights from collective wage agreements.

In 1961, the Legislature of Wisconsin authorized local municipal employees, including employees of a school district, to affiliate with and to be represented by labor organizations of their own choice in conferences and negotiations with their municipal employers on questions of wages, hours, and conditions of employment. The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board for private employees was empowered to prevent prohibited practices, to certify bargaining agents, to provide mediators, and to act as an appeals agency. A Wisconsin court upheld the statute and ruled that the Wisconsin Education Association is a labor organization as defined by statutes because it furnishes advice and guidance to local affiliated organizations representing teachers in negotiations with school boards (68).

The Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890 was designed to limit and regulate the harmful effects of large business combinations, but it was also applied to labor unions. The Clayton Act (1914) clearly removed unions from the jurisdiction of the anti-trust laws, but it was not until 1940 and after the Depression that the Supreme Court upheld the intent of the Clayton Act (69). The Norris-LaGuardia Act (1932) also attempted to assist the organization of labor. It removed the injunctive power of courts and allowed unions to strike, to use nonemployees to picket, and to enforce secondary boycotts or sympathy strikes. The National Labor Relations Act (1935) further encouraged—

> . . . the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and by protecting the exercise by workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection (70).

In 1930, there were about 1,000 expensive work stoppages, labor riots, and strikes. By the end of the decade, there were nearly 3,000 strikes a year, and in the forties the annual number of strikes increased to nearly 5,000, notwithstanding the necessity to produce war materials in World War II. Congress reacted to public pressure and attempted to balance the power between unions and management with the Taft-Hartley Act (1947), but the number, power, and effectiveness of strikes continued almost unabated.

It was in this militant era that the members of the Norwalk Teachers' Association in 1946 refused to return to their teaching duties and struck against the Board of Education and the unrestricted financial powers of the Board of Estimate and Taxation in Norwalk. The teachers association was independent of any national affiliation at that time and became the first voluntary association of educational employees to sign a contract with a board of education to recognize teachers associations as a bargaining agent for all members and cooperatively to define working conditions, to establish grievance procedures, and to agree upon a salary schedule. All of this was accomplished without express statutory authority to contract, but within a framework of annual discussions between teachers associations and boards of education.

In 1951, the Supreme Court of Errors in Connecticut upheld the Norwalk teachers' right to organize, to demand recognition, and to bargain collectively within "legal bounds." The court noted, however, that "the strike is not a permissible method of enforcing the plantiffs' [teachers'] demands" (71).

The Connecticut Court reasoned that the board of education had broad statutory powers to manage the schools and could negotiate, arbitrate, and mediate provided it did not "surrender the board's legal discretion," act contrary to law, or otherwise act *ultra vires.* The teachers, however, were not allowed to use the administrative procedures established by statute for industrial disputes before the State Board of Mediation and Arbitration or the State Labor Relations Board. Most states provide a state agency to regulate, interpret, and to administer labor statutes. Only a few states assign this responsibility to central education agencies.

Commissioner Finis E. Engleman and the Connecticut State Board of Education prepared policy guidelines for mediation through the state educational agency which established the precedent for a statute enacted nearly 15 years later to utilize educational rather than state labor boards to settle education disputes in Connecticut (72). This episode in the history of collective negotiation was written without express statutory authority and provided a guideline for other states. Many states had enacted legislation for compulsory negotiation with public employees by 1968, and the trend toward covering this field in state law was strong.

The law in each state differs, but generally salaries, hours, and working conditions are negotiable. When state laws require a minimal number of days, hours, or conditions of work, these items are negotiable only after the state minimums are met by local educational programs. The American Bar Association has studied the early educational endeavors in collective negotiation and suggests that practices and cases from private negotiations cannot be transferred *en masse* to public negotiations. At present, a pattern for negotiations with public employees is evolving. Most states provide for elections to determine the representative organization. Only California and Washington have statutes specifically allowing for professional negotiation of educational objectives, course content, textbooks, and instructional materials. Other important differences among state statutes are evident; for example, in Massachusetts the parties are compelled to meet and discuss—but the statute does not compel the parties to draw agreements. Statutes in other states urge the parties to negotiate in "good faith" or "to meet and confer."

For many years, boards of education have used local school administrators as "mediators" in conferring with members of local teachers associations on salary schedules; sick, personal, and maternity leave; retirement plans; group insurances; and other benefits. Seldom have teachers discussed the most important working conditions—teaching workload, the number of children per class, and other policy questions.

In the last 20 years, critics have often assailed the public schools, demanding education of the highest quality. At the same time, finance boards and boards of education have refused to approve tax funds for newer textbooks, improved teaching materials and equipment, services of supporting specialists, adequate instructional spaces, and salaries that would attract quality college graduates and experienced teachers. A Massachusetts court said in 1936 that "Final power . . . is vested in the school committee" (73). A Louisiana court expressed the same thought in 1946: "School boards have almost plenary power and authority in school matters and educational affairs" (74).

The plenary powers of school boards in most states, however, are usually subordinated to some extent to agencies of general government in final decisions on school budgets and taxes (75). If the quality of education is questioned on grounds of lack of financial support, the ultimate source of blame is usually the state legislature. Numerous citations from state constitutions throughout this chapter assign the duty of providing schools to the legislature. Case law also shows that the courts interpret broadly the legislative duty to act. Legislatures possess plenary powers in providing public education for their citizens. A Kentucky court held in 1874 that—

> The power to establish and maintain systems of common schools, to raise money for that purpose by taxation, and to govern, control, and regulate such schools when established is one of the powers not delegated to the United States by the federal Constitution, or prohibited by it to the States, but is reserved to the states respectively or to the people (76).

A South Dakota court held in 1931 that the people, through the Legislature and the Constitution, have the right to control and prescribe the limits to which they will go in supplying education at public expense (77). Changes have been made in the laws and are being made; if the quality of education is low because agencies of general government, such as county boards of supervisors or town or city councils, exercise power to reduce school board budgets, the Legislature is always in a position to provide fiscal independence for the school board.

Competition Among Organizations

Throughout most of this century, most teachers joined "professional" groups at the state and local level affiliated with the National Education Association (NEA). Like the Norwalk group, splinter associations existed, but few extended beyond local jurisdictions. In 1960, New York City had nearly 100 splinter associations separated by grade, race, religion, borough, and even by college of graduation. One group with about 3,000 of the 33,000 employees was the New York Teachers Guild, with a charter from the powerful American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO). By successful mergers and the infusion of national funds, the AFL-CIO affiliate, the United Federation of Teachers, with 5,000 members, became a predominant force in the 1961 election to determine the bargaining agent for teachers in New York City. When negotiations broke down, a one-day strike caused the mayor and governor to intervene. The tremendous publicity and results of the union in New York City and in some other cities have led to increases in the national membership of the American Federation of Teachers to about 150,000 in 1968.

Since 1961, NEA has moved to approve contract agreements through professional negotiations, and by 1968 had more than 1 million members. Its goals for teacher salaries and working conditions are almost indistinguishable from those of the rival AFT.

Teacher organizations throughout the nation have gained new strength from (a) the national labor movement in this century, (b) the current NEA-AFT rivalry, and (c) statutes in about a third of the states authorizing negotiations. The 1968 agreement between the United Federation of Teachers in New York City and the Board of Education is lengthy and contains 21 articles of agreement and an appendix for salary schedules. The preamble is entitled "Program for Educational Excellence." Wages and hours are included among the articles of agreement; moreover, Article IV, on working conditions, has 22 detailed subsections. One subsection establishes limits on the number of pupils in a class. Article XVII recognizes the importance of experimentation with new methods and contains the promises of each group to facilitate experiments. The Milwaukee agreement engineered with the assistance of personnel from the NEA is equally as formidable and includes a great increase in teaching aides to relieve class loads and eliminate administrative inefficiencies.

Further experience with the enabling statutes will provide guidelines for future agreements and amendments. The laws in most states place the state educational agencies on the sidelines. This may be temporary as more educational working conditions find their way into agreements along with salaries and other items. Dual authority has led to some minor confusion among state agencies for labor relations and education. Fortunately, Congress has prohibited federal intervention in labor relations, except in cases involving interstate commerce. Future legislative reactions and amendments may be more important than initial action in this complex area of education and labor as efforts are made to improve educational laws, quality of teachers, and the educational programs available. Positive guidelines for future policy in labor negotiations tend to avoid the errors of the past. Each school system is unique and is thus far relatively free to prepare its own operational procedures within the legislative authority of the state.

Liability for Negligence in Public Education

Colonial America inherited and borrowed many rules of common law from England. One of the general rules of the common law of England was that "the King could do no wrong," nor could he be sued without his consent. At the turn of the century, common law immunity from negligence continued in force to the advantage of states and their political subdivisions. By 1968, however, considerable judicial legislative authority favoring public liability became evident among the states.

As applied to school districts, governmental immunity meant, for instance, that if a pupil in a chemistry class received permanent injuries because his teacher had carelessly mixed the wrong chemicals, the pupil could not recover damages from the school district to compensate for the legal wrong.

The Principle of Sovereign Immunity. Making a municipality immune to liability in tort under the rule of sovereign immunity was first enunciated in England in 1788 (78). As the rule became more widely accepted, many courts feared a multiplicity of suits and fraudulent claims, reasoning that municipalities would not have sufficient funds to carry out their normal governmental functions.

The common-law rule of municipal tort immunity was first adopted in the United States by Massachusetts in 1812 (79), and was followed almost without exception by all states until after 1900. Some state constitutions prohibit suits against the government; others permit suits under specific conditions or are silent on this matter.

A teacher or other governmental employee is personally liable for payment of damages and proven losses because of his personal acts of negligence, even when the governmental agency that employs him is immune. Negligent conduct is either—

> (a) An act which the actor as a reasonable man should recognize as involving an unreasonable risk of causing an invasion of an interest of another, or
>
> (b) A failure to do an act which is necessary for the protection or assistance of another and which the actor is under a duty to do (80).

During this century, the law for governmental liability has been gradually changing in the states. Beginning in 1922, it changed in New York for school districts; then Connecticut and California courts upset common-law precedent (81). In eight other states (Arizona, Florida, Illinois, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin), the courts have rejected common-law immunity and awarded damages to injured plaintiffs in suits against school districts. In 10 states, legislatures have enacted laws permitting school systems to be sued (82). In 1968, children and parents in 15 states had standing to sue, in addition to negligent individuals, the school districts by which they were employed. In addition, Pennsylvania and Minnesota permit limited court actions against governmental agencies for tort liability.

More than 20 states have opened the door to suits by permitting liability insurance for pupil transportation. The trend of current cases indicates that parents and injured children will no longer attack common-law precedent head on, but will be guided by legal counselors to sue school districts on the basis of "safe place" statutes or protection from attractive nuisance. The absolute rule of law that food must be unadulterated may destroy governmental immunity in school cafeterias. Individual staff members may be held liable for negligence; school administrators for the negligence of employees they should have known to be incompetent or dangerous; doctors and nurses for malpractice; and other agents of school districts by new and ingenious legal approaches.

In the late 1960's, the law of tort liability is in a state of transition. The old rule that every individual, including school employees, is liable for his personal negligence may be supplemented or modified by "save harmless" clauses intended to hold the school district liable when negligence by school employees causes injury to innocent schoolchildren. Courts have found ways to interpret "save harmless" laws as imposing liability either directly (83) or indirectly (84) on the school board.

ADMINISTRATIVE SERVICES

This section illustrates the place of the law in provision and operation of selected administrative services among the many that are necessary for the support of effective public education of broad scope for many millions of pupils. Public financing undergirds all the activities of schools, but the raising and use of tax funds is primarily administrative in nature. It is dealt with at the end of this section to give priority to services directly affecting pupils rather than a general administrative service. Other general services, such as the provision of school facilities, are dealt with elsewhere in connection with the illustration of particular legal generalizations, although they would also be relevant here. Other pupil services, such as health, mental health, school social work, and guidance, produce legal situations of their own but cannot be covered in detail in this chapter.

Compulsory Attendance Legislation

In 1900, the education of the average person was 5.25 years, and the average number of days each person attended school annually was fewer than 100 (85). By 1965, the average person attended school for 11.8 years, and the average number of days each person attended school each year was 163 (86). The constitutions and laws of the states provide the legal framework under which this phenomenal growth has taken place.

Colonial Massachusetts in 1642 introduced the first compulsory school law when it passed the "old deluder" law requiring towns with more than 50 persons to provide a school. As a part of the movement for free public education, Massachusetts also enacted the first law for compulsory attendance of all children in 1852.

An early survey by the U.S. commissioner of education revealed that the laws were inadequately enforced in 1888 because of understaffed departments of education, meager legislative appropriations, inadequate school facilities, and imprecisely drafted laws which failed to provide penalties (87). By 1900, school officials reported 35 states with compulsory attendance laws (88), but at the turn of the century, the State Supreme Court of Washington ruled that the state lacked the statutory authority to penalize persons violating the attendance law (89).

By 1918, all states had enacted compulsory attendance laws. Mississippi, the last state to enact a law, joined several other states, however, to remove laws enforcing compulsory attendance in 1955, following the decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools. In Virginia, the reaction was to place the enforcement of attendance at the option of local governments. All these states had reenacted compulsory attendance laws by 1968.

Most state courts upheld compulsory attendance laws. In State v. Bailey (90), a leading decision of the Indiana Supreme Court in 1901 upheld the power of the state to compel attendance in school and rejected the constitutional argument that such laws invaded the natural rights of a parent to have sole custody and control of his child's education. The Court held that "One of the most important natural duties of the parent is his obligation to educate his child, and this duty he owes not only to the child, but to the Commonwealth." The Court relied on the constitutional guarantee of education when it insisted that no parent could deprive his child of the advantages "of the enlightened and comprehensive system of education enjoined by the Constitution of this State."

The courts have in this century clarified some of the laws enforcing compulsory attendance. For example, the goal is to have the child educated, but not necessarily in any particular type of school. A state cannot require a parent to send his child to a public school because this violates a constitutional right and liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing of children (91). The parental right to control the education of their children outside the public schools, however, is limited to education of minimum quality required by the state for all children. Thus, the state may require that private schools must provide a properly qualified teacher and adequate school facilities, without which children attending private school may not be complying with attendance laws (92). Legislation may permit a parent to teach his child provided that the parent meets state requirements for certification as a teacher (93).

In the past decade, a number of cases on social and educational issues related to compulsory attendance in connection with civil rights have reached the courts. Decisions from federal courts in different geographical locations, however, are not always consistent. A Virginia court held in 1957 that a Negro parent could not be prosecuted for refusing to send his child to an inferior segregated school (94). Yet in New Jersey in 1965, a parent could not defeat an action by the state to correct a violation of the compulsory attendance law when a child was assigned to a racially segregated school (95).

In 1965, school attendance was required in most states for ages 7 to 16; but in Ohio and Utah the range was from 6 to 18, which almost assures 12 years of schooling (96). Labor leaders led in supporting enforcement of the early compulsory attendance laws, and such enforcement is closely related to enforcement of child labor laws. The schools often have been authorized to issue work permits when the welfare of pupils in the upper ranges of the compulsory attendance ages appear to make exceptions desirable. Child labor laws and the Fair Labor Standards Act of the federal government provide the necessary concomitant laws to prevent or restrict employment of children of compulsory school age.

Present state laws are precisely drafted and include many of the necessary provisions for effective leadership and enforcement of attendance by local and state educational agencies, as inclusion of the following topics illustrates (97):

1. Compulsory age span
2. Permissive admission age
3. Minimum required school term
4. Minimum attendance required
5. Exemptions from attendance
6. Provisions for handicapped
7. Appointment of state attendance officers
8. Duties of state attendance officers
9. Appointment of local attendance officers
10. Duties of local attendance officers
11. Identifying truants

12. Adjudications procedures
13. Penalties
14. Age for work permits
15. Minimal education for permits
16. Continuation or part-time attendance
17. School census procedures
18. Census for handicapped

State departments of education exercise leadership in the enforcement of attendance laws which are binding upon parents as well as educational authorities at the local level. The combination of effective laws, increased funding, and improvements in educational quality have been a major factor in the phenomenal development of secondary education in this century. The percentage of youths of ages 14 to 17 years attending school has increased from 11 percent in 1900 to 90 percent in 1968.

Transportation Services

About 17 million children were transported to and from school in 1968, an increase of 16 million since 1925, when most pupil transportation involved small rural schools. With the improvement of highways and motor vehicles by 1968, transportation is largely to consolidated schools. Safety of pupils on streets and highways is a major factor in the transportation to school of 40 percent of all elementary and secondary pupils. No state constitution specifically refers to transportation; consequently, state action is primarily the responsibility of state legislatures.

Transportation was not always thought of as a necessarily implied function of the legislature. In 1907, an Indiana parent found he could not compel the school board to furnish educational facilities for his son or to transport him to a school (98). In 1910, an Illinois court ruled that—

> Issuing of orders for wagons and the hauling of children and paying them out of the money in the building fund was a misapplication of the moneys in the funds. . . . The officers of the school district do not have unlimited power. . . . The directors have only powers which are expressly granted them and such implied powers as are necessary to carry into effect the express powers delegated to them (99).

In the earliest cases, statutes in Arkansas (100) and Iowa (101) were upheld which gave powers to a consolidated district to transport children of the district. In 1930, a Kansas case broke with tradition and allowed a local board of education without specific legislative authority the right to transport a Negro pupil under an act creating new districts for community high schools (102). Robert R. Hamilton, in 1938, classified state statutes on pupil transportation into five distinguishing types: those which—

1. Permit transportation by local boards of education
2. Permit transportation in consolidated districts only
3. Mandate transportation in some districts and permit it in others
4. Mandate transportation for some districts with no provision for others
5. Permit transportation in all districts when it is more economical to transport pupils than maintain schools near their homes (103).

Although express authorization is generally necessary before school authorities may provide transportation, the power may be implied from general authority for compulsory attendance (104). In an 1894 case, however, the Illinois court held that no such authority to transport pupils could be implied (105).

Financial support of pupil transportation was prompted by the popular will and implemented through state and local educational leadership. School transportation has come to be an indispensible service for universal quality education and, in many instances, an absolute necessity for the safety of children under machine-age conditions of highway traffic.

The legal basis for present activities in pupil transportation originates from specific statutory authorizations that specific services be provided to local administrative units. A summary of services most frequently mentioned in the state legislative enactments provides an appropriate checklist for future legislation. State departments are required—

1. To administer state funds for transportation
2. To establish operating rules and regulations
3. To advise or consult with local educational agencies
4. To prescribe records and reporting forms
5. To publish and enforce standards for buses and drivers
6. To require local educational agencies to provide transportation
7. To train bus drivers
8. To coordinate inspection of school buses with other state agencies
9. To act as an administrative board of appeals
10. To collect and disseminate information on pupil transportation (106).

State departments of education vary in assigning personnel to work on pupil transportation from one person working part-time to more than 40 persons (107). As this service has broadened, however, authorizations have tended to be inferred from general statutory provisions or to be limited only by rules and regulations of state and local educational authorities. When no specific statutory authority is evident, many state departments of education assume responsibilities and exercise leadership or discretion through the authorizations implied by statutory allocations of funds and statutory responsibility for approval of reports from local educational agencies.

Another type of legal authority comes from the extremely general authorization "to make rules and regulations necessary for the operation of public schools." Delaware exercises authority from this type of general authorization because pupil transportation to schools is necessary in present land-use patterns and public housing developments.

Public Transportation to Nonpublic Schools. The courts have influenced pupil transportation by determining the legal and constitutional validity of program authorizations by legislatures, state departments of education, and local educational agencies. Such questions arise most frequently in furnishing transportation to children attending nonpublic schools.

In 1938, a New York court invalidated a transportation statute which violated a constitutional restriction against direct or indirect aid to sectarian education (108). Subsequently, the Legislature adopted a statute that in effect overruled the decision of the court, as follows:

> Sec. 3635. Transporation - 1. Sufficient transportation facilities . . . shall be provided by the school district for all the children residing within the school district to and from the school they legally attend.

This statute was enforced in a number of opinions by the commissioner of education in New York, and his opinions were upheld repeatedly by the courts of New York beginning with the first appeal in 1951 (109).

In 1947, a major decision of the U.S. Supreme Court held that a plan for payment of public bus fares for transporting children to a parochial school when a district did not maintain its own secondary school was not in violation of the First Amendment of the Constitution (110). The First Amendment states that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. . . ." Many state constitutional provisions, however, impose absolute limitations on the use of public funds for children other than those attending public schools. Typical of the states with absolute restrictions, the Missouri Constitution provides—

> That no money shall ever be taken from the public treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect or denomination of religion . . . and that no preference shall be given to nor any discrimination made against any church,

> sect or creed of religious faith or worship (111).

In Delaware, money for the transportation of pupils to free schools supported by any church or religious society was held unconstitutional even though no funds were given directly to any school (112). A Wisconsin court ruled in 1946 that a state statute authorizing transportation costs for schoolchildren did not permit payments for transportation to parochial school pupils (113).

On the other hand, different interpretations have been made by courts under other constitutions. In Massachusetts, a local school committee (board) is bound by statute to provide the same privileges of transportation to pupils in private schools as the committee provides to pupils attending public schools (114).

A survey of the departments of education indicates that 7 states have judicial decisions upholding statutes which permit or require the transportation of children attending nonpublic schools, and that in about the same number of states the courts have prohibited such transportation. Altogether, approximately 20 states permit or require transportation of children attending parochial schools, and approximately the same number prohibit it. A new federal law (P.L. 89-10) confuses the issue by authorizing transportation services for nonpublic school children that quite often violate state laws.

In summary, leadership in states provides remarkably safe, efficient, and economical transportation for children attending schools. State departments provide publications, information, supervision, and regulations to encourage the necessary improvements. Other agencies of the state governments cooperate, such as the departments of motor vehicles in the licensing and inspection processes and the state highway police in traffic safety.

School Food Services

In 1894, Boston pioneered the school lunch program without express statutory authority. As a general rule of law, a local educational agency may use or authorize the use of a school building for any purpose not inconsistent with the conduct of operating a school. At the turn of the century, penny lunches were the vogue in the poorest schools, while the majority of students went home for lunch. Volunteers and funds from the parent-teacher associations helped to provide soup and cocoa in the early part of this century. A number of state courts have generally held that parent-teacher associations could operate a nonprofit school lunch program in school buildings.

Philadelphia (1909) and New York (1910) went one step further and emphasized adequate nutrition for pupils. In 1920, there were efforts to teach children to drink milk and to eat a balanced lunch, but in practice lunches provided only the selection of foods that children would purchase. Coke, candy, cookies, and hot dogs were the fashion.

The Depression and a surplus of agricultural products caused the Congress to enact legislation which gave impetus to a vigorous school lunch program. In the school year of 1934-35, thirty-nine states received federal emergency relief for school lunches. By World War II, the benefits of the program were well accepted: attendance improved, children became more alert, better nutrition was achieved, and the organized lunch period provided new opportunities for instruction of socially retarded children.

On June 4, 1946, the President signed Public Law 79-396 to inaugurate the National School Lunch Act—

> . . . to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious, agricultural commodities and other foods (115).

State statutes are almost identical to federal statutes for school lunch programs, with the exception of financial responsibilities. Some states supplemented the federal funds available to schools, but for the most part matching dollars from the states came from the contributions of children. After 1955, every $1 of federal funds was matched by $3 or more from the state and local educational agencies or the children who received the lunches.

State leadership provides assistance with menu planning, purchasing, suggestions for supplementing lunches with federal surplus commodities, in-service schools for cooks and bakers, and assistance with the design of new kitchens and cafeterias. State laws provide that local tax funds may be used to construct kitchens and cafeterias in schools. For many school projects, state funds are also authorized by legislation to support lunch programs, provided that such facilities shall not be used for profit (116). The U.S. Department of Agriculture, which administers the federal funds and commodities through the state education agencies, has for many years had a regulation that no federal funds or commodities could be used for other than nonprofit purposes.

By 1968, the various school food programs account for annual expenditures of more than a billion dollars for pupils in public and nonpublic schools. About 35 million public school students (80 percent) had access to 72,000 school cafeterias. About 4 million nonpublic school students (68 percent) were also able to participate in the programs.

Since the beginning of federal financing and commodity distribution—in many cases with the assistance of state aid and services from state departments of education—school lunch programs have been provided for children in nonpublic schools without regard to the crucial church-state issue which prohibits the use of public funds for the support or establishment of religious schools. There seems to be a general acceptance of federal or state school lunch programs in a legal sense as health and welfare programs under the Welfare Clause of the Constitution.

Educational Financing

Our national economy depends upon capital investment and current operating expenditures to attract competent persons to staff a variety of sophisticated businesses, industries, and governmental services. Our system of education is inextricably interacting with other areas of the national economy, of which it is a part. This extensive and expensive service by adults, with its short-term benefits for children, youth, and adults and long-term benefits to the entire society, is supported principally by public funds.

At the turn of the century, 432,000 teachers taught 16 million students in public elementary and secondary schools. These educational services cost $188 million or about $12 a pupil for one year. An additional $35 million was expended for buildings. This was about twice the number of children in school 25 years earlier and showed an increased investment by state and local governments of 300 percent over 1875.

State legislatures provided for the support of education in 1900 principally by permissive statutes to collect local taxes on real property. Paul Mort called this the "Prime Fiscal Decision" of state legislatures. Alabama and a number of other states also provided that all poll taxes collected must be expended for the support of schools. Other minor local funds raised by taxation were also authorized for the support of the schools, so that taxes levied on real estate at the local level produced substantial revenue for local school support (117).

The New York school law is typical among those that authorized the collection of taxes for schools:

> There shall be raised by tax in each year upon the real and personal estate of each county within the State such sum as the legislature shall annually determine necessary for the support of common schools in the State (118).

Limitations on the amount of taxes were either spelled out in such a way as to limit the amounts indirectly, as in California and New York, or were made specific, as provided for in the Arkansas Constitution:

> The general assembly shall provide by general laws for the support of common schools by taxes which shall never exceed in one year on the dollar on the taxable property, and a per capita tax of $1 on every male inhabitant of the State over 21; provided it may authorize school districts to levy a tax not to exceed 5 mills on the dollar in any one year for school expenses (119).

California specifically authorized an *ad valorem* tax of 1½¢ upon every $100 of taxable property to support high schools. In the early part of this century, the amount of money needed to make education viable was not large, and property taxes could sustain the limited educational opportunities offered in the enterprise.

In 1900, the county superintendent in California was authorized to calculate an amount to equal $500 per teacher based on 70 school census children, but the Constitution provided that if $500 per teacher did not raise $6 per pupil that a minimum amount of $6 for each census child in the county must nevertheless be raised (120).

Although the New York Legislature permitted local taxes for schools without specifying a limit, textbooks and supplies could not exceed $25 in any one year (121). In the early 1920's New York experimented with the equalization formula developed by Professors George Strayer and Robert Haig which apportioned state funds to local school districts on the basis of wealth. The richer districts received less state support than the poorer districts. Even the richest and most populous state felt the inadequacy of the property tax for education.

An Office of Education study published in 1959 showed that although about three of every four states retained constitutional or statutory limits on the tax rates for supporting education at the local level, capital indebtedness for new school construction was limited in nearly every state. The limitations often became obsolete as education became more widespread and complex, especially when the limitations were embalmed in constitutions impracticable to amend. The situation became so serious in some states that various special state building authorities operating outside the debt limits were resorted to in statewide financial emergencies. These cost the state taxpayers higher rates of interest because their bonds did not carry the full faith and credit responsibility of the state (122).

Under a constitutional provision permitting a certain rate of taxation in city or town districts and a lower rate in "other districts," a consolidated school district was not permitted in 1933 by a Missouri court to exceed the lower rate (123). In a later case, this court held that the word "town" as used in the constitutional provision that limited the rate of tax that could be levied on property of school districts formed of cities and towns applied to both incorporated and unincorporated towns (124).

From 1923 to 1965, Professor Mort and others conducted research to establish quite clearly the fact that quality schools are more expensive to operate. Schools, like other institutions, receive about what they pay for. If school districts were to attract teachers of better quality, more money was required to attract the better college graduates into education. Since about 1950, it has become increasingly clear that missionary zeal alone could no longer fulfill the demands for teachers. Teaching salaries have had to become competitive with business and other professional opportunities. By 1968, nearly 2 million teachers were needed to service an expanding public school population of 44 million children.

State financial systems vary from state to state. Although the relative population of local districts has no consistent relationship to their fiscal ability, 20 states classify their districts and distribute some state funds on that basis.

In New York, three rules apply on tax limitations in 1968. There is currently a constitutional tax limit on real estate for all purposes, including education. In school districts which are coterminous with municipalities below 125,000, this limit may be increased to 2 percent of the average full valuation by approval of 60 percent of the voters. The cities above 125,000 population are fiscally dependent upon the municipalities for school support. No constitutional tax limit applies other than voter approval to the third group of school districts which are not coterminous with municipalities; that is, they provide educational services for children from several municipalities or unincorporated areas (125).

New York provides limits for indebtedness under a special local finance law when the Constitution does not apply to school districts. For municipalities with less than 125,000 population, statutes limit school districts to 5 percent of the fully assessed valuation, while noncoterminous districts may assume debts up to 10 percent of fully assessed valuation. This limit may be exceeded by approval of 60 percent of the voters and consent of the Board of Regents and state controller (126).

Case decisions reinforce constitutional and statutory provisions that education is a state responsibility, primarily funded by legislative authority to collect taxes locally. The Colorado Legislature may delegate its power by levying school taxes; but the court held that when it does, the collected funds remain state funds because the financial maintenance of the public schools of the state is the carrying out of a state rather than a local or municipal purpose (127).

School funds, broadly speaking, are state property (128). School funds in possession of a county treasurer also belong to the state (129). Within the statutory provisions, many local school districts have exerted exceptional leadership to provide the quality education programs that the taxpayers are willing to buy. The number of districts that can vote the desired level of support for educational services, however, is restricted by the constitutional and statutory tax and debt limits of the states.

A review of the constitutions and statutes of the states in 1968 reveals a variety of provisions relating to schools. In 12 states, there appear to be no constitutional or statutory limitations on the tax levies for current operating educational purposes. Three additional states have no constitutional limit on school tax levies (Mississippi, Kentucky, North Carolina). Maine and Utah require a minimal tax effort for education, and states with financial programs based upon a foundation program for every child and equalized support of education among school districts have also required tax minimums. Five states provide minimal and maximal levels of support for education (Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, and Missouri). Table 4 shows the number of states and source of legal authority for financing current operating services and capital indebtedness.

Table 4—NUMBER OF STATE AND LOCAL FINANCIAL AUTHORITIES FOR CURRENT OPERATING SERVICES AND CAPITAL INDEBTEDNESS, 1968

Type of educational service	No limit	Limitations	
		By constitution	By statute
Current operating expenditures	12	17	21
Capital indebtedness	3	23	24

NOTE:
Laws are not uniform for all districts in all states.

Only three states allow unlimited capital indebtedness. More states (23 states) have protected taxpayers by constitutional restrictions on their own extravagance and willingness to tax for capital indebtedness than for current operating services (17 states). The Michigan Constitution is unique in that it specifies no limitation on taxes to repay loans, although statutory limits are imposed for gross debt. Leadership by Michigan is evident in a statute which provides that when the payment of interest and principal of a school district exceeds 7 mills, the state shall lend the amount in excess (130).

Experience throughout the nation indicates that when the cost of indebtedness exceeds 15 percent of current operating expenditures, the local tax structure becomes overburdened, operating revenues shrink, and educational quality tends to decline. To prevent a high local tax rate for capital indebtedness, Rhode Island increases the regular reimbursement for local communities to 75 percent of all commitments above the equalized reimbursement (131).

Many states do not seem to recognize state financing of capital outlay as an important state responsibility. This may be because pressures on state legislators for state financing are stronger and more directly in favor of state aid for teachers salaries and other current operating expenses than for large state commitments for construction of educational facilities.

References to rehabilitation or modernization of facilities are noticeably absent in constitutions or statutes. Minnesota, however, applies a unique statute to districts exceeding specified tax limits: "At least $3.50 per capita shall be set aside for rehabilitation, reconstruction, or modernization of school buildings" (132).

Twenty-nine states authorize procedures for exceeding tax limits for current expenditures, while 12 states impose no maximal taxes for these purposes. Only about one-quarter of the states may exceed debt limitations on capital indebtedness under special circumstances or have no such limitations.

The states impose tax and debt limitations on local districts to protect local taxpayers from themselves. When these are in state constitutions, they usually become antiquated before they can be modernized through constitutional amendments. When the limitations are set by legislation, they remain politically difficult to change and can rarely be equitable for both wealthy and poor districts. Even wealthy new communities have difficulty in meeting the initial outlays for sewers, roads, water, and schools, while older communities with large enrollments and small local tax resources are prevented from replacing antiquated and overcrowded school facilities.

States without constitutional and statutory limitations on taxes are more realistic. They permit local districts to evaluate their needs and to establish their tax rates by popular vote.

Legislative leadership in discovering new sources of revenues at the state level has been challenged in most states. The federal government has preempted the graduated income tax field by withholdings from earnings at the source, while states have been relatively slow to levy additional taxes on incomes. States have tried a variety of taxes to keep pace with the demands for state and local public services—on sales, property, gasoline, cigarettes, toll roads, utilities, and finally on income—but competition among the states and local communities for acquisition, retention, and expansion of industrial plants has prevented the substantial increases in tax rates often needed to meet their public responsibilities. Even the richer states have failed to face the issues squarely and to acquire realistic state tax revenues rather than scramble for an inadequate share of benefits from piecemeal federal programs. Such financial problems are allowed to develop and remain to be solved through constitutions and laws. Solutions will have to be found and probably will involve either increased state sharing of income tax sources or provisions for return of federally collected funds to the states for state and local purposes as defined by state and local agencies.

Education has been considered a necessary tax drain by conservative legislators for a century, rather than as an investment. State and local governments need a rationale that can justify abandonment of the benevolent attitude toward education and establish it as a desirable investment. Research by Schultz (133), Denison (134), and Becker (135) has gone far to establish the contribution of education as a major factor in the otherwise unexplained "residual" accelerator of gross national wealth.

The research shows education could account for 20 to 30 percent of the gross economic wealth of the nation. Realistic taxing authorities and citizens, once they become fully aware of this, can be relied upon to support education as required by the national economy and the concomitant social and personal living under modern conditions.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF STATE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES FOR LEGAL CHANGES AFFECTING EDUCATION

Too often in this century, state boards of education and chief state school officers have played relatively passive roles in improving the legal structure within which public education must operate. These state officers have not fully used the opportunities that have been afforded in the fairly detailed reports which nearly every state requires them to present either annually or biennially to the governor, the legislature, the public, or to more than one of these. Such reports contain an accounting for and evaluation of the progress and needs of education. They also provide the factual foundation to support requests for needed amendments and new legislation affecting education, including constitutional amendments.

State education agencies typically employ legal counsel or maintain direct access to such personnel elsewhere in the state government in dealing with the legislative process. With this and other assistance, the agency officials work with the governor and the legislature on education legislation and, when appropriate, submit legislative proposals of their own for legislative consideration. It was not uncommon in 1968 for a department of education to file as many as 25 bills or amendments to statutes for legislative hearings.

In leading states, the chief state school officer and his advisers follow the legislative process from day to day so that they may advise on all important proposals affecting education that may be in preparation for possible consideration by committees of the legislature. Testifying before legislative committees is an important duty of the chief state school officer or his designated representative, but this is no substitute for timely and diligent participation in the policy determinations and drafting of legislative proposals before public hearings are held.

A survey of the legislative procedures employed by the states in 1967 revealed a variety of practices, but usually the chief state school officer or one experienced administrator within the department was available for coordinating the legislative effort. Legislators in many states increasingly utilize their state agencies for guidance and assistance with enactments for educational legislation. Exhibit 1 represents a compilation of outstanding legislative practices followed in the states.

Policies, Rules, and Regulations

In addition to constitutional mandates and statutes, more and more states are preparing policy statements or guidelines for assistance in meeting various educational responsibilities not explicitly spelled out in laws or mandatory regulations. Throughout this century, most legislatures have delegated duties without explicit procedures. Practically every state education agency now has laws to follow in establishing administrative procedures when preparing rules and regulations to implement duties imposed by statute.

Authorized procedures for administrative agencies of the state generally require notice, hearings, and filing with the secretary of state or attorney general before rules and regulations become effective. Rules and regulations are sometimes required in statutes and have the effect of law when they are reasonable and not in conflict with the constitution or statutes in force.

Policies have less force than rules and regulations, and boards of education are not required to follow the administrative procedures act to establish policies for local and state educational agencies. Policies are general statements easily enacted by boards for providing continuity in the op-

Exhibit 1—A COMPILATION OF LEGISLATIVE SERVICES PROVIDED BY STATE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES (SEA)

1. Coordinate special legislative requests to and responses from the SEA for general educational information. The person who coordinates this work is authorized to represent the SEA, respected by the legislature, knowledgeable about education and school laws of the state, and under direct supervision of the chief state school officer or the deputy. One person or one office coordinates initial requests. High priority staff assistance is arranged.
2. Survey, identify, and develop new legislation to meet objectives of education in the state.
3. Analyze all legislative proposals, prepare reports to interested educational groups, and evaluate reactions.
4. Communicate with, coordinate, and formally and informally serve on legislative advisory groups, such as—
   a. Standing legislative committees or administrative councils within the state educational agency
   b. State and local educational organizations
   c. Other educational groups of school board members, administrators, principals, teachers, parents, and citizen groups.
5. Notify and involve divisions within the SEA with primary interests in legislative hearings. Careful selection for attending hearings is necessary, because not all division directors can testify appropriately before committees.
6. Recommend legislative policies to the administrative council, state board of education, or chief state school officer.
7. Prepare reports and correspondence to legislators and the state financial director on proposed legislation.
8. Test and report the effects of proposed changes.
9. Publish a schedule of legislative hearings on education when announced.
10. Prepare reliable supporting data and testimony for presenting policies of the state board of education without lobbying, which is illegal in some states.
11. Obtain, coordinate, plan, or analyze and comment upon ideas for legislation.
12. Consult informally and formally with legislators preparing legislation for education.
13. Distribute proposed bills to educational organizations and groups.
14. Provide speakers for clubs and groups interested in new legislation.
15. Draft legislation or work with the legislative service for drafting bills.
16. Monitor legislative hearings of educational concern.
17. Summarize and call attention to special points from legislative hearings.
18. Disseminate highlights of testimony and progress of bills as quickly as possible by special notices, through periodicals, and through Monday morning summary meetings.
19. Distribute legislative enactments.
20. Publish general educational laws, legal decisions, annotations, and annual supplements. A loose-leaf system eliminates publication lags. Use of the official code numbers of the legislature avoids two numbering systems which confuse users.
21. Prepare, interpret, and enforce rules and regulations on educational laws for the state.
22. Study field applications for funds to recommend revisions and redrafting of statutes for clarity.
23. Notify legislators of grants to school districts or to other recipients located in each legislative district.
24. Index, maintain, and control all legislative files and books in the central educational agency.

NOTE:

The states which contributed to this report are Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, New Mexico, and West Virginia.

eration of the agency, disseminating information on the positions of the board toward educational matters, and guiding internal operations of the department. Policies are primarily the concern of the board of education and provide important guidance to the staff for handling regulatory and service responsibilities.

Legislation sometimes contains assignments of responsibilities to the board of education and at other times requires the chief state school officer to undertake the primary responsibility for certification, approval, or formulation of procedures for operational duties. The present practice of dividing responsibilities between the chief state school officer and the board of education may be confusing to both unless the legislation is precise.

A detailed study of 11 states in 1967 indicated that some state educational agencies need further development in their rule-making procedures and in their statements of policies of operation. The study listed a total of 148 potentially important responsibilities in a complete state system of education that should be assigned by constitution or statute. Actually, boards of education in the 11 states in the survey were assigned to act on only 25 percent of the items of responsibility. Chief state school officers were delegated responsibility for 13 percent of the items, and in 22 percent of the items the boards and the chiefs were assigned shared responsibilities. State legislatures have not delegated clear administrative responsibility for 40 percent of the potentially important educational functions listed (136). Some omissions have been inadvertent, while others reflect a desire for flexibility rather than specificity.

For the same 10 major areas (137) listed in Table 5, Ohio lists 277 potential items of policy (138). An analysis of the 11 states in the survey showed that only 52 percent of the potential policies reported were recognized as in use by the state educational agencies. The least used areas among the states are responsibilities for financial programs (31 percent), other agencies and institutions (41 percent), federal assistance programs (44 percent), and school district organization (46 percent). The strongest areas are certification of professional employees (68 percent) and functions of the state educational agency (62 percent).

Table 5—NUMBER OF POTENTIAL LEGISLATIVE ASSIGNMENTS OF SELECTED EDUCATIONAL RESPONSIBILITIES AND PERCENT ACTUALLY ASSIGNED

Major areas	Potential number of items	Percent assigned	Major areas	Potential number of items	Percent assigned
1. General functions of central educational agency	41	70	5. School district organization	10	54
2. Foundation and finance programs	19	54	6. School buildings and sites	11	40
3. Certification of professional employees	10	70	7. Federal assistance programs	17	79
4. School standards and curriculum	17	52	8. Transportation of pupils	5	74
			9. Higher education	9	34
			10. Other educational agencies and institutions	9	47
				148	60

Source:

Dean Schweickhard, ed., *The Role and Policy Making Activities of State Boards of Education,* report on a special project conducted with federal funds under Title V of P.L. 89-10, sec. 505 (St. Paul: Minnesota Education Department, 1967), p. 32.

There is considerable variance in content and scope of coverage among the policies adopted by the states. Within the limits of constitutional and statutory mandates, states could exchange information for the improvement of legal rules and policy-making activities for education. To avoid a static set of policies, rules, or regulations, position papers may be encouraged to clarify them, to distinguish subtleties, or to challenge the reasonableness of the board or department with primary focus on the education of the child.

Legal Services

Legal services from departments of education vary from state to state. Throughout this century, local communities often learned about new laws incidentally—sometimes from the press or mass media; other times from meetings, observing neighboring districts, or directly from the central education agency. Each professional member of the department of education is familiar with the laws and operations pertaining to his specialty. He is capable of providing information and clarifications of educational programs and the statutes upon which they are based to local officials and citizens. Nearly every state has at least one person who is sufficiently acquainted with all important legislation to explain and interpret the statutes and regulations affecting intergovernmental educational programs.

At the beginning of the century, departments of education were without legally trained counselors. New York has had a legal unit in its State Education Department for more than half a century and had eight staff attorneys in 1968. Only a dozen states have legally trained counselors in their departments of education. The remaining states must use staff members from the office of the attorney general for legal services and special opinions. New York uses the office of the attorney general for opinions only in rare cases, but in most states (even those with legal counselors in the departments of education), this office is responsible for research and reports involving major issues, unclear legislation, and all litigation. In New York and New Jersey, all cases arising in education are heard first for a finding of fact and issues of law by the state departments of education.

In New York, the commissioner of education hears every case, with a competent legal staff beside him to advise him when necessary on legal procedures. He acts as a finder of fact (jury) and a judge of the issues of law. Written opinions and rulings of the commissioner must be appealed to the Board of Regents of the University of the State of New York before courts in New York will accept a case, and in some instances the decision of the commissioner is made final by statute.

In New Jersey, the associate commissioner for controversies and disputes hears all disputes in the first instance and prepares opinions and rulings, sometimes in collaboration with the attorney general, before presenting his findings to the commissioner of education for final approval and determination. Although these two states have unusual judicial authority from their legislatures, the surprising difference is that in New Jersey hearings are conducted by former superintendents trained in the law for the most part on the job in the department. Interviews with attorneys practicing before the New Jersey Department of Education frankly reveal their satisfaction and further admit that they would not change these procedures or the superintendents for trained lawyers for any reason.

Most state departments have authority to conduct judicial hearings for retirement claims and cases and for revocation of professional certificates. Many state statutes also empower local boards of education to hold hearings in the first instance on dismissals of professional staff members. Courts in these states usually insist that the proper administrative procedures are followed and exhausted before they will accept a case on professional dismissal.

Services to local educational agencies, employees, and citizens concerning educational conflicts are important responsibilities that state departments of education should assume. These services can be provided by professional administrators in the departments of education, but a competent attorney also should be available. This legal counsel can clarify legal and administrative issues for staff members of the department, local officials, educational staff members, and citizens. A recent survey by the author of legal services and practices in departments of education provided the guidelines which are enumerated below in Exhibit 2.

Exhibit 2—LEGAL SERVICES PROVIDED FOR STATE EDUCATIONAL AGENCIES

1. Furnish basic information, interpretations, and advice or "legal opinions"* in connection with the laws for the operation and administration of education in the state and for federal laws. Services are available to—
   a. State board of education
   b. Chief state school officer
   c. Members of the state educational agency
   d. Other state agencies
   e. Local school administrators
   f. Local boards of education
   g. Local attorneys
   h. Educational groups
   i. Public at large.
2. Provide services for all judicial hearings which challenge or involve the operations or administration of education by the state educational agency. Services include—
   a. Testimony as an educational expert
   b. Policy making for court strategy
   c. Representing the state in litigation.
3. Hear or adjudicate proceedings for denial, suspension, or revoking licenses and complaints or cases on the operation and administration of educational laws brought to the chief state school officer. Analyze inquiries or issues as a basis for making recommendations or preparing advisory decisions.
4. Advise the chief state school officer and the state board of education in all hearings to assure procedural due process and fairness of rulings or to carry out legal requirements mandated by statute.
5. Conduct seminars or meetings concerning administrative services for implementing and continuing operation of educational programs.
6. Coordinate with the unit for public relations to disseminate information on the purposes and administration of education in the state.
7. Perform all liaison functions in connection with legal matters involving the state educational agency and the office of attorney general.
8. Review contracts where the state educational agency is a party.
9. Formulate and prescribe rules, procedures, and instructions for investigating, collecting evidence, reporting and processing all claims which originate in the state educational agency.
10. Maintain and manage all legal files and books in the state educational agency.
11. Assist in the development of policies and agreements for collective negotiations among boards of local educational agencies, chief local educational administrators, and employee representatives in education.
12. Coordinate relationships among other state educational agencies in regard to the legal aspects of their responsibilities to education in the state.

NOTE:

The states which contributed to this report are Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, New Mexico, and West Virginia.

* In some states, the chief state school officer, attorneys in the state educational agency, or the office of the attorney general furnish legal opinions.

FREEDOM OF RELIGION AND SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE IN EDUCATION

The relationships of public schools to institutions of religion are highly complex and under many circumstances remain undecided by the courts. Sectarian religion in the public schools and public funds in private and sectarian schools are the situations that have most often spawned constitutional issues. Federal and state control over private and sectarian schools using public funds may create other issues in the future. This and the following section deal with these situations.

The First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Constitution

The First Amendment to the Constitution as it applies to education is the principal focus of this topic. It is as follows:

> Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

At the turn of the century, the Supreme Court had not overruled the Permoli case of 1845 which held that the First Amendment applied only to Congress. At this time, the Constitution had no provisions for protecting the citizens of the respective states in their religious liberties, leaving these matters to the state constitutions and laws (139). The Fourteenth Amendment was added to the Constitution in 1868, but it was many decades later when the Supreme Court held that the First Amendment had been made a part of the Fourteenth by judicial construction (140).

Religion and education were residual powers left to the states under the Tenth Amendment, which became effective in 1791. Throughout much of the first 300 years of American history, education was closely connected with religious schools. In many communities, religious beliefs were inextricably interwoven with governmental affairs, schools, and homes. Religious intolerance in Colonial America was expressly established by law in every "state" except Rhode Island, and even there a Jew could not obtain naturalization.

> Ironically, the same groups that sought freedom from an established church in Europe had not learned religious tolerance for others, and proceeded to develop their own officially established churches in the American colonies. Thus the Congregational church was established by law in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, the Dutch Reformed Church in New York, and the Anglican Church in Maryland, Virginia, Georgia and the Carolinas. All groups were welcome in Rhode Island, which provided a notable exception. Pennsylvania and Delaware did not discriminate among Protestant denominations although there were some restrictions against Catholics (141).

Public tax-supported education had been mandated in towns of 50 or more households in Massachusetts by 1642, but it was not widely developed until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Dual use of facilities was common, and public funds were expended to support sectarian and private schools. Children commonly prayed, read, and heard verses from the Bible for morning exercises in school. Reading of the Bible was expressly prescribed by statute in 17 states and upheld in practice by courts in 13 states.

In 1875, President Grant expressed the public policy of the time in his famous address to the Army of Tennessee, in which he encouraged free schools and resolved that not one dollar should be appropriated to the support of any sectarian school. He wished to keep the church and state forever separated.

The famous Blaine Amendment to accomplish the President's intent passed the U.S. House of Representatives in 1876, but was lost by a single vote in the Senate. Sentiment for separation was strong in

Congress, and bills frequently included prohibitions against aid to sectarian schools. Territories applying for admission to the Union as states were required after 1875 to provide in their state constitutions for religious freedom and to prohibit the use of public funds to support sectarian education.

The Supreme Court changed the doctrine of the Permoli decision in 1940, when it declared unconstitutional a New Haven ordinance which restricted the distribution of religious literature. The Court ruled that the Fourteenth Amendment prohibited the state and its political subdivisions from depriving any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law and applied the provisions of the First Amendment as the legal standard to be observed under the Fourteenth Amendment:

> First, we hold that the statute, as construed and applied to the appellants, deprives them of their liberty without due process of law in contravention of the Fourteenth Amendment. The fundamental concept of liberty embodied in that Amendment embraces the liberties guaranteed by the First Amendment. The First Amendment declares that Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof. The Fourteenth Amendment has rendered the legislatures of the states as incompetent as Congress to enact such laws (142).

By 1968, every state guaranteed religious freedom in its constitution, and nearly every state prohibited the use of tax revenues for sectarian purposes. State constitutional prohibitions apply variously to "public money," "any tax revenue," "state money," or "school money," but only 17 states prohibit the use of state and local funds in supporting sectarian education. Another 16 states provide that no money shall be appropriated or drawn from the public treasury for sectarian education. Four states (Alabama, Delaware, Kentucky, and Massachusetts) refer to public "school" funds only and are less limiting on other public funds. Five states (Connecticut, Iowa, New Jersey, Rhode Island, and West Virginia) have restrictions applying to permanent school funds. Most states have several restrictions on the use of public funds for sectarian education. In addition to its prohibitions, only New Hampshire still retains a constitutional provision for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality. In all probability, it is now unconstitutional under the First and Fourteenth Amendments (143).

Rights of Parents

The state maintains no monopoly in education. Children are credited with complying with compulsory attendance laws when private schools offer subjects comparable to those in the public schools (144). The Supreme Court moved into the field of education in 1923 and has provided two leading decisions to protect the fundamental rights of parents to control the education of their children, subject, of course, to reasonable regulations imposed by the state. In the first case, a Nebraska law prohibited the teaching of any foreign language to a pupil who had not successfully passed the eighth grade. The Court commented that the Nebraska Legislature had interfered with the calling of modern language teachers, with the opportunities of pupils to acquire knowledge, and with the power of parents to control the education of their own, and declared the law unconstitutional (145).

Two years later, the Court prevented Oregon from enforcing a law, despite its public approval in a referendum, that required all parents to send their children from 8 to 16 years of age to public schools. The Society of Sisters and the Hill Military Academy challenged the law for taking property without due process of law. The Court stated:

> The inevitable practical result of enforcing the Act under consideration would be destruction of appellees primary schools. . . . The parties are engaged in a kind of undertaking not inherently harmful, but long regarded as useful and meritorious (146).

> Under the doctrine of *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390) we think it entirely plain that the Act of 1922 unreasonably interferes with the liberty of parents and guardians to direct the upbringing and education of children under their control. . . . The child is not the mere creature of the State (147).

Released Time

Throughout most of this century, state authorities have permitted local school officials to release public school children for religious instruction during school time. A California court commented in 1947 that released time—

> . . . is not new in the United States. Either by express statutory provisions, court decisions, rulings of the State Attorneys General, or opinions of state boards of education, or Chief State School Officers, forty states authorize the release of school pupils for weekly religious classes. And it is noteworthy that no appellate court of any state has held such programs unconstitutional (148).

Generally, state courts found that faith and morality were of utmost importance and necessity and approved released time, provided no public expenditures were used for religious purposes.

The first case to reach the Supreme Court provided released time at no additional expense for instructors through the voluntary association of the Champaign (Illinois) Council on Religious Education, but the classes were conducted in regular public schoolrooms. The Court ruled the Champaign program was a violation of the First Amendment in an 8 to 1 decision:

> The operation of the state's compulsory education system thus assists and is integrated with the program of religious instruction. . . . This is beyond all question a utilization of the tax-established and tax-supported public school system to aid religious groups to spread their faith. And it falls squarely under the ban of the First Amendment [made applicable to the states by the Fourteenth] as we interpreted it in *Everson v. Board of Education* (149).

Four years later, in a 6 to 3 decision, the Court approved a released time program in New York which permitted the children to leave a public school to attend religious centers upon written request of parents, even though teachers were used to check attendance and to assure that the children complied with the requests of their parents. The Supreme Court distinguished the permitted practices in these words and exemplified the difficulty in separating church and state in our society:

> The First Amendment does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of church and state. . . . Otherwise the state and religion would be alien to each other—hostile, suspicious, and even unfriendly. . . . Municipalities would not be permitted to render police and fire protection to religious groups. . . . Prayers in our legislative halls; the appeals to the Almighty in the messages of the Chief Executive; the proclamations making Thanksgiving Day a holiday; "so help me God" in our courtroom oaths—these and all other references to the Almighty that run through our laws, our public rituals, our ceremonies would be flouting the First Amendment. . . . We would have to press the concept of separation of church and state to these extremes to condemn the present law on constitutional grounds. . . . In each case the teacher requires parental consent in writing. . . . The teacher in other words cooperates in a religious program to the extent of making it possible for her students to participate in it. . . . We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being. We guarantee the freedom to worship as one chooses. We make room for as wide a variety of beliefs and creeds as the spiritual needs of man deem necessary (150).

Morning Exercises

Since 1900, many public school teachers have opened their daily programs with various classroom exercises containing religious and patriotic acknowledgments. These were ordinarily adapted to the laws of the states and to some extent to state and local educational policies. Many states have had constitutional and statutory enactments expressly prohibiting any sectarian instruction in public schools, although four states expressly authorized the Lord's Prayer, three allowed the teaching of the Ten Commandments, and about half of the states permitted a daily reading of the Bible. The use of the prayer was upheld in a number of states, and the Kansas court in 1904 accepted the purpose of morning exercises "to quiet the pupils and prepare them for their studies, and it would be religious only to those so inclined" (151). The court in predominantly Catholic Louisiana ruled in 1915 that repeating the Lord's Prayer and reading the New Testament violated constitutional guarantees since these acts discriminated against Jews (152).

The Supreme Court entered the controversy in full force in the 1960's and with two sweeping decisions ruled out religious exercises in public schools as violations of the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution. In 1962, it held that a nondenominational prayer composed by state educational authorities that acknowledged dependence upon God could not be made a part of the program of public schools (153).

A year later, the Supreme Court declared that the states are firmly committed by the Establishment Clause "to a position of neutrality" which precludes a state from requiring by law or regulation religious exercises at the opening of schools in the form of reading without comment any version of the Bible, notwithstanding the fact that individual pupils who did not desire to participate might be excused from attendance (154).

These decisions brought strong congressional reactions and threats to amend the Constitution to permit the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in school. Volumes of testimony were taken, but every effort failed to muster the required support for such an amendment.

Religious Dress

Teachers cannot be excluded from employment in public schools for practicing a particular religion. Courts in Pennsylvania in 1894 and New York in 1902 extended this right to the wearing of religious dress by ruling that wearing religious garb did not constitute sectarian instruction (155) and was only "an announcement of a fact that the wearer holds a particular religious belief" (156). In three states—Pennsylvania, New York, and North Dakota—after the courts permitted religious dress, state legislation or a regulation by the chief state school officer subsequently prevented the wearing of religious dress in public schools. Soon after 1900, the courts of Pennsylvania (157) and New York (158) upheld these prohibitions as properly regulating the acts of teachers during the performance of duties.

Use and Rental of Buildings

Legislatures have deplored the limited utilization of school facilities and encouraged nonreligious use by individuals and organizations. Two general restrictions usually are attached: No such use shall interfere with regular school activities. All educational, recreational, social, or civic uses must be in the best interest of the community. The decisions vary widely. After similar practices by church groups had been accepted for centuries in Connecticut, a court decided in 1858 that the practice can be stopped if any taxpayer objects (159). On the other hand, a Nebraska court held in 1914 that even the use of a public school for Sunday school did not make the school a place of worship (160). A New York court declared in 1935 that a sectarian group could legally arrange to use public school facilities for recreation:

> It is a wholesome thing to have school buildings, which are maintained at large expense by the taxpayers, used for the purposes and by the groups whose exclusion is here sought (161).

Current trends are toward more unrestricted use of public educational facilities for secular purposes by either secular or religious groups. Religious associations are ordinarily permitted use for purposes such as educational, recreational, social, and civic activities.

Courts in eight states have upheld rental arrangements made by the local school official to use church-owned buildings for school purposes in cases of necessity. In most cases, sectarian instruction for the children attending the church schools went on under the same roof as public school instruction. Courts generally were satisfied that the purpose of such a contract was to improve educational offerings (162) and that the control of the public school children remained under public officials (163). In Illinois in 1887, the state court held that when it became necessary for the board of education to procure a building to be used for school purposes, it was not material that the building had been used as a church (164).

New Mexico prohibited the use of public funds in certain schools operating as public schools in 1951. In these schools, religious classes were held during school hours, both secular and sectarian books were used, teachers in religious garb were assigned by a religious order, and Catholic pictures remained on the walls (165). In the late 1930's, a parochial school in Mississippi became part of a public school system, religious instruction was continued, and children in the district were permitted to attend different schools depending on their religious preference; but in 1941, a Missouri court ruled against a similar union of public and sectarian use (166). About 12 years later, the Missouri court ruled invalid the assignment of pupils by religious preference (167)—a practice which resulted in frequent references to "captive" public schools.

PUBLIC FINANCING OF NONPUBLIC SCHOOLS

One of the most controversial areas of church-state relations since the times of Jefferson and Madison has involved the use of tax funds for nonpublic schools, particularly schools sponsored by religious organizations. Historically, church leaders have controlled schools serving a large proportion of the pupils in a number of states. Religious exercises continued in schools operated by churches and also were practiced in public schools, mainly because the church and the public approved the practice or because new settlers tolerated it so that parents desiring religion in public schools would not withdraw their children from them. Judicial rulings have declared a number of practices unconstitutional that provide tax benefits to church schools as institutions. Establishing constitutional guidelines for the use of public funds as an individual benefit or educational aid to children of a sectarian school rather than to the school itself has been somewhat more difficult. The tendency of federal legislative and administrative agencies to presume the constitutionality of a law until a court decides to the contrary has added new fuel for advocates on each side of the controversy. This has been especially true of federal financial support of special programs for disadvantaged children and youth beginning in 1965.

The first controversies arose when towns adopted religious schools and the legislature authorized towns to collect taxes for the support of education. In the eighteenth century, the question about financing religious schools did not prevent their use because people wanted education at any price. In a series of cases beginning in Wisconsin in 1869, however, state courts were unanimous in declaring public aid to private schools unconstitutional (168).

Tuition to Nonpublic Schools

A New Hampshire case held in 1886 that in the absence of express constitutional or statutory prohibitions on the use of public funds, contracts for tuitions to secular "private" schools were valid (169). In another case decided by an Illinois court in 1888, however, where constitutional provisions prohibit the use of public funds to aid "sectarian" schools, payments of tuition were held in violation of the Illinois Constitution (170).

Contracts with sectarian schools have been upheld in special cases. A court in Illinois ruled in 1917 that constitutional prohibitions were not violated by payments to sectarian schools for the tuition of children committed by a court, when the payments were less than the actual cost of maintenance (171).

The federal "G.I. Bill" was a highly successful program which authorized the payment of federal funds to sectarian schools and colleges for tuition and expenses of returning World War II veterans. This law was not challenged in the Supreme Court, but subsequent versions of "G.I." legislation for Korean and Vietnam veterans provided for federal payments to be made directly to veterans rather than to the educational institutions themselves (172).

A Vermont court held in 1961 that a public school district that maintained no public high school could not constitutionally pay tuition for its pupils to attend a parochial high school in an adjoining district. This case was decided under the First Amendment to the federal Constitution because the state Constitution is silent on the matter (173).

Transportation of Pupils

A Wisconsin court held in 1923 that the use of public funds for transporting children to nonpublic schools violated constitutional provisions prohibiting the establishment of religion (174). Many other states have reached similar decisions since that time, but in recent years the cases have become conflicting on this issue.

A Maryland court was first to uphold public expenditures for transportation to sectarian schools as a proper exercise of state police powers. The Maryland court ruled in 1938 that legislative responsibility and authority to enforce compulsory attendance laws, despite the fact that parochial schools benefit from the act, "could not prevent the legislature from performing the public function" (175).

The landmark case in transportation for the benefit of private school pupils was decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1947 (176). Advocates on each side of the church-state controversy can find quotable evidence to support their positions involving the "child-benefit theory." In a 5 to 4 decision, the Supreme Court upheld the practice of reimbursing parents of parochial school children for public bus fares to transport children to neighboring sectarian high schools when the local school district did not provide a school. The majority opinion reasoned that pupil transportation was a necessary part of education, that public funds were given directly to parents, and that transportation was analogous to police and fire protection as an aid to the safety and welfare of children. The Court held that "the First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable. We could not approve the slightest breach," but that under the conditions of the New Jersey case it had not been breached. All nine justices favored the principle of separation of church and state in their opinions, but five found that the facts in the case did not constitute a constitutional violation.

Those who oppose transportation of pupils to parochial schools at public expense dramatically use the "impregnable, high wall theory" of the Everson case and quote the principle as stated in the opinion of the Court in these words:

> The "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go or remain away from church against his will or

force him to profess a belief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or nonattendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they might adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in affairs of any religious organizations or group and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect "a wall of separation between church and state" (177).

Opponents of the child-benefit theory usually stop their reference here and shift their emphasis to the dissenting opinions. In all fairness, the Court did continue as follows in the very next paragraph:

> We must consider the New Jersey statute with the foregoing limitations imposed by the First Amendment. But we must not strike the state statute down if it is within the state's constitutional power even though it approaches the verge of that power. . . . While we do not mean to intimate that a state could not provide transportation only to children attending public school, we must be careful, in protecting the citizens of New Jersey against state-established churches, to be sure that we do not inadvertently prohibit New Jersey from extending its general State law benefits to all its citizens without regard to their religious beliefs (178).

The Everson decision did not invalidate the laws in other states, nor did it prevent a number of state courts from ruling on the unconstitutionality of laws authorizing tax-supported transporting of children to sectarian schools. The first states to rule on such cases with full knowledge of the Everson decision were Washington and Missouri.

In Washington, the state court upheld its earlier decision of 1943, declaring tax-supported transportation to private or parochial schools unconstitutional (179). The court later noted that although the Everson case decided that public transportation to parochial schools did not violate the First Amendment, the Washington Legislature violated the Constitution of Washington when it enacted legislation to provide transportation for "all" children under the compulsory attendance law (180).

With ample time to weigh the Everson opinion in relation to its own Constitution, a Missouri court declared in 1953 that tax-raised school money must be used solely for public schools and could not be used to transport children to parochial schools (181).

Federally Supported Educational Programs

One of the most controversial areas of First Amendment interpretation of educational legislation in recent years has been the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (182). As introduced in Congress by the Johnson Administration on January 12, 1965, it would have authorized federal funds for the special education of disadvantaged children under Title I, for loans of textbooks and library materials under Title II, and for innovative practices in elementary and secondary schools under Title III for pupils and teachers in both public and nonpublic schools alike. Each of these titles was drawn with the child-benefit theory clearly in mind and enacted with this purpose clearly stated. The administrative regulations and guidelines have been meticulously written to take full advantage of judicially accepted "child benefits," but also to steer clear of constitutional violations.

It is worth noting that these three ESEA titles in the form in which they were pending before the House General Subcommittee on February 3, 1965, would have authorized federal funds to be received and administered for these purposes by any public or nonprofit private educational agency or organization, including those operated by religious denominations.

Tremendous opposition quickly developed, both educators and attorneys made their views forcefully known in Congress and at the White House, and the legislation was amended so that administrative authority and title to property involved were placed exclusively in public educational agencies (183).

Some lines between benefits to individuals and benefits to sectarian institutions were thus clearly drawn so far as administrative authority over tax funds was concerned; but there are those who continue to contend that any financial aid to pupils in sectarian schools constitutes aid to the schools as institutions. The contention is that such diversion of tax-raised funds from necessary expenses of public education to sectarian schools furthers the establishment of religion. Consequently, it is argued that although the purpose of ESEA is to help the pupils, the effect of ESEA aid is to shift money from school purposes to church purposes.

The constitutional controversy remained unsettled during the first 3 years after the Elementary and Secondary Education Act became effective because the Supreme Court had held in 1923 in the case of Frothingham v. Mellon (184) that no federal taxpayer had standing to sue in a federal court to question the expenditure of federal funds on constitutional grounds. The Court reasoned that the monetary damage to the plaintiff in that case, which contested the use of federal tax money to help mothers of illegitimate children, was inconsequential. The case was decided under the Fourteenth Amendment, without reference to the First Amendment, since the Supreme Court did not make the First Amendment a part of the Fourteenth until 1940. No standing to sue in a federal court under the First Amendment had been available to a federal taxpayer since 1923.

The general counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with the approval of the U.S. Department of Justice, issued the Memorandum on the Impact of the First Amendment to the Constitution upon Federal Aid to Education on March 28, 1961. It relied upon the "standing to sue" role of the Frothingham case to prevent judicial decisions to resolve First Amendment issues in federal financing of education. The Memorandum left their constitutional status to the interpretations enacted in statutes passed by Congress and signed by the President and concluded with the following estimate of the chance for judicial interpretation of federal aid to sectarian schools under the First Amendment:

> If Congress wishes to make possible a constitutional test of Federal aid to sectarian schools, it might authorize judicial review in the context of an actual case or controversy between the Federal Government and an institution seeking some form of assistance. . . .
>
> In the absence of some such statutory provisions, there appears to be no realistic likelihood that Federal legislation raising the constitutional issues discussed in this memorandum will be resolved by judicial decision (185).

General Counsel Alanson W. Willcox of HEW proved to be correct until 1968. The constitutional doubts about a number of federal grants to education were impossible to resolve in the federal courts because the Frothingham case denied federal taxpayers jurisdiction to sue.

Senator Sam J. Ervin of North Carolina proposed legislation to provide statutory standing to sue by federal taxpayers that would enable the federal courts to decide the constitutionality of such educational legislation under the First Amendment. By 1968, it had passed the Senate in three successive sessions of Congress, although it had never been reported out of committee in the House of Representatives. Consequently, the Frothingham doctrine seemed to prevail, and no constitutional test seemed possible.

Some exceptional efforts were made by public school educators, however, to get to the Supreme Court on the First Amendment issue on appeal through a state court decision under the First Amendment. On September 10, 1963, the Horace Mann League and 13 federal taxpayers in Maryland sued to enjoin the State Board of Public Works of Maryland and several Maryland state officials from paying to four liberal arts colleges lump sum cash grants authorized by the Maryland Legislature for construction of college facilities. The two Protestant and two Roman Catholic colleges won the case in a county court, where criteria presented to the court to determine whether each college was secular or sectarian were rejected. On appeal, the Maryland Court of Appeals accepted and applied criteria offered by the plaintiffs, finding in a 4 to 3 decision that three of the colleges were sectarian and one was secular (186). The case was tried from the outset under the First Amendment to the federal Constitution, since the ancient Maryland Constitution, unlike the constitutions of most other states, had no provisions barring public funds for sectarian institutions of education. The issue was thus before state courts and the public for two years before the Elementary and Secondary Education Act was enacted in 1965. The U.S. Supreme Court declined by a vote of 7 to 2 in November 1966 to review the Horace Mann League case.

During the 1961-68 period, the Congressional view was that Congress has equal standing with the Supreme Court in declaring what laws are within the framework of the Constitution and, in fact, has power superior to that of the courts when it chooses to draft legislation to fulfill congressional responsibilities such as the "general welfare" of an educationally disadvantaged class of persons without employable skills. When the Court chose to act in the Cochrane, Everson, Vitale, and Schempp cases, this view held that it acted without legislative authority necessary to offset the existing restrictions on standing to sue under the Frothingham decision. It reasoned that the Court will determine its calendar and act when it has a case or controversy involving an unconstitutional act or when a federal question arises, and that there is no such act or federal question until the Court accepts a case and renders a decision.

The history of action by the Supreme Court in the twentieth century has been phenomenal among the myriad issues of church and state. Those who favor supremacy of the Congress say that the Court has eliminated a number of discriminatory practices, stopped unconstitutional public payments to sectarian schools and religious practices in public schools, and clarified the line between responsible public aid to children and unconstitutional acts benefiting sectarian schools. Controversy admittedly remained, however, among advocates on a number of issues, and additional clarifications were anticipated. In a dynamic governmental system, continuing judicial and legislative actions are inevitable in such controversial areas.

Other constitutional actions were begun under the First Amendment in a federal court in New York in 1966, and the Supreme Court handed down two decisions on June 10, 1968. In one case, it upheld a New York free-textbook program in its application to pupils in both public and private schools. The 6 to 3 decision upheld the constitutionality of a state statute which authorized a special local tax for the purchase of textbooks free to pupils in grades 7 through 12 and which was amended in 1965 to permit local voters to approve free textbooks to pupils in grades 1 through 6 in both public and private schools. There was no factual evidence before the Supreme Court in this case, however, because the lower federal court had entered a summary judgment on the pleadings alone. With no evidence about particular schools, courses, teachers, or books, the Court left the major points of contention to be decided on the evidence of cases to come. Federal funds under Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 were not involved (187).

The second decision involved the doctrine of the Frothingham case. It lowered the barrier that had denied federal taxpayers standing to sue to attack a federal statute on the grounds that it violates the First Amendment. The 8 to 1 opinion of the Court held that a taxpayer could challenge Title I and Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to determine whether they violate the Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses of the First Amendment. The only issue before the Supreme Court was the standing of a federal taxpayer to sue, and the case was remanded to the New York courts for trial on the merits (188).

State Regulation of Nonpublic Schools

Complete separation of church and state would prevent the state from exercising some of its more important responsibilities for the welfare, safety, health, and education of all the people. Some regulations by state agencies are necessary whether or not the nonpublic school or its pupils receive benefits from public tax funds. Primarily, this section will be limited to the educational responsibilities of states in relation to nonpublic education and involves the minimum standards of education required for all children and youth.

In general, three-fourths of the states provide by law that education in private schools shall be equivalent to public education. Any enforcement of this law requires state standards and regulations. In Massachusetts, the Legislature delegated approval of private education to local public school committees under the compulsory attendance laws.

> Every child between seven and sixteen . . . shall . . . attend a public day school . . . or some other day school approved by the school committee, during the entire time the public schools are in session . . . only when the instruction in all the studies required by law is in English, and when satisfied that such instruction equals in thoroughness and efficiency and in the progress made therein, that in public schools in the same town, but shall not withhold such approval on account of religious teaching (189).

Other states have requirements for adequate equipment and supplies, minimal curricular programs, attendance registers, and financial accounting.

In about nine states, the same standards for teacher certification are required by statute for private schools as for public schools. For accreditation of schools, however, about 20 states evaluate private school teachers with the same certification standards used by state departments of education for public school teachers.

Buildings of private schools, like churches and all other buildings, must meet the health and safety regulations of the state and fire, egress, or sanitation requirements of local and state authorities. Public schools sometimes are excluded from statutory enactments empowering local building committees to approve all construction, but private schools do not have this privilege unless they are expressly subject to the authority of such state agencies.

State departments of education have varying degrees of statutory authority over private schools. Where authority is given, departments often have been so understaffed that they have lacked the manpower to service the private schools extensively. In some states, they wait for invitations from private schools themselves to exercise their regulatory authority. Nevertheless, state responsibility remains, and it clearly extends to parents who may be prosecuted for failure to comply with compulsory attendance laws when they send their children to unaccredited private or sectarian schools. Most legislatures have allowed nonpublic schools to be exempt from supervision by departments of education.

Perhaps the best road to responsible administration of nonpublic schools is through ombudsmanship, the technique of listening to both parties in any dispute and then emphasizing informally the human element in solving legal or administrative problems. Ombudsmen in state departments of education, free from political pressures and knowledgeable about both public and nonpublic schools, are often invaluable in maintaining good relationships between nonpublic schools and state departments.

Constitutions, statutes, and the courts have erected walls in some states which are upright and fairly high, particularly when a

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state attempts to expend public funds for sectarian schools. There are peepholes in the wall, however, where circumstances indicate that necessity and economy have prevailed (190). Under the child-benefit theory, new paths have been constructed by courts and legislatures around the wall to help people in emergencies, for disadvantaged pupils, and of course for health and safety considerations connected with both public and private schools.

Altogether, tensions have been reduced in this field in recent years. The ecumenical movement, sharing publicly supported auxiliary services with private school pupils, lowered insistence by denominations on private school attendance, and improved conditions of mutual respect for all religions in many public schools are among the causes. There are signs that compromises that go far to satisfy the principal desires of all are in the making, such as was described in the following statement made in 1968:

> Individual benefits to pupils and teachers based on health, safety, and welfare offer many avenues of cooperation. So does Columbia, Maryland, and similar developments. Columbia, a new city, is planning for 110,000 people without separate, private, all-purpose schools. Instead it plans to build jointly planned facilities for Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish religious instruction to be given outside of school hours. All of us should be willing to make such adaptations to preserve all essential values strongly held by groups in our society. If we can build educational cooperation more diligently than supervision and control, both nonpublic and public schools should be able to make their essential contributions without serious conflict (191).

EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND PROTECTION UNDER THE LAWS IN EDUCATION

In Colonial times, only members of the state church could teach school. In this century, religious, racial, or political discrimination is a violation of criminal law in a number of states. Among states having legal provisions of their own, Massachusetts is a leading example. It passed a statute in 1917 which was revised in 1956 to achieve the purposes of nondiscrimination:

> No public school committees or officials shall inquire concerning or require or solicit from an applicant for a position in the public schools any information as to religious belief, creed or practice, or his political opinions or affiliations; and no appointment to such a position shall be in any manner affected thereby. Violation of this section shall be punished by a fine of not more than fifty dollars (192).

Proof of actual discrimination in a court of law is next to impossible. In 1946, the Fair Employment Practices Act contained a more efficient and practical system to prevent discrimination in public or private employment. This Act is enforced by the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, which receives, investigates, and determines complaints of unlawful discrimination because of race, color, religion, national origin, or age (193). For our purposes here, the legal doctrines on civil rights developed by the Supreme Court and the Congress since 1954 will be emphasized.

For three centuries, separate but equal treatment of Negroes was acceptable social, economic, and judicial practice in the United States. It was nearly one hundred years after the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 that the courts discovered the inequities in providing the heretofore judicially approved "separate but equal" facilities. Ironically, the first prescript of the doctrine came from Chief Justice Shaw in an 1849 decision for the state court of Massachusetts upholding the validity of segregated facilities for schoolchildren of different races in Boston (194). At the turn of the century, the 1896 landmark decision of the Supreme Court, Plessy v. Ferguson (195), upheld a statute providing for "separate but equal" railroad accommodations for white and colored persons, with only a lone dissent by Justice Harlan, a Southerner. This constitutional interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment set the pattern for social and legislative actions for the next 60 years. The doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities also was applied to education by the Supreme Court when temporarily pressing economic reasons compelled a local school district to suspend the operations of a high school for Negro children (196). This doctrine was the law of the land until 1954.

The Fourteenth Amendment

The Fourteenth Amendment expressly defined the dual citizenship established by the Constitution and guaranteed additional human rights in three broad classifications:

> All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

In the years immediately preceding 1954, the Supreme Court never formally questioned the constitutional propriety of the Plessy and Cummings cases. Judicial decisions, however, made retention of "separate but equal" facilities and opportunities for higher education exceedingly costly. Beginning in 1938, the courts demanded in a series of cases that opportunities for professional education in the law for Negroes must be equal and made it very expensive and inconvenient for the states to comply with the "separate but equal" doctrine.

The following decisions of the Supreme Court led to a gradual change in the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities for Negroes:

1938 Missouri v. Canada, 305 U.S. 337

In this case, the Court declared that a state denied equal protection of the law when it failed to provide a comparable legal education for Negroes within the state.

1948 Sipuel v. Board of Regents, 322 U.S. 631

Oklahoma was obliged to provide legal education for a qualified Negro applicant.

1948 Fisher v. Hurst, 333 U.S. 147

The Court required the admission of a Negro to the state law school in Oklahoma, holding that no other applicant could enroll until a law school with equal facilities should be provided for Negroes.

1950 Sweatt v. Painter, 339 U.S. 629

A separate law school for Negroes was held to be inferior and therefore the equal protection clause required that qualified applicants must be admitted to the University of Texas.

1950 McLaurin v. Oklahoma State, 339 U.S. 637

Enforced segregation of a Negro student handicapped effective, graduate legal instruction and was therefore invalid.

These decisions of the Court had far-reaching implications for education, as a survey by the U.S. Office of Education in 1966 revealed (197). Similar standards for teacher preparation of Negro teachers and for public schools segregated for Negroes often led Southern states to provide newer buildings and more highly prepared teachers in Negro schools than in others. The survey revealed that more Negro teachers and principals in the South had graduate degrees from large universities of the North than other teachers in the region, who usually attended universities in the South.

An early decision enforcing human rights appeared in 1917, when the Court ruled that an ordinance which was intended to segregate homes on racial grounds was a denial of equal protection of the laws (198).

The 1954 Decision on Segregation

Nevertheless, education was forced to wait until the second Brown decision in 1955 (199) before the Supreme Court definitely rejected the doctrine of "separate but equal" facilities by the construction it applied to the first Brown decision in 1954 (200). The earlier decision, relying chiefly on psychological and sociological opinions, found that a separate facility—

> . . . in the field of education . . . has no place; separate educational facilities are inherently unequal [and] generate [in minority groups] a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community (201).

The Court further said that separate facilities adversely affect the "educational and mental development" of Negro children. In this case, Negroes in a "class" suit were denied the right to attend 18 neighborhood schools and forced to attend 4 separate schools for Negroes. Mr. Brown's daughter was bused past a school two blocks from her home to attend a school 22 blocks away. In the second Brown decision, the Court ordered that a state with a dual system of education must "effectuate a transition to a [single] racially nondiscriminatory system" (202).

In 1964, the Court evaluated its order to cease and desist in the use of separate facilities and further clarified the second Brown decision of 1955 in a manner that left no doubt that states had an affirmative duty to furnish a fully integrated education to Negroes as a class (203).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

In 1964, Congress expressly defined the general purpose of Title IV of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as follows:

> No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subject to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance (204).

There were some restrictions by the Congress particularly related to the rights of others and the powers of the courts. The 1964 Act provided that—

> Nothing herein shall empower any official court of the United States to issue any order seeking to achieve a racial balance in any school by requiring the transportation of pupils or students from one school to another . . . to achieve such racial compliance with Constitutional standards (205).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 caused determined action by the U.S. Office of Education (USOE) to dismantle the state legal machinery that upheld discriminatory practices in the South because of color. Southern school districts with segregated schools were forced to show cause why federal funds should not be withheld and why the Justice Department should not bring legal actions to force school districts to comply with the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and the USOE guidelines of 1964 which extended the Civil Rights Act by demanding affirmative action to integrate students and faculties.

Court Actions. Federal district courts decided a series of cases which indicated that interpretations of the law are difficult to predetermine, are different north and south of the Mason-Dixon line, and are not uniformly applied throughout the nation. A 10-year summary of cases before the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit revealed that—

> We have received 41 other school cases, many more than once. The district courts in this circuit have considered 128 school cases in the same period. . . . An analysis of the cases shows a wide lack of uniformity in areas where there is no good reason for variations in the schedule and manner of desegregation (206).

The federal departments are enforcing the law with extra vigor in Southern states where *de jure* segregation existed for centuries. As the court said:

> "All deliberate speed" [in the second Brown decision, 1955] meant that by 1963-64 the eleven states of the former Confederacy had 1.7 percent of their Negro students in schools with white students. In 1964-65 as a result of the Civil Rights Act the percentage doubled reaching 2.25 percent. For the school year 1965-66, the Guidelines of the U.S. Office of Education helped increase the percentage of Negroes to 6.01 percent (207).

Throughout the rest of the nation *de facto* segregation of housing achieves the same segregation in schools, but except in the South those responsible for enforcement in the federal agencies and courts have been notably inactive. *De facto* patterns of segregation in the North are not caused by law, but by economic factors. Our culture has always been spellbound by economic success and enamored with policies of noninterference with the economic process. Employment, housing, and educational opportunities were denied Negroes by the economic process. In 1968, there were some mild attempts to enforce nondiscrimination throughout the country except when racial segregation had been caused by housing patterns.

State Action. A few states have taken vigorous action to enforce desegregation under state laws. Massachusetts has been a leader in attacking *de facto* segregation frontally through enactments of state laws as follows:

> Chapter 71, Sec. 37C. Elimination of racial imbalance in public schools [Enacted 1965, 641 Sec.]. It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Commonwealth to encourage all school committees to adopt as educational objectives the promotion of racial balance and the correction of existing racial imbalance in the public schools.
>
> Sec. 37D. The School Committee shall thereupon prepare a plan to eliminate such racial imbalance. . . . For the purpose of this section, racial imbalance shall be deemed to exist when the percent of nonwhite students in any public school is in excess of fifty percent of the number of students in such school.
>
> No School Committee . . . shall be required as part of its plans to transport any pupil to any school outside its jurisdiction or to any school outside the school district established for his neighborhood, if the parent or guardian of such pupil files written objection (208).

Following notification from the state board of education that if a local school committee—

> . . . does not show progress within a reasonable time in eliminating racial imbalance in its schools, the commissioner shall not certify the amount of state aid for such city or town (209).

Using the authority of the statutes and notification from the Board of Education, the commissioner of education in Massachusetts withheld $6 million of state aid for education from Boston in 1967 for failure to submit "a plan to reduce" racial imbalance in about 60 schools. Later, a plan was accepted and the funds were authorized, but the court entertained a bill for a declaratory judgment on the constitutionality of the Racial Imbalance Act to settle a controversy between the Boston School Committee and the State Department of Education.

The court authorized the standing of the school committee and rejected the constitutional challenge of the Act, holding that—

> . . . the racial imbalance act of 1965, c. 641, is not in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States or of Arts. 1, 10, 11, 12, and 30 of the Declaration of Rights of the Constitution of the Commonwealth (210).

The U.S. Supreme Court has also upheld the statute, since it affords procedural and substantial "due process" protections. No one, however, questioned whether the actual accomplishment of eliminating racial imbalance in a large city is practicable where large percentages of the inhabitants reside in limited areas and the law prevents infringements on the rights of whites by forced busing (211).

In California, the State Department of Education declared an official policy that persons or agencies responsible for the establishment of school attendance centers or the assignment of pupils shall exert all effort to avoid and eliminate segregation of children on account of race or color. The attorney general has ruled that school districts may consider race as a factor in adopting a school attendance plan, but only if the purpose of considering the racial factor is to effect desegregation in the schools (212).

In Virginia, when integration was enforced by court order, the privately supported Prince Edward Academy was established for whites in 1960. Since then, over 200 private schools enrolling over 40,000 students have been established in five states (Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, and Virginia). Several states provided public funds to parents who sent their children to private schools.

The U.S. Supreme Court recently held that a Louisiana statute enacted in 1962 to authorize payments of tuition to parents of children in private nonsectarian schools was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court affirmed the decision of a federal court in New Orleans which held in August 1967 that the purpose of the Louisiana statute was to continue segregated education (213). The Supreme Court also held in 1968 that so-called "freedom of choice" plans for parents and students are unacceptable as a substitute for affirmative official action to end racial discrimination in schools (214).

The Problem Remains

If constitutional rights are to be protected, the actions and reactions of whites and the exaggerated hopes raised among Negroes may have given education its most difficult problem for the next decade.

Since the courts have emphasized elimination of *de jure* discrimination, they could easily end their work there. However, reverse discrimination which forces whites to attend schools located in Negro areas is equally repulsive to constitutional rights. Exaggerations of the psychological effects of segregation in 1954 and the use of tentative research results in 1967 to convince the Congress and the public that integration will benefit Negroes without harming whites have, nevertheless, turned militant Northern Negroes toward segregated schools of their own. Clearly, the efforts to fulfill the educational needs of Negroes and the poor of all races require many times the annual $1 billion provided by Congress under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. More money is needed to reduce class size, provide additional staff, attract quality teachers, and construct or acquire appropriate facilities, if integregation is to succeed.

Meanwhile, the judicial and legislative branches are also at odds. The U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit declared in 1966 that—

> Courts in this circuit should give great weight to HEW Guidelines . . . consistent with the exercise of traditional judicial powers and functions. HEW Guidelines are based on decisions of this and other courts, are formulated to stay within the scope of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, are prepared by experts in education and school administration and are intended by Congress and the executive to be part of a coordinated national program. These Guidelines present the best system available for uniform application, the best aids to the courts in evaluating the validity of a school desegregation plan and the progress made under that plan (215).

The Massachusetts Legislature and the state and federal courts have extended the scope of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as it was interpreted in 1964. At that time, the Senate floor leader for the bill, Hubert H. Humphrey, and many others in both the Senate and House made it clear that under Title IV schoolchildren could not be bussed from one end of the community to the other at taxpayers expense to relieve so-called racial imbalance in the schools. The understanding was that the law did not attempt to integrate the schools, but only attempted to eliminate segregation, making the fact of racial imbalance *per se* not something which is unconstitutional (216). Assurances were also given in the House of Representatives that no agency or department would be authorized under the Civil Rights Act to deal with employment practices in the schools (217).

It appears that the Congress sought assurances that the Civil Rights Act would not authorize forced integration of students or faculties. On the other hand, the courts recognized and admired the rules for the integration of students and faculties as they appeared in the Guidelines prepared by employees of the Office of Education. The conflict between Congress and the Supreme Court on the enforcement of civil rights could require decades for ultimate settlement.

Other Action

In 1957, Congress created the Civil Rights Commission on the basis of recommendations from President Eisenhower. It is an independent bipartisan agency reporting directly to the President and to Congress. The Commission has published numerous reports on civil rights. Commission Chairman John A. Hannah, president of Michigan State University, addressed this topic in 1968 with the following meaningful observations:

> If my ten years as Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights has taught me anything, it is that the final solutions will have to be worked out locally and that whether they will be worked out depends on the willingness of local leaders all over America to work together in a spirit of cooperation, mutual trust and shared responsibility. . . . There are levels of responsibility, with federal, state, and local governments being called upon to act in their own areas of influence. [Civil rights] is surely the most pressing and most demanding domestic problem of our times. No domestic problem confronting our country today is more complex, more frustrating at times, more important, and more demanding of solution than the problems we group under the general heading of civil rights (218).

National and urban coalitions of social organizations, labor unions, business and industry, churches, local and state governments, and other citizens are working to bring their policies and practices into line with the requirements of nondiscrimination. Significant results have been achieved since 1954, clearly surpassing all our earlier efforts. President Hannah has evaluated the militant but underdeveloped policy of "Black Power" as a remedy for discrimination in housing, employment, and education as follows:

> It [Black Power] will be good if it generates a degree of pride and legitimate aspiration among Negroes and encourages them to think in constructive terms of what they themselves can do to improve their stations in life and their relations with other segments of American society.
>
> It [Black Power] will be bad if it promotes and seeks to enforce self-segregation and rejects totally the theory that all races and religions can be accommodated within American Society. Already its more radical leaders have rejected the counsel and support of whites of every kind.
>
> It [Black Power] will be bad if it deliberately sets blacks against whites in a constant confrontation, for that is a course that can lead only to defeat, and worse. It will be bad if it judges any proposed action on the basis of whether it will hurt whites more than blacks (219).

Courses of action in regard to this critical human problem should be within the Constitution and the laws of the federal, state, and local governments. If the laws are impeding constitutional purposes, they should be invalidated or changed.

Where evidence shows gross racial injustice and inequality, our constitutional purposes demand that we boldly readjust our tax structure to eliminate or ameliorate such conditions. Elevating the status of the poor is a perennial challenge that the schools should accept, since they inevitably will have a large role to play in doing so.

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165. Zellers v. Huff, 55 N.M. 501, 236 P. 2d 949 (1951).
166. Harfst v. Hoegan, 349 Mo. 808, 163 S.W. 2d 609 (1941).
167. Beghorn v. Reorganized School District, 394 Mo. 121, 260 S.W. 2d 573 (1953).
168. Curtis's Adm'r v. Whipple, 24 Wis. 350, 1 AR 187 (1869).
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199. Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

200. Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

201. *Ibid.*

202. Brown v. Board of Education, 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

203. Griffin v. County Board of Prince Edward County, 375 U.S. 381 (1964).

204. *U.S. Civil Rights Act*, P.L. 88-352, 78 Stat. 252, 42 U.S.C. 200d, sec. 601 (1964).

205. *Ibid.*, sec. 407(a)(2).

206. United States of America and Linda Stout v. Jefferson County, 380 F. 2d 385 (1967).

207. *Ibid.*

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209. *Ibid.*, ch. 15, sec. 1(I).

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217. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Rules, *Policies and Guidelines for School Desegregation,* House of Representatives on H. Res. 826, 89th Cong., 2d sess., Sept. 29 and 30, 1966, p. 25.

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Chapter 2

State Departments of Education Within State Governments

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State Departments of Education Within State Governments

INTRODUCTION

When the federal Constitution assigned the authority for education to the states, it set the stage for the eventual development of state departments of education. Such departments exist in every state, with most having been established or clearly identified by state constitutional provisions and statutory enactments. In a few states, their beginnings were piecemeal and in response to specific needs, but these also have gained full legal and constitutional recognition.

Although state departments of education have always presented a great variety of individual and group differences, most of them have developed as leadership and regulatory agencies in three functional divisions designated generally as state boards of education, chief state school officers, and departmental staffs.

As professional leadership has advanced during the present century, state boards of education have tended increasingly to serve in policy-making roles—a trend that has accelerated greatly since about 1945. The departments are easily identified by their general responsibility for the supervision, services, and financing of local public school systems—functions which distinguish them from hundreds of more specialized boards with state-level duties involving education in various ways. The staffs of the departments are headed by chief state school officers who frequently have constitutional and statutory powers of their own.

All three major constituent parts of the departments—boards, executive officers, and staffs—have been greatly influenced by the rapidly growing scope and level of education in recent years. With each decade, state boards have made policies that have the force of law in more educational fields and in more states. The chief state school officers have assumed extremely important coordinating and administrative functions as the central figures in the local-state-federal intergovernmental educational team. Departmental staffs have become larger and more competent, especially during the 1958-68 decade. All three constituent parts of state departments of education have been more strongly organized in most states. This chapter traces the principal aspects of this phenomenal growth since 1900 and describes the strengths and weaknesses of the state education departments in their current working environments.

In harmony with the federal Constitution, state constitutions also vest primary responsibility for public education in the states. State legislatures have delegated responsibility for direct operation of most schools to local educational agencies created within each state for this limited purpose. Hawaii has a single state school system with no such delegation of authority; and a few states, especially Alaska and Maine, administer some remote rural schools directly from their state departments of education.

Public education at local, state, and federal levels is an integral part of government and is involved in all three of its branches: legislative, executive, and judicial. Nevertheless, education has professional purposes and operations that are widely believed to thrive best when removed somewhat from political patronage and other practices commonly associated with the less reputable characteristics of partisan politics.

Local districts are numerous, often remote from central educational agencies, and necessarily exercise much flexibility of action on their own initiative. State departments of education usually encourage and support such local initiative as long as it is effective and operates within the law. In turn, state education departments have been allowed considerable freedom in the exercise of executive, legislative, and even quasi-judicial and limited judicial authority in connection with educational matters within their jurisdictions. For instance, a person who seeks to test the legality of a professional decision made locally must ordinarily exhaust administrative appeals to local and state educational authorities before the courts will consider such a case.

State legislatures usually define general policies and mandate a few required practices by local education agencies, but otherwise most decisions on details of operations and policies in local schools are left to be resolved by boards of education and professional educators. The authority for self-government generally enjoyed by local educational agencies is seldom found to a similar extent among the local public agencies in other branches of state governments.

At the state level, however, the professional state departments of education usually have less professional self-government than local educational agencies or public institutions of higher education, especially when problems involving management and control arise. The single state department of education in each state government naturally lends itself easily to close supervision by the legislature and the governor. The comparatively large number of local educational agencies are more remote. The legislature and the governor usually deal with them through the state education department or as one or more general groups, with some notable exceptions for large cities. State-controlled colleges and universities also have been decentralized to a large extent in a professional sense, with boards and administrators usually exercising more autonomy in policy and operation than can be exercised in most state education departments.

The state department of education interacts in a dynamic and fluctuating field of educational endeavor as it seeks to function effectively with the various elements of its working environment. The heart of its relationships concerns professional matters. Its success depends upon the extent to which it is able to assume and maintain effective roles of professional leadership in dealing with local school authorities and the various groups of citizens, on the one hand, and with the governor, legislature, fiscal and personnel officers, and colleagues within the state government, on the other. These roles are more difficult in some states than others, but they are not easy in any. Controls within the general state government that interfere substantially with these departmental relationships deny to them the professional freedom and flexibility that they, in common with school districts and institutions of higher education, need for the most effective fulfillment of their responsibilities.

This chapter first will describe state departments of education and their principal constituent parts. Then it will discuss how these departments operate within state governments, including relationships with the legislatures, with the governors, and with other departments of state governments, especially in terms of how each of these affects state educational functions. Those relationships with local school districts, professional organizations, citizen groups, and the general public that influence state education departments and are influenced by them will be dealt with in other chapters in this volume.

STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND THEIR CONSTITUENT PARTS

State departments of education can be described best by considering their three major parts: state boards of education, chief state school officers, and departmental staffs. All 50 states have each of these components except Wisconsin and Illinois, which do not have general state boards of education as defined here. These two states vest more authority in their elected chief state school officers and delegate some educational authority to other agencies.

State Boards of Education

Table 1 shows how recently general elementary and secondary state boards of education have been established, reflecting that general state boards with broad jurisdiction were slow to supersede special state boards provided for limited purposes. State-by-state information of a detailed nature can be found in the references cited.

Table 1—NUMBER OF STATES POSSESSING GENERAL STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION IN 1900, 1940, 1965

Year	Number
1900	28
1940	39
1965	48

Sources:

1900: Robert F. Will, *State Education, Structure and Organization,* U.S. Office of Education Misc. No. 46 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 12.

1940: W. S. Deffenbaugh and Ward W. Keesecker, *State Boards of Education and Chief State School Officers: Their Status and Legal Powers,* U.S. Office of Education Bulletin 1940, No. 6, Monograph 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 6.

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Prior to and immediately following 1900, state legislatures had a tendency to scatter limited executive and administrative powers among a considerable number of state boards and officers. As might be expected, for many decades confusion resulted from the ill-defined responsibilities and authority among various state agencies and their administrative officers.

A majority of the earlier boards were ex officio in nature, being composed of several elected state officials and usually including the chief state school officer. The duties assigned to these early boards were those that the legislatures were reluctant to delegate to the chief state school officer alone—duties such as promoting education in the state, supervising legal custody of school lands and funds, determining who should be considered qualified to teach, determining the course of study, selecting textbooks, and handling problems of policy and administration in connection with state operation of special institutions.

Certain administrative problems were created by state operation of institutions such as normal schools, vocational schools, and state institutions for handicapped children or delinquents. In these situations, relationships were sensitive among the chief state school officer as the executive officer of the governing board, the departmental staff, and the administrators charged by the board with the operation of educational institutions. The questions that arose under these circumstances were whether the institutional administrator was to be placed under the direction of the executive officer of the board, or whether the board should have more than one executive officer. If arrangements provided in effect or by design for more than one executive officer, the board found it difficult to coordinate its activities of regulatory leadership with its governing board functions.

As recently as 1954, 18 state boards of education had regulatory board responsibilities only, while 26 had, in addition, governing board responsibilities for one or more educational institutions. Those institutions included vocational schools, junior and community colleges, normal schools, state community colleges, state colleges and universities, and state schools for the deaf and blind. State boards of education in most states were too involved in administration to become competent and comprehensive in important legislative and policy-making responsibilities, and remnants of this situation can still be detected in a few states.

Similar confusion also has been found in conflicting authority among various state boards in administering particular educational programs within the states, such as vocational education, vocational rehabilitaproved quality of education in elementary and secondary schools were critically needed, and that the multiplicity of one-room schools and tiny administrative units was inadequate to meet the needs. Broader sources of revenue were needed for construction of consolidated schools in most states.

During the Depression of the 1930's, tax resources often dried up at the local level. The state governments had more tax leeway, and they were called upon for funds to keep thousands of local schools open. Although there were some educational improvements during the economic crisis, a combination of fearful localism and scarcity of tax funds at all levels held the decade's efforts in education by and large to a holding operation.

Toward the end of the 1930's the country began preparations to stop Hitler in Europe. The states had supplied 20.3 percent of public school costs in 1900, but they allowed their participation to decline to 17.3 percent by 1930. During the economic crisis, the federal government began to construct schools to create employment. Additional help came from extensive financial intervention by state governments after 1930 to keep schools operating. This increased the state share to 29.2 percent of total costs in 1940. Financial support of public education by state and federal governments came in response to a national crisis at the local level. This momentum carried through to 1950, when the state share on a national basis became 39.8 percent of public school current costs—a level which remained practically unchanged up to 1966. (See Table 1 in Chapter 4, "State Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education," by R. L. Johns.)

Several significant factual conclusions emerge from study of this table. One is that the percentage of public school costs paid from the state level in the 13 Southeastern states was 53 percent in 1966, 13 percent higher than the national average. Another is that in 10 of the 13 states in this region, which has always had the lowest average per-pupil expenditure for public education in the country, the momentum of the rescue operations begun in the 1930's carried over to result in a further increase in the relative state share of public school financing from 1940 to 1966. A third conclusion is that during the 1930-66 period the total increase in federal financing of public elementary and secondary education was less than the decline of the relative share of local support. In gross amounts, state aid increased from $372 million in 1930 to $9.6 billion in 1965-66. In 1967-68, the amount was approximately $12 billion (1).

State responsibility for the scope and quality of elementary and secondary education was increased in the necessary process of reducing the number of small local school districts. Increased state financing was often a decisive factor. Table 2 shows that since 1930 school districts have been reorganized and greatly increased in size. Although this was done gradually in some states, it was accomplished with amazing speed in the country as a whole. From 1931 to 1967, the number of local districts declined 83 percent, with a decrease of 54.4 percent between 1957 and 1967. In most cases, the reduction in the number of small local school districts resulted from the active leadership of state departments of education. The most fruitful efforts have been district reorganization plans on a statewide basis enacted by state legislatures, with state department functions specified in the law. C. O. Fitzwater has summarized the policies and procedures of 16 such state programs (2).

Selection of Members of State Boards of Education. Over the years several methods have been used for selecting members of state boards of education: appointment by the governor, election by the people or by representatives of the people, ex officio or by virtue of position held, appointment by the state legislature, and appointment by the chief state school officer.

There has been a consistent trend away from ex officio boards and ex officio board members. While 20 of the 29 boards were wholly or mostly ex officio in 1890, only 4 of 48 (Arizona, Florida, North Da-

Table 2—TOTAL NUMBER OF BASIC LOCAL ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS (SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA)

School year	School districts	School districts	School year
1931–32	127,531	1951–52	71,094
1933–34	not available	1953–54	63,057
1935–36	not available	1955–56	54,859
1937–38	119,001	1957–58	47,594
1939–40	117,108	1959–60	40,520
1941–42	115,493	1961–62	35,676
1943–44	111,383	1963–64	31,705
1945–46	101,382	1965–66	26,983
1947–48	94,926	1967–68[a]	21,704
1949–50	83,718		

Source:

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, *Digest of Educational Statistics, 1966* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

[a] National Education Association, Research Division, *Estimates of School Statistics, 1967–68* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1967).

NOTE:

All these figures include nonoperating school districts, which in 1965-66 and 1967-68 numbered approximately 7 percent of the total.

kota, and Mississippi) had state boards composed entirely of ex officio members in 1963. Similarly, 35 state boards had some ex officio members in 1920, but by 1967 only 16 boards had any ex officio members at all (3). Among these, the chief state school officer was an ex officio member in 15 states and the governor in 5, with other state officers and representatives of institutions of higher education serving in fewer instances.

Table 3 summarizes the complex and varied means of selecting chief state school officers and state boards of education. It is up to date as of 1967. This information has been developed and continuously brought up to date by the Council of Chief State School Officers since 1956. The method of compilation has been direct communications with the chief state school officer and other authorities in each state.

As can be seen in Table 3, only two patterns of selection for state board members have become widely prevalent: (1) election by the people or their representatives and (2) appointment by the governor. Both patterns have strong support and strong opposition. Lacking substantial evidence of which system is best for any given state or all states as a whole, much of the conflict has merely reflected opinions.

To illustrate, proponents of popular election of board members point out the consistency of the procedure with democratic principles, while opponents claim that democracy does not require that well qualified persons, although willing to accept an appointment, cannot serve unless they campaign for a position. Proponents of appointment by governor contend that this is best because the governor as the chief executive of the state is selected by all the people and is held responsible for the efficiency of all agencies of the state government. Opponents of appointment by the governor express concern that this leads to an undesirable concentration of executive power. There is probably no way to measure objectively the effectiveness of these systems; each has succeeded and each has failed, depending on the quality of the persons involved, conditions in the state, its traditions, and many unpredictable factors.

Leaders in state educational administration since about 1940 have sought to clarify the functional relationships causing difficulties among the major constituent parts of state departments of education. These efforts led them to develop recommendations on state department organizational patterns that seemed to be most sound in theory and acceptable in practice. The Study Commission of the National Council of Chief State School Officers first recommended a pattern for departmental organization to the Council on December 2, 1944. It was approved on that day, along with a summary of policies adopted in previous years (4). After the Council's Washington office was established on July 14, 1948, the membership adopted the following (almost identical) policy statement in its Annual Meeting in Madison, Wisconsin, in December 1948:

> In each state there should be a non-partisan lay state board of education of seven to twelve able citizens, broadly representative of the general public and unselfishly interested in public education, elected by the people in the manner prescribed by law. The members of this board should serve for long overlapping terms without pay. It is desirable that the boards select the chief state school officer on a non-partisan basis and determine his compensation and his term of office. He should serve as the executive officer of the board and head of the state department of education (5).

These recommendations were adopted by a margin of slightly more than 2 to 1 after vigorous debate, but the debate was centered on whether the board should appoint the chief state school officer rather than upon how board members themselves should be selected. Considering both the selection of board members and the important function of their authority to appoint their executive officer, no state was following the proposed pattern exactly until after 1948. The state boards of eight states were authorized to appoint their chief state school officers, but none of these had an elected state board. By 1959, seven states provided for elective boards with authority to appoint their chief state school officers: Colorado, Nebraska, Nevada, New Mexico, Ohio, Texas, and Utah.

South Carolina, Washington, Florida, Mississippi, and Louisiana continued in 1968 to elect both their state board members and their chief state school officers, each state with its own variations. South Carolina provides that state board members be elected by legislative delegations from the counties within each of 16 judicial districts; Washington provides for election of state board members by local school board members in the seven Congressional districts; the state board members in Florida and Mississippi, other than the chief state school officer, are state officers serving on an ex officio basis; and Louisiana elects its state board members by popular vote.

The trend has been toward election of state board members by the people, paralleling the trend toward giving state boards the authority to appoint their chief state school officers, which will be discussed later in this chapter. From 1947 to 1968, the number of states selecting their state boards of education by popular vote increased from 3 to 11, while the number of states having the chief state school officer appointed by the state board of education grew from 11 to 24. The fundamental issue covering both these situations is whether the state board member or the chief state school officer shall maintain the closer contact with the people through popular election. Assuming that one, but not both, should be elected by the people, almost all local school districts have chosen to elect policy-making board members, leaving the local superintendent to be appointed by and to report to the local board of education. The trend is the same at the state level, but differences between the responsibilities of the local and state educational agencies have made the process much slower in the states.

These trends reflected the policies of the Council of Chief State School Officers during the 1944-65 period. In 1965, the Council, principally because of continuing

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION [a]

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Alabama	x		4-year	x	Secretary & exec. officer	—11— 9 for 6-yr. overlapping terms 2 state government officials who serve ex officio		9 (confirmation of Senate)	State supt., governor
						[b] *No one may be appointed who is in any way subject to Board's authority.*			
Alaska		By Board with approval of gov.	5-year		Exec. officer	—7— 5-yr. overlapping terms		All (confirmation of Legislature) 1 from each of 4 judicial dists. 3 at large	
						[b] *No more than 4 from the political party of the governor. At least one member must represent state-operated rural schools.*			
Arizona	x		2-year	x	Secretary	—9— 8 for 4-yr. terms 1 state government official who serves ex officio		3 lay members; 5 prof. members: pres., st. univ. or st. coll.; Brd. mem., st. jr. coll.; supt., hi. sch. dist.; county supt.; teacher	State supt.
Arkansas		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Agent & secretary	—9— 9-yr. overlapping terms		All, 1 from each of the 6 Cong. districts, 3 at large (with confirmation of Senate)	

						ᵇ *No person may serve who is school teacher, commissioner of education, county or city supt., or teacher or administrator of state-supported college or member of any board of trustees of any state institution of higher learning.*			
California	x		4-year		Secretary & exec. officer	—10— 4-yr. overlapping terms		All (consent of Senate)	
Colorado		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Secretary	—5— 6-yr. overlapping terms	All, from 4 Cong. districts and 1 at large (partisan ballot)		
Connecticut		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Secretary & exec. officer	—9— 6-yr. overlapping terms ᵇ *Not more than ⅔ of members from same party.*		At least 1 from each county	
Delaware		By Board	1-year		Executive secretary	—8— 6 for 3-yr. overlapping terms 2 representatives of higher ed. who serve in advisory capacity ex officio ᵇ *Not more than 3 members from same political party.*		All	Pres., Del. St. Coll.; Pres., Univ. of Del.
Florida	x		4-year	x	Secretary & exec. officer	—5— All state government officials who serve ex officio			State supt., governor, sec. of state, attorney gen., st. treasurer

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.
[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION [a] (Continued)

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Georgia	x		4-year		Executive officer, executive secretary, & agent	—10— 7-yr. overlapping terms		All (consent of Senate)	
Hawaii		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Executive officer & secretary	—11— 4-yr. concurrent terms	—11— 3 represent Oahu at large; 8 represent 7 dists. within state (2 for island of Hawaii)		
Idaho	x		4-year	x	Executive secretary	—8— 7 for 5-yr. overlapping terms 1 ex officio [b] *Members appointed without regard to party or religion.*		—7—	State supt.
Illinois	x		4-year		Executive officer for vocational education on the Vocational Education Board	No state board for elementary and secondary education			

Indiana	x		2-year	x	President & chairman of 3 commissions	—19— 18 for 4-yr. overlapping terms 1 state government official who serves ex officio	18, six on each of 3 commissions (Gen. Education, Textbook Adopt., Teacher-Training and Licensing)	State supt.
						ᵇ *At least 4 members of each commission must be actively employed in the schools of the state. Not more than 4 members on one commission from same political party.*		
Iowa		By Board	4-year		Executive officer	—9— 6-yr. overlapping terms. No member can serve more than 1 successive term.	9 appointed by gov. with approval of ⅔ of Senate	
						ᵇ *No person is eligible who is engaged in professional education for the major part of his time or who derives a major portion of his income from any business or activity connected with education. No more than 5 members from the same political party.*		
Kansas	x		2-year		Board is advisory to CSSO	—7— 3-yr. overlapping terms. No member may serve more than 2 successive terms.	All (1 member from each Cong. district & the balance at large)	
		ᵇ *Under a law passed in 1966, effective 1969, chief state school officer will be appointed by 10-member elected Board.*				ᵇ *No more than 4 members from same political party. No person engaged in schoo work as a teacher, principal, or superintendent is eligible to be appointed to serve.*		
Kentucky	x		4-year		Executive officer	—7— 4-yr. overlapping terms	7	
						ᵇ *All lay members. No person is eligible if he holds or discharges the duties of any civil or political office, deputyship, or agency under the city or county of his residence. No member can be directly or indirectly interested in the sale to the Board of books, stationery, or other property, materials, supplies, equipment, or services for which school funds are expended.*		

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.
[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION [a] (Continued)

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Louisiana	x		4-year		Executive officer & secretary	—11— 3 for 6-yr. overlapping terms 8 for 8-yr. overlapping terms	All (3 from public service commission districts, 8 from Congress. districts)		
Maine		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Executive officer & secretary	—10— 5-yr. overlapping terms		All (advice & consent of Exec. Council)	
Maryland		By Board	4-year		Chief executive, secretary, & treasurer	—7— 7-yr. overlapping terms		All	
Massachusetts		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Executive & administrative head	—13— 11 for 5-yr. overlapping terms 2 education representatives who serve ex officio (without vote)		All (advice of Advisory Council)	chancellor, Board of Higher Ed., (without vote); research director, Advisory Council on Education, (without vote)
Michigan		By Board	As determined by Board		Chairman	—10— 8 for 8-yr. terms prescribed by law 2 state officials ex officio (without vote)	All, nominated by party convention & elected at large		Governor (without vote), state supt. (without vote)

[b] *No person is selected who is in any way subject to the Board's authority.*

Minnesota		By Board (conf. by Sen.)	6-year		Executive officer & secretary	—9— 6-yr. overlapping terms		All	
Mississippi	x		4-year	x	Presides at all meetings	—3— All state government officials who serve ex officio			State supt., sec. of state, attorney gen.
Missouri		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Chief administrative officer	—8— 8-yr. overlapping terms		All (advice & consent of Senate)	
						[b] *All lay members. At no time more than 4 members from same political party.*			
Montana	x		4-year	x	Secretary	—11— 8 for 8-yr. overlapping terms 3 state government officials who serve ex officio		8 (consent of Senate)	State supt., governor, attorney gen.
						[b] *Not more than 4 members from same political party and equally divided between 2 Congressional districts.*			
Nebraska		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Executive officer	—8— 4-yr. overlapping terms	All, 1 from each of 8 districts (nonpartisan ballot)		
						[b] *No person is eligible who is actively engaged in the teaching profession.*			

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[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.
[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION[a] (Continued)

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Nevada		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Secretary	—8— 4-yr. overlapping terms	6, one from each of ed. supervision districts, 2 representing labor & agri. appt. by elected members		
						[b] *All lay members.*			
New Hampshire		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Chief executive officer & secretary	—7— 5-yr. overlapping terms		All, appt. by gov. & advisory council which is elected biannually on partisan ballot	
						[b] *Members may not be technical educators nor persons professionally engaged in school work.*			
New Jersey		By gov. (conf. by Sen.)	5-year		Official agent for all purposes	—12— 6-yr. overlapping terms		All (consent of Senate)	
						[b] *At least 3 members must be women.*			

New Mexico		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Administrative & executive functions	—10— 6-yr. overlapping terms	All, 1 from each of 10 judicial districts		
New York		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Chief executive officer	—15— 15-yr. overlapping terms	All, by state Legislature, 1 from each of 11 judicial dists. & 4 at large		
						[b] *No member may be a president, principal, or any other officer of an institution belonging to the University of the State of New York.*			
North Carolina	x		4-year	x	Secretary	—13— 10 for 8-yr. overlapping terms 3 state government officials who serve ex officio		10, one from each of 8 educational districts, 2 at large (confirmation by general assembly in joint session)	State supt., lieutenant gov., st. treasurer
						[b] *A majority of the members are to be persons of training & experience in business & finance who are not connected with the teaching profession or any educational administration of the state.*			
North Dakota	x		4-year	x	Executive director & secretary	—7— 6 for 6-yr. overlapping terms 1 state government official who serves ex officio		6, one from each of the 6 judicial districts (with consent of Senate)	State supt.
						[b] *One member nominated by the state educational association, 1 by the state school officers association. At all times 2 members should be members of state school boards association.*			

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.
[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION [a] (Continued)

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Ohio		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Secretary, executive, & chief administrative officer	—24— 6-yr. overlapping terms	All, from 24 Cong. districts (nonpartisan ballot)		
						[b] *A member shall not during his term of office be an employee or officer of any public or private college, university, or other institution of higher education.*			
Oklahoma	x		4-year	x	President & executive officer	—7— 6 for 6-yr. overlapping terms 1 state government official who serves ex officio		6 (consent of Senate)	State supt.
Oregon	x		4-year		Administrative officer	—7— 7-yr. overlapping terms		All (confirmation of Senate)	
						[b] *The governor must select resident citizens of Oregon not engaged in school teaching, administration, or operation.*			
Pennsylvania		By gov.	4-year		Chief executive officer	—17— 6-yr. overlapping terms		All (consent of Senate) 7 serve on Council of Higher Educ.; 7 on Council of Basic Education; 3 serve at large	
						[b] *None of the members serving at large & not more than 2 members on each of 2 councils (Basic Ed. & Higher Ed.) shall be employed in a school system, the Dept. of Public Instruction, or any educational institution. At least 2 members on each Council shall have had previous experience in technical ed. or training.*			

Rhode Island		By Board	5-year		Executive officer	—7— 7-yr. over-lapping terms		All	
South Carolina	x		4-year		Secretary & adminis-trative officer	—16— 4-yr. over-lapping terms	All, by legis-lative dele-gation of counties in-cluded in each of 16 judicial districts		
South Dakota	x		2-year		Executive secretary & executive officer	—7— 5-yr. over-lapping terms		All	
						ᵇ *No one is eligible who is engaged in the educational profession or is a member of any state board of higher education.*			
Tennessee		By gov.	4-year	x	Chairman	—14— 12 for 6-yr. over-lapping terms 2 state govern-ment officials who serve ex officio		12—four from each grand division	State comm., governor
Texas		By Board	4-year		Executive officer & executive secretary	—21— 6-yr. over-lapping terms	All, from 21 Cong. districts as constituted in 1949		
						ᵇ *Members cannot be engaged in organized educational activity or hold office in state or political subdivision.*			

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.
[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION [a] (Continued)

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Utah		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Executive officer	—9— 4-yr. overlapping terms	All, 1 from each election district. Unexpired term filled by appt. by regional convention of members of district school boards		
Vermont		By Board	At pleasure of Board		Chief executive officer & secretary	—7— 6-yr. overlapping terms		All (consent of Senate)	
Virginia		By gov.	4-year		Secretary	—7— 4-yr. overlapping terms		All (consent of Senate)	
Washington	x		4-year		President	—14— 6-yr. overlapping terms	All, by brds. of directors of sch. districts in the 7 Cong. districts on population (no. of students) basis		

[b] *At least 2 members must be women.*

[b] *No person employed in any school, college, university, or other educational institution or in any county superintendent's office or in the office of the Supt. of Public Instruction is eligible.*

West Virginia		By Board	At pleasure of Board	x	Chief executive officer	—10— 9 for 9-yr. overlapping terms 1 state government official who serves ex officio (without vote)	9 (consent of Senate)	State supt. (without vote)
Wisconsin	x		4-year			No state board for elementary and secondary education		
Wyoming	x		4-year	x		—10— 9 for 6-yr. overlapping terms 1 state government official who serves ex officio (without vote)	9 appointed by governor (with approval of Sen.) 7 are lay members from each judicial district; 1 teacher and 1 administrator at large	State supt. (without vote)
						[b] *Not more than 5 members from one political party.*		
American Samoa		By gov.		x		—8— 3 appointed by gov. 5 territorial government officials who serve ex officio	—3— representing 3 districts	Dir. of ed., attorney gen., pub. health officer, chief justice, pub. works officer
Canal Zone		By gov.				No territorial board for elementary and secondary education		
Guam		By Board with approval of gov.	2-year		Executive secretary	—7— 3-yr. overlapping terms	—7—	

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.
[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

Table 3—PATTERNS OF SELECTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AND STATE BOARDS OF EDUCATION [a] (Continued)

	Chief State School Officer					State Board of Education			
State	Elected CSSO	Appt. CSSO	Term of CSSO	Ex officio member of Board	Official capacity on Board	No. of members and term	Members elected	Members appt. by governor	Ex officio members
Puerto Rico		By gov. with consent of Senate				No board for elementary and secondary education			
Trust Territory		By high commissioner	Civil Service appointment			No territorial board for elementary and secondary education			
Virgin Islands		By gov.	CSSO serves only for term of gov. who appoints him	x		—10— 9 for 2-year terms 1 insular government official who serves ex officio		—9—	Commissioner of education

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers, August 1968.

[b] Special qualifications or requirements.

opposition by some members to state board appointment of chief state school officers, repealed the policies on organization of state departments of education first adopted in 1944 and officially became noncommittal on them (6). The recommendations of 1944-65 had been adopted entirely or substantially by 16 states in two decades.

The recommendations always had been entirely optional in every state. Since 1949, there has been general recognition among most chief state school officers that particular traditions and backgrounds of experience in individual states might justify quite different patterns of organization. Kansas and California were in the process of making changes in 1968—both states in the direction of the general trend.

Despite the increase in the number of states in which the state board of education members are elected by the people, the older method, whereby state board members are appointed by the governor, has retained much support. From 1947 to 1965, the number of states using this method increased slightly from 30 to 32. In some of these states, the governor continued to exercise considerable influence in state educational rule making and administration. In others, however, there were often signs of developing traditions of political bipartisanship and decreased personal influence by governors in administration and policies concerning education. Only in New York was the governor left on the sidelines in a legal sense; traditionally in such states as Maryland and New Hampshire the voters were known to prefer state board actions quite independent of the governors.

By 1968, it seemed to be well established that the older practice of authorizing governors to appoint both state board members and chief state school officers was losing ground, with only New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Virginia preserving this method of selection.

Chief State School Officers

The chief state school officers legally are officers of the state governments as well as professionals in education. They function within the state governments and deal with federal and local governments on an intergovernmental basis. As professionals, they also deal with educators within the state and elsewhere. In many, if not most, relationships they are regarded as professionals and also as officials of the states.

In a state department of education, the chief state school officer is at the center of the stage. His influence is an important factor in whether a department is improving or coasting along, stimulating or controlling and pacifying, leading in vigorous and balanced use of all resources or leaning unduly on federal funds and political arrangements. Regardless of the route by which he came to his office, inexorable personal tests are applied to the chief state school officer that go far toward fixing both the real quality and the long-term public image of the department. Administrative integrity and ability, diligent and dedicated work, courage and candor in action, and relative emphasis on performance in fundamentally important but difficult areas of leadership are among the many personal qualities inevitably judged within the state government and throughout the state.

Governmental organizations or administrative devices cannot ensure either the success or failure of state departments of education as institutions or of chief state school officers as their executive and administrative officers. There have been both successful and unsuccessful chief state school officers under all leading systems of organization and administration, perhaps because the best system cannot itself make an incompetent person successful and the worst system cannot prevent success by the most competent. There may be evidence, however, that some systems of organization facilitate effective state departments more often than others when large numbers of cases are examined over considerable periods of time and when trends based on experience can be analyzed.

Selection of Chief State School Officers. Five different methods of selecting the chief state school officer have been employed at one time or another since 1900: election by vote of the people, appointment by the governor, appointment by the state board of education, appointment by the state legislature, and ex officio designation. Appointment by the legislature was a political anomaly that was difficult to justify on any theory of American government. It was at once an invasion of the executive branch and a denial of the electorate.

Appointment by ex officio designation had the effect of making a person elected on a noneducational platform a part-time chief state school officer, and it was never more than a political makeshift and relic of frontier days when only a minimum education seemed to be necessary. Such selection made it highly unlikely that the chief state school officer would devote full time to the position or have the highest possible educational qualifications. Ex officio designation for this office also multiplied the difficulties created by the ex offico members of state boards of education, who often neglected their policy duties in order to exercise administrative functions themselves. As Table 4 shows, only one chief state school officer was appointed by the legislature and only one was designated ex offico in 1910. None has received his office by either method since 1919.

Among the three methods in use, appointment by the state board of education has shown a continuous increase from 3 states in 1900 to 24 in 1967. Various forms of election by the people reached a peak of 34 states in 1920 and thereafter declined to 22 in 1967. Appointment by the governor reached its high point of 8 states in 1940 and then declined to 4 in 1967, its lowest point in the century. These trends are detailed in Table 4.

Election by the people was by far the favorite method of selecting chief state school officers before 1900. To protect the office against abolition, the people often placed it in the state constitution, which gave the office a higher status within most state governments in the nineteenth century than it would have received otherwise, as well as some independence from governors and legislators. Constitutional status continues to provide a basis for independence and political influence by the chief state school officer, especially when he becomes an ex officio member of the governor's cabinet. Such status is not confined to elected state school officers, however, since in 1963 there were 11 board-appointed and 1 governor-appointed chief state school officers classified as constitutional officers (7).

Since 1900, only Iowa and Oregon have ever returned to elected chief state school officers after abandoning that meth-

Table 4—METHODS OF SELECTING THE CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICER FOR SELECTED YEARS FROM 1900 TO 1967

Method	Number of states by year							
	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1967[a]
By people	31	33	34	33	32	29	23	22
By governor	7	7	6	7	8	6	5	4
By state board of education	3	4	8	8	8	13	22	24
By general assembly	3	1	...	...	...	...	...	...
By ex officio designation	1	1	...	...	...	...	...	...

Source:

Robert F. Will, *State Education, Structure and Organization* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), p. 20.

[a] Data for 1967 from reports in the office of the Council of Chief State School Officers, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C.

od of selection. In Iowa, a change to appointment by the governor was made for one 4-year term (1913-17), and then the state returned to the elective system until it changed to the state-board-appointed chief state school officer in 1953. In Oregon, the change followed a 1965 decision of the Oregon Supreme Court, which found a technical mistake of wording in the Oregon State Constitution: the words *elect* and *election* were held to refer to selection by the people rather than by the State Board of Education (8). This decision removed the power to appoint the chief state school officer that had been exercised by the State Board of Education from 1961 to 1965, and forced the state superintendent who had been appointed by the Board to run for reelection. After this reelection, the decision continued to raise many questions about the authority of major elements of the Oregon state system of education, and litigation continued in the courts in 1968.

Appointment by the governor makes the chief state school officer politically dependent on the governor. Here he may benefit from the governor's power on behalf of education or suffer because of the governor's lack of enthusiasm for it. For good or ill, the chief state school officer appointed by a state board of education is

Table 5—COMPARISON OF SALARIES OF ELECTED AND BOARD-APPOINTED CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1967

Elected		Board-appointed	
State	Salary	State	Salary
Alabama	$15,000	Alaska	$22,500
Arizona	13,000	Arkansas	18,000
California	25,000	Colorado	25,000
Florida	29,000	Connecticut	25,500
Georgia	22,500	Delaware	20,500
Idaho	12,500	Hawaii	26,000
Illinois	30,000	Iowa	21,000
Indiana	18,000	Maine	18,000
Kansas	13,500	Maryland	29,000
Kentucky	12,000	Massachusetts	30,000
Louisiana	18,700	Michigan	30,000
Mississippi	16,000	Minnesota	21,500
Montana	12,500	Missouri	23,616
North Carolina	20,000	Nebraska	16,500
North Dakota	16,000	Nevada	20,000
Oklahoma	16,500	New Hampshire	17,580
Oregon	20,000	New Mexico	21,000
South Carolina	20,000	New York	40,000
South Dakota	15,000	Ohio	40,000
Washington	22,500	Rhode Island	23,000
Wisconsin	21,000	Texas	26,000
Wyoming	15,000	Utah	21,000
		Vermont	20,700
		West Virginia	18,000
Average	$18,350	Average	$22,976

NOTE:
See Table 9 for salaries of all chief state school officers from 1947 to 1967.

likely to have a more nearly bipartisan position in relation to politics and to be regarded more as an educator and less as a political figure by the public. Robert F. Will has detailed the arguments used for and against the three methods currently in use (9).

Few, if any, objective measures of the relative merits of the three methods of selecting chief state school officers are possible. If one may assume that in the long run the people will receive the quality of service they are willing to pay for, however, relative salaries are interesting and may have some general significance. Table 5 shows that the annual salaries of the 24 state-board-appointed officials at the end of 1967 averaged $22,976, against an average of $18,350 for the 22 officials elected by popular vote. The four states in which the governor appoints the chief state school officer averaged $22,500, but Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, and Tennessee may be too unrepresentative in size and too small a sample to make valid comparisons with the larger and approximately equal numbers elected by the people and appointed by boards.

Another comparison suggested by Table 5 concerns the professional qualifications of chief state school officers. The formal legal requirements of the states defining eligibility for this office are not significant because such requirements are similar to the general qualifications required for high political offices at all levels of government, from the village mayor to the President. The test is rather on the educational qualifications of the persons who are in fact selected under each method, which may correlate to some extent with preparation and capacity to become leaders in education.

At one time, most chief state school officers were elected by popular vote, and the laws in most states treated them as state officials rather than as persons requiring professional qualifications. State boards often establish professional prerequisites for appointment, even though the law has not mandated any such professional requirements. In the case of election by the people, there is probably less likelihood of exceeding the minimum requirements for political officers.

Table 6 shows the great advantage appointed chief state school officers possessed in formal preparation over those elected by popular vote in 1940. This advantage has continued to exist at all times since then. According to data in the offices

Table 6—NUMBER AND PERCENT OF 45 CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS BY METHOD OF SELECTION AND BY EARNED DEGREES, 1940

	Method of Selection							
	Elected by people		Appointed by state board		Appointed by governor		Total	
Highest earned degree	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No degree	5	17.2	...	...	...	...	5	11.1
Bachelor's	7	24.2	1	12.5	...	...	8	17.8
Master's	13	44.8	2	25.0	5	62.5	20	44.5
Doctor's	4	13.8	5	62.5	3	37.5	12	26.6
Total	29	100.0	8	100.0	8	100.0	45	100.0

Source:

W. W. Deffenbaugh and Ward W. Keesecker, *State Board of Education and Chief State School Officers: Their Status and Legal Powers* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1941), p. 39.

of the Council of Chief State School Officers, chief state school officers usually have been well prepared professionals in recent years. In February 1968, 12 of the 24 chief state school officers appointed by state boards of education and 4 of the 22 state officers elected by popular vote held earned degrees at the doctorate level. Among the 4 appointed by governors, 3 chief state school officers held such degrees. Regardless of the method by which they have been selected, numerous chief state school officers have received honorary degrees bestowed by institutions of higher education.

To summarize, the people have not often been willing to place educational control fully in the hands of the executive branches of state governments. Various methods have been employed in most of the states to keep a break in the direct line of administrative relationship between the governor and the chief state school officer. There has been special resistance by educators and by the people to the articles of faith espoused generally by political scientists, which would centralize power under state governors by having them appoint the chief state school officers along with heads of other departments of state government. When the chief state school officer is elected by the people, he gets direct approval from the people in the same manner as the governor. When he is appointed by the state board of education and the members of the board are themselves elected, the electorate still has no direct educational contact with the governor unless the governor himself is an active ex officio member of the board, which the data in Table 3 show to be rare.

On the other hand, Table 3 shows that in 14 of the states in which the chief state school officer is appointed by the state board of education, the state boards of education are appointed by the governors. On its face, this suggests only slight insulation from the power of the governor. As a matter of fact, however, this system is found mostly in states which established the board appointment system before 1950. We have noted that some of the state boards and governors in those states have developed traditions of considerable state board independence and nonpolitical action in choosing their chief state school officers.

Students of state educational administration predominantly favor the trends that have been prevalent since 1944. Under these patterns, some separation of legislative and executive powers at the administrative level is intended. The state board performs the principal policy-making or legislative functions within the scope of the state laws. The chief state school officer and his staff perform the professional administrative tasks. While in practice it is difficult to separate legislative and executive functions, experience through the years has shown that this separation can be accomplished to a reasonable degree.

It is further intended that most of the quasi-judicial functions be shared by the executive officer and the board, with the executive finding the facts and making technical rulings and the board hearing appeals and making final administrative determinations. The executive officer and the board increasingly have their own attorneys in the departments, although in some states they must still depend on counsel assigned from the office of the state attorney general. Some administrative disputes in education are of such fundamental importance that they are usually referred early to the attorney general, and all parties ordinarily have the right to appeal to the courts after final decisions have been made in such cases by administrative officials.

Robert F. Will has provided further conceptual analysis for the aforementioned pattern of state educational administration. He has pointed out that state legislatures, restricted only by constitutional law, can remove public administration almost entirely from the executive sphere of control. State legislatures cannot create sovereign executive powers and duties, but they "can and do create State administrative agencies and delegate administrative powers and duties to them" (10).

Salaries of Chief State School Officers. Numerous students of state administration of education have pointed out the key roles of the chief state school officer and his staff. They have noted that it is of fundamental importance that the salary and status of the chief state school officer be such as to enlist a highly qualified educational leader who is able to maintain a favorable status and public image for education in his relationships with the governor, the legislature, the profession, and the public. Much concern has been expressed by chief state school officers and authorities in educational administration that salaries in state departments of education have been restricted because of the lower salaries in other departments of the state governments, sometimes without regard to the comparative size, importance, and professional character of the departments concerned.

Writing in 1927, Cubberley drew a discouraging picture of the situation in previous years that continued to plague state departments of education and especially the position of chief state school officer:

> The office has offered no career for anyone, with the result that it has too often been left as a retiring political reward for the old and successful county superintendent. The cities have monopolized the services of the better school men, and the best thought has been spent on their problems. The result is written over the past educational history of our American States. The cities have made remarkable progress and drawn the best prepared men to their service, while the state office has commanded but little influence, has been given only very limited powers, and has been shunned by most of the well prepared school men in the State (11).

A review of salaries was reported by Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore in 1938 (12). Using the hypothesis that the chief state school officer should be as well qualified as any other educational officer in a state, and hence that his salary should be commensurate, Cocking and Gilmore compared salaries of chief state school officers with those of presidents of state universities and land-grant colleges. Their findings are reported in Table 7, which shows that approximately 19 percent of the chief state school officers received an annual salary of $7,000 or more, while approximately 83 percent of the university presidents and 65 percent of the land-grant college presidents were in this category.

Table 8 compares the salaries of chief state school officers with those of the highest paid superintendent at the local level in each state. In 1950, only Maine, Maryland, and New Hampshire paid their chief state school officers more than their best paid local superintendent, and the average salary of the 48 state chiefs averaged $8,271 per year, contrasted with an average of $13,494 for the highest paid local administrators.

There was little improvement in 1960; and as recently as 1964 only Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Delaware, and New York paid their chief state school officers salaries equal to those of their highest paid local superintendents. In 30 or more states, the chief state school officer, operating with tremendous responsibilities to all the people and to all the school districts in the state, found himself employed at a lower salary than the local superintendent in the capital city. Even comparatively small capital cities such as Olympia, Cheyenne, Pierre, Salem, Bismarck, Helena, Jackson, Baton Rouge, Topeka, Des Moines, Springfield, Boise, Sacramento, Harrisburg, Little Rock, and Montgomery commanded better salaried top administrators than the chief state school officers of the states in which these cities were located. The state superintendents in Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, and Arizona received salaries only one-half as large as the local superintendents in Chicago, Kansas City, Omaha, and Phoenix.

The annual salaries of the chief state school officers in all states for alternate years since 1949 are presented in Table 9. These data, compiled by the office of the Council of Chief State School Officers, in-

Table 7—DISTRIBUTION OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS, PRESIDENTS OF STATE UNIVERSITIES, AND PRESIDENTS OF SEPARATE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES BY SALARY LEVEL, 1937

	Officers, by salary					
	Chief state educational officer		President of state university		President of separate land-grant college	
Salary level	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	48	100.00	41	100.00	23	100.00
Less than $3,000	1	2.1	...	...	...	...
$3,000–$4,999	17	35.4	3	7.3	2	8.7
$5,000–$6,999	21	43.7	4	9.8	6	26.1
$7,000–$8,999	2	4.2	6	14.6	4	17.4
$9,000–$10,999	4	8.3	12	29.3	7	30.4
$11,000–$12,999	1	2.1	6	14.6	3	13.0
$13,000–$14,999	...	...	2	4.9	...	...
$15,000–$16,999	2	4.2	3	7.3	1	4.4
$17,000–$18,999	...	...	3	7.3	...	...
$19,000 or more	...	...	2	4.9	...	...

Source:

Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore, *Organization and Administration of Public Education,* Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 83.

clude the salaries of the chief school officers of Puerto Rico, Guam, American Samoa, the Canal Zone, the Virgin Islands, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. It is clear that such salary ceilings for chief state school officers have damaged the professional position and public image of many state departments by contributing to their inability to attract top professional personnel.

Table 9 also indicates that these conditions took a turn for the better in 1964-65. It shows that between 1963 and 1967 the average salary for chief state school officers of the 50 states increased from $15,917 to $21,526; that the average of the lowest 12 increased from $10,617 to $14,142; and that the average of the top 12 increased from $22,147 to $30,458. Some reasons for the low salary status of chief state school officers and the effects of this on state departments of education will be considered along with professional staff salaries at the conclusion of the next section.

Departmental Staffs

At the beginning of the present century, state departments of education were small, with meager staffs and responsibilities. Some consisted of the state superintendent and one or two assistants. Generally, the superintendent was concerned with such duties as visiting schools, talking with teachers, preparing reports, interpreting school laws, and distributing state money to local districts. In 1904, for instance, Commissioner Henry C. Morrison of New Hampshire had a staff of two: an administrative assistant and a secretary. Legend has it that for a number of years he frequently set out with his horse and buggy on Monday morning to visit the schools, returning to his office only at the end of the week. He drove from school to school, receiving meals and lodging with school authorities while he worked to show teachers how to teach.

While a small increase in staff size in state departments came as a result of

Table 8—COMPARISON OF SALARIES OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICER WITH HIGHEST PAID CITY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT, BY STATE, FOR 1950 AND 1960

State	1950		1960	
	Salary of chief state school officer	Salary of city superintendent of schools	Salary of chief state school officer	Salary of city superintendent of schools
Alabama	$ 5,700	$ 9,250	$10,000	$16,000
Alaska	. . .	. . .	17,000	21,427
Arizona	5,500	12,412	12,000	23,950
Arkansas	7,500	8,568	10,000	12,000
California	12,500	25,000	20,000	38,000
Colorado	6,000	18,500	16,000	25,000
Connecticut	10,200	12,000	17,780	20,263
Delaware	11,200	14,000	16,500	19,780
Florida	10,000	10,000	17,500	20,000
Georgia	7,500	12,000	17,500	22,000
Hawaii	. . .	. . .	15,500	. . .
Idaho	4,000	9,000	8,000	15,000
Illinois	9,000	25,000	20,000	40,000
Indiana	7,500	15,000	11,500	25,000
Iowa	6,500	15,000	12,000	22,500
Kansas	5,000	12,000	8,000	21,000
Kentucky	5,000	12,200	12,000	19,875
Louisiana	10,000	12,500	17,000	23,500
Maine	8,000	7,000	14,000	12,750
Maryland	15,000	14,700	20,000	25,000
Massachusetts	11,000	18,000	14,000	22,000
Michigan	12,500	18,000	17,500	30,000
Minnesota	8,000	18,500	12,750	28,000
Mississippi	7,500	11,000	12,500	15,000
Missouri	9,000	15,000	18,000	25,000
Montana	4,200	8,200	7,500	14,500
Nebraska	5,000	14,166	11,500	22,000
Nevada	4,800	8,500	12,075	17,000
New Hampshire	8,175	7,600	13,680	10,000
New Jersey	15,000	18,000	22,000	24,000
New Mexico	6,000	12,240	12,500	22,500
New York	20,000	32,500	24,486	37,500
North Carolina	7,500	12,000	13,500	17,000
North Dakota	3,300	7,900	8,700	16,000
Ohio	8,600	18,500	25,000	25,000
Oklahoma	4,800	15,000	12,000	22,000
Oregon	7,200	14,000	11,500	22,500
Pennsylvania	12,000	19,000	20,000	26,000
Rhode Island	6,000	13,950	14,071	18,595

Table 8—COMPARISON OF SALARIES OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICER WITH HIGHEST PAID CITY SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT, BY STATE, FOR 1950 AND 1960 (Continued)

State	1950		1960	
	Salary of chief state school officer	Salary of city superintendent of schools	Salary of chief state school officer	Salary of city superintendent of schools
South Carolina	7,500	10,500	11,000	16,000
South Dakota	4,800	8,000	6,800	13,000
Tennessee	7,800	10,713	10,000	15,000
Texas	17,500	16,500	18,500	30,000
Utah	6,000	10,500	12,500	17,000
Vermont	6,000	7,500	9,500	10,000
Virginia	9,960	14,000	18,000	23,100
Washington	8,500	12,900	8,500	21,400
West Virginia	6,000	8,600	12,000	10,000
Wisconsin	10,000	15,346	17,000	25,000
Wyoming	6,800	7,000	10,000	$16,500
Average salary all states	$ 8,271	$13,494	$14,186	$20,692

Sources:

1950: Data obtained from National Education Association, Research Division. Based on unpublished data obtained from salary inquiry for 1950–51. Includes highest paid superintendent reporting in each state.

1960: National Education Association, Research Division, *Salaries Paid Central-Office School Administrators, 1960–61, Urban Districts 100,000 and Over in Population,* Research Report 1961–R4 (Washington, D.C.: The Association, June 1961).

growth in high school enrollments during the early years of the century, the change was not very noticeable until the period of World War I, at which time such areas as vocational education and health and physical education were emphasized and given special federal financial assistance. Special war needs brought the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 and otherwise stimulated larger departmental staffs. For example, in the state of Connecticut the staff increased from 3 in 1900 to 54 in 1920, while in Texas the increase was from 8 to 53 for the same years. Another boost in staff accompanied by increased responsibilities came during the 1940's when again the United States was at war. In Utah, for instance, the number of staff members in the state department of education more than tripled during this period, growing from 19 to 68 persons (13).

The distribution of professional staff time among the various service areas of the 48 state departments of education in 1948-49 is shown in Table 10. The relative importance of the several functions of the departments in that year can be inferred from these statistics. In comparing these areas of employment, it should be remembered that vocational rehabilitation does not operate through local school systems; it is a direct state department operation to individual clients throughout the state. In terms of personnel, therefore, it is not comparable with the other 39 functions listed.

Although the periods of most rapid state department expansion during the first

Table 9—SALARIES OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS BIENNIALLY, 1949-67, IN DOLLARS [a]

	Date									
State	Aug. 1949	Jan. 1951	July 1953	Aug. 1955	Sept. 1957	Sept. 1959	July 1961	Jan. 1963	July 1965	Dec. 1967
Alabama	5,700	7,500	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	15,000
Alaska	8,000	12,000	13,500	14,500	16,000	17,000	17,000	17,000	20,000	22,500
American Samoa	6,400	6,400	9,816	9,816	9,816	10,404	9,816	9,816	15,000	16,651
Arizona	5,500	5,500	9,600	9,600	12,000	12,000	12,000	13,000	13,000	13,000
Arkansas	7,500	7,500	8,400	8,400	9,660	10,000	10,000	10,800	14,000	18,000
California	12,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	20,000	22,500	22,500	25,000
Canal Zone	7,794	9,500	10,450	13,168	13,437	15,393	16,887	17,400	20,946	23,000
Colorado	6,000	9,000	10,000	12,000	14,000	16,000	17,500	18,500	21,500	25,000
Connecticut	10,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,900	17,160	18,500	20,140	24,000	25,500
Delaware	10,500	11,200	10,000	10,000	13,380	16,000	17,000	17,000	18,300	20,500
Florida	10,000	10,000	12,500	15,000	17,500	17,500	17,500	17,500	24,000	29,000
Georgia	7,500	7,500	8,619	12,759	12,219	15,184	17,500	17,500	17,500	22,500
Guam	7,794	8,969	7,800	8,580	11,212	12,350	12,740	12,740	15,000	15,750
Hawaii	10,380	10,680	12,000	12,000	13,500	15,500	15,500	18,500	18,500	26,000
Idaho	4,000	5,000	5,000	6,500	6,500	8,000	10,000	10,000	10,000	12,500
Illinois	9,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	16,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	30,000
Indiana	7,500	7,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	11,500	18,000	18,000	18,000
Iowa	6,000	6,500	7,000	10,000	10,000	12,000	13,000	13,000	18,000	21,000
Kansas	5,000	7,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	8,000	9,500	10,000	12,000	13,500
Kentucky	5,000	8,500	8,500	10,000	10,000	10,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000
Louisiana	10,000	10,000	12,500	12,500	15,000	15,000	17,000	17,000	18,700	18,700
Maine	7,000	8,000	9,000	10,000	11,250	14,000	14,000	14,000	16,000	18,000
Maryland	15,000	15,000	15,000	17,500	20,000	20,000	20,000	22,500	22,500	29,000
Massachusetts	11,000	11,000	11,000	11,000	14,000	14,000	25,000	25,000	27,500	30,000
Michigan	12,500	12,500	12,500	12,500	17,500	17,500	17,500	17,500	22,500	30,000
Minnesota	8,000	8,000	11,300	11,300	12,750	12,750	16,000	16,000	17,500	21,500
Mississippi	7,500	7,500	8,250	8,250	8,730	10,000	12,500	12,500	12,500	16,000
Missouri	8,500	9,500	12,000	12,000	16,500	18,000	18,000	19,750	22,448	23,616
Montana	4,200	4,200	6,000	6,000	7,500	7,500	8,500	8,500	12,500	12,500
Nebraska	5,000	5,000	6,500	9,000	10,500	11,500	12,500	12,500	14,000	16,500
Nevada	4,800	4,800	6,600	9,000	9,000	12,000	12,650	13,225	14,400	20,000
New Hampshire	8,000	8,200	10,350	10,350	12,200	13,120	14,800	14,800	16,860	17,580
New Jersey	15,000	15,000	18,000	18,000	20,000	22,000	22,000	24,500	27,500	30,000
New Mexico	6,000	6,000	9,000	9,000	12,400	13,120	15,000	15,400	18,500	21,000
New York	20,000	20,000	20,000	22,500	24,000	24,486	27,500	28,875	40,000	40,000
North Carolina	7,500	7,500	10,000	10,000	13,500	13,500	13,500	13,500	18,000	20,000
North Dakota	3,300	5,400	5,400	5,400	7,200	8,700	9,600	9,600	11,200	12,200
Ohio	8,600	8,600	10,000	10,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	25,000	40,000
Oklahoma	4,800	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	15,000	15,000	16,500
Oregon	7,200	7,200	10,000	11,000	11,500	11,500	15,000	15,000	18,000	20,000
Pennsylvania	12,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	15,000	20,000	20,000	20,000	30,000
Puerto Rico	10,000	10,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	19,000	19,000
Rhode Island	6,000	6,000	8,500	8,500	10,500	10,500	14,071	16,235	20,436	23,000
South Carolina	7,500	7,500	7,500	10,000	10,000	11,000	11,000	15,000	15,000	20,000
South Dakota	4,800	5,400	6,000	6,000	6,300	6,800	9,000	9,000	9,000	15,000
Tennessee	7,800	7,800	7,800	10,000	10,000	10,000	12,500	12,500	20,000	20,000
Texas	7,200	17,500	17,500	18,500	18,500	18,500	18,500	18,500	20,000	26,000
Trust Territory of Pacific Is.	10,560	10,032	10,272	11,304	11,820	13,308	14,322	16,008	15,534	20,910
Utah	6,000	10,000	8,000	8,000	10,000	11,200	11,500	14,000	17,600	21,000

Table 9—SALARIES OF CHIEF STATE SCHOOL OFFICERS BIENNIALLY, 1949-67, IN DOLLARS[a] (Continued)

	Date									
State	Aug. 1949	Jan. 1951	July 1953	Aug. 1955	Sept. 1957	Sept. 1959	July 1961	Jan. 1963	July 1965	Dec. 1967
Vermont	6,000	6,000	7,500	7,500	9,500	9,500	10,000	11,000	15,625	20,700
Virginia	9,960	11,500	11,500	12,500	14,850	17,000	18,000	19,000	19,500	22,000
Virgin Islands	5,232	5,232	5,935	6,500	8,500	11,000	11,000	11,000	17,030	17,550
Washington	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	8,500	14,000	14,000	22,500	22,500
West Virginia	6,000	6,000	7,250	7,250	12,000	12,000	12,000	12,000	18,000	18,000
Wisconsin	10,000	10,000	10,500	15,000	17,000	17,000	17,000	17,000	20,000	21,000
Wyoming	4,800	6,800	8,400	8,400	8,400	10,000	10,000	12,000	12,000	15,000

[a] Compiled by Council of Chief State School Officers.

half of the current century resulted largely from involvement of states in such federally aided state and local programs as vocational education, national defense, school lunches, and veterans' training, there also was steady growth because of more complex educational programs, increased enrollments, and higher levels of educational attainment. State departments became more involved in such state-sponsored programs as high school supervision, elementary school supervision, teacher certification, health and physical education, curriculum development programs, development of public junior colleges and technical institutes, approval of school plant plans, pupil transportation, school district reorganization, school library services, state aid systems, and research and statistics dealing with all public elementary and secondary schools in the state.

Since 1950, and especially since 1957 when Sputnik was launched by the Soviet Union, staffs in state departments of education have grown at an accelerating rate. New programs have been introduced and responsibilities expanded and diversified in almost every program and administrative area. These changes have reflected the greatly increased scope and quality of state and local education as well as the massive infusion of federal funds under such legislation as the vocational rehabilitation laws, the National Defense Education Act of 1958, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

Salaries of Departmental Staff Members. The salaries of chief state school officers usually have tended to set practical ceilings on the salaries of departmental staff members, which is one reason why the latter have always been low in comparison with persons having comparable preparation, experience, and ability in other areas of education. This informal ceiling on staff pay has occasionally been broken, but only after the discrepancies have become absurd. For instance, the salary of a chief state school officer occasionally has been set in a state constitution and then allowed to become antiquated over a term of years through failure to up-date the constitution by an amendment. In 1950, State Superintendent Pearl A. Wanamaker of Washington was paid a constitutionally embalmed salary of $4,000 annually, while her deputy superintendent received $9,600 —and this at a time when she served as president of the Council of Chief State School Officers and was a nationally recognized leader in American education.

Similarly, Kentucky State Superintendent Harry M. Sparks was trapped by a $12,000 salary mandated in the Kentucky Constitution throughout a 4-year term ending in 1967, with all top members of his staff paid greater amounts. In what has become known as the "rubber dollar deci-

Table 10—DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PROFESSIONAL STAFF TIME OF 48 STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION BY SERVICE AREA, JULY 1, 1948—JUNE 30, 1949

Service area	Man-months of professional staff time	Equivalent of full-time staff members	Departments providing one or more man-months of professional staff time
1	2	3	4
Total	48,633	4,053	. . .
Vocational rehabilitation	11,490	958	40
Vocational education	7,109	593	42
Instructional services	5,595	466	48
Veterans education	4,810	401	44
School lunch	2,235	186	48
Exceptional children and youth	1,667	139	39
State and local public libraries	1,610	134	13
Finance and business administration	1,232	103	44
Higher education	1,012	84	21
Teacher certification	887	74	46
Adult education	854	71	26
Departmental office administration	816	68	46
Research and statistics	760	63	41
School plant	724	60	38
Surplus property	628	52	34
Guidance	606	51	37
Pupil transportation	586	49	41
Local school unit reorganization	559	47	32
School health services	492	41	34
Public relations	431	36	39
School library	411	34	32
Audiovisual materials	382	32	33
Teacher education	380	32	34
School attendance and census	377	31	30
State and local public museums	376	31	3
Records and reports	371	31	40
Textbooks	325	27	26
School law	281	24	38
Teacher retirement	267	22	11
Correspondence schools	241	20	10
Private academic schools (elem. & sec.)	219	18	20
Scholarships	219	18	13
Film censorship	182	15	3
Educational fair practice	108	9	2
Placement service	106	9	17
Recreation	92	8	22
Archives and history	84	7	1
Film production	50	4	1
Education and registration of nurses	47	4	2
Administration of education in unorganized territory	12	1	1

Source:

Fred F. Beach, *The Functions of State Departments of Education,* U.S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency Misc. No. 12 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1950), p. 18.

sion," because the declining purchasing power of inflated dollars was taken into account, the Court of Appeals of Kentucky decided in 1961 that the salary of the chief state school officer was not subject to the constitutional limitation and in 1962 that the Legislature could fix the salary. The Legislature raised the amount to $20,000 in 1966, constitutionally protected by judicial audacity rarely exhibited by the highest state courts (14).

In addition to Kentucky, other states in which the chief state school officers received lower salaries than one or more staff members in 1965 were Alabama, Arizona, California, and Georgia. In Wyoming, several staff members were paid salaries equal to that of the chief state school officer.

Salary data for professional staff members in five states for the year 1923, as reported by Authur Wesley Ferguson, are presented in Table 11. Ferguson said that the median salary for three of these states—Pennsylvania, Connecticut, and New Jersey—was considered good, but not those in New York and Massachusetts. New York was noted as the only state among the five requiring that its professional staff meet state civil service requirements, and it then paid the lowest salaries.

Table 11—SALARIES OF 256 PROFESSIONAL STAFF OFFICERS IN FIVE STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION, 1923

Salaries	Massachusetts	Connecticut	New York	New Jersey	Pennsylvania	Total
$12,000	...	...	1	...	1	2
$10,000-$11,999	...	...	...	1	...	1
$ 9,000-$ 9,249	1	1	...	...	...	2
$ 7,500-$ 7,749	...	...	...	...	2	2
$ 6,500-$ 6,749	1	...	...	4	1	6
$ 6,000-$ 6,249	1	...	...	1	8	10
$ 5,750-$ 5,999	...	...	...	...	1	1
$ 5,500-$ 5,749	1	...	4	1	2	8
$ 5,000-$ 5,249	1	3	...	1	13	18
$ 4,750-$ 4,999	...	...	1	...	1	2
$ 4,500-$ 4,749	...	2	3	...	1	6
$ 4,250-$ 4,499	...	...	3	1	...	4
$ 4,000-$ 4,249	...	1	7	2	8	18
$ 3,750-$ 3,999	3	...	5	...	...	8
$ 3,500-$ 3,749	1	3	6	4	11	25
$ 3,250-$ 3,499	5	...	15	...	...	20
$ 3,000-$ 3,249	7	3	11	...	8	29
$ 2,750-$ 2,999	...	...	8	...	...	8
$ 2,500-$ 2,749	5	...	5	1	5	16
$ 2,250-$ 2,499	4	...	7	...	...	11
$ 2,000-$ 2,249	2	1	13	...	1	17
$ 1,750-$ 1,999	3	...	13	...	...	16
$ 1,500-$ 1,749	2	...	14	...	...	16
$ 1,250-$ 1,499	1	...	7	...	...	8
Total	38	14	125	16	63	256
Median	$3,071	$3,750	$2,859	$4,500	$4,203	$3,812
Rank	4	3	5	1	2	

Source:

Arthur Wesley Ferguson, *Professional Staff of State Departments of Education*, Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, Bulletin No. 17 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 39.

Table 12 represents a set of salary data compiled by Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore from their 1938 study, comparing salaries of 526 professional staff members of state departments of education with those of 209 superintendents in cities of from 30,000 to 100,000 population. The authors concluded that there were wide variations in the individual salaries of staff members and that in certain departments all salaries were extremely low. It was clear to them in 1938 that well organized and well staffed departments of education could not be provided in a number of states because salaries paid were not large enough to attract and hold sufficient numbers of competent people. Table 12 reveals that the personnel of state departments of education were considerably underpaid in comparison with those of superintendents in cities of from 30,000 to 100,000 population.

Table 13 presents the results of four more recent compilations. Those for 1956, 1958, and 1961 were prepared by the Council of Chief State School Officers and circulated to its membership with warnings against direct comparisons among states and literal interpretations of specific data.

The reason for this warning about comparisons of states is principally that titles of personnel do not have entirely similar meanings from state to state. A large state department is likely to have personnel positions three to five steps below the chief state school officer whose functions are comparable to those of some second- and third-level persons in smaller departments. The practical pressures on salaries and the desperate search for personnel have some-

Table 12—DISTRIBUTION OF 526 PROFESSIONAL STAFF MEMBERS OF STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION AND OF 209 SUPERINTENDENTS IN CITIES OF FROM 30,000 TO 100,000 POPULATION, BY SALARY LEVEL

Salary level	Members of state departments of education[a]		Superintendents[b]	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Total	526	100.00	209	100.00
Less than $2,000	29	5.51	...	...
$2,000–$2,999	113	21.49	...	...
$3,000–$3,999	208	39.55	7	3.15
$4,000–$4,999	115	21.86	30	14.35
$5,000–$5,999	32	6.08	69	33.01
$6,000–$6,999	12	2.28	59	28.23
$7,000–$7,999	17	3.23	23	11.00
$8,000–$8,999	...	...	14	6.70
$9,000–$9,999	...	...	3	1.44
$10,000 or more	...	...	4	1.92

Sources:

Members of state departments of education: Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore, *Organization and Administration of Public Education,* Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 83.

Superintendents: National Education Association, Research Division, "Salaries Paid School Administrative and Supervisory Officers, 1936–37, 207 Cities 30,000 to 100,000 Population," *Public School Salaries in 1936–37* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1937), pp. 1–2.

[a] Tabulated from payrolls, budgets, and appropriation bills for the departments in 26 states. Most of the data are for 1937–38.

[b] Of the 200 cities reporting, 7 list two superintendents and 1 lists three.

times produced as many high titles as possible to make competitive professional salaries more acceptable to state civil service commissions and fiscal control agents in the state government. The result is that a larger percentage of the staffs in small departments is likely to have impressive titles than the staffs in larger departments, which are unable to create the additional positions necessary to make the percentages comparable.

An example involving the New Hampshire and New York state education departments in 1946 is illustrative. A superbly prepared and experienced teacher and scholar in fine arts who was offered $5,500 annually to be a "supervisor of drawing" in the New York Department at an organizational level fairly remote from the chief state school officer accepted a position as "state director of fine arts" at a salary of $3,800 annually in New Hampshire and reported directly to the chief state school officer.

The data for 1965 in Table 13 have been compiled from information collected from the states in 1965-66 by the U.S. Office of Education under the authority of Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The position definitions have been adapted slightly to make them roughly comparable to those compiled for 1956, 1958, and 1961 (15).

At this point we must look further for reasons why chief state school officers and their professional staffs have fared so badly, even when they were not affected by state constitutional salary limitations. Some of these are clear enough. Throughout the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth, state departments of education were small and exercised relatively limited functions of record keeping, promotion of education, and services to schools. Professional qualifications legally required for all public school personnel were low, including those for state department staff members. It is true that many dedicated leaders emerged at the state level: Horace Mann in Massachusetts (1837-48); Henry Barnard in Connecticut (1832-42) and in Rhode Island (1843-49); Caleb Mills in Indiana (1843-51); Calvin H. Wiley in North Carolina (1853-66); Francis G. Blair in Illinois (1906-32); Walter E. Ranger in Rhode Island (1905-35); Payson Smith in Maine (1907-17) and in Massachusetts (1917-35); Thomas E. Finegan in Pennsylvania (1915-22); W. F. Bond in Mississippi (1916-36); Frank Pierrepont Graves in New York (1921-40); E. Allen Bateman in Utah (1945-60); and many others. Why such leadership was so often unable to obtain adequate funds to employ and retain needed professional personnel can be inferred to some extent from the materials thus far discussed in this chapter. It will be considered in more detail in the section to follow.

THE WORKING ENVIRONMENT OF STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION WITHIN STATE GOVERNMENTS

The total working environment of the state department of education projects far beyond the boundaries of state government, and even of education, into a myriad of relationships with varied organizations and individuals—local school districts and boards, professional organizations, and special interest groups, to name only a few.

The following section, however, attempts to explore solely those relationships within the state government itself—with the legislature, the governor, and with other departments of the state government.

Relationships with State Legislatures

As education has become larger and relatively more complex and important among governmental services, the scope and the extent of state legislation affecting education have increased. There has been tremendous expansion of state funds for public schools and colleges since 1900. In recent years, large-scale entry of the federal government into education has raised new issues of local-state-federal relationships that have made important impacts on all state legislatures.

Table 13—SALARY RANGES OF THREE GROUPS OF STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL BY STATES, 1956, 1958, 1961, AND 1965

State	Highest salary other than chief state school officers				Director of majors divisions				Consultants, supervisors, and assistants			
	1956	1958	1961	1965	1956	1958	1961	1965	1956	1958	1961	1965
Alabama	$ 9,000	$ 9,000	$ 7,500–9,000	$12,240	$ 6,000–7,500	$ 7,800	$ 7,500–9,000	$ 9,780–12,240	$4,800–6,000	$ 6,000	$ 6,600–8,100	$ 6,950–9,456
Alaska	8,800	10,200	13,260–15,900	16,920	8,800	9,000–10,200	10,080–12,060	13,500–15,600	7,500 8,500	7,000–8,500	8,820–11,280	9,600–13,080
Arizona	7,500	8,500	12,000	15,000	6,800–7,200	4,500–7,500	7,200–9,600	9,500–12,000	5,400–6,200	6,000–7,500	7,000	5,400–8,600
Arkansas	6,200	7,800	8,400	9,600	5,400–6,000	6,900	7,020–8,400	7,500–9,000	4,500–5,400	5,520–6,210	5,800–6,600	6,600–7,200
California	15,000	16,800	15,288–18,588	22,812	15,000	15,600–16,800	10,860–13,860	16,212–22,812	7,008–9,384	7,356–11,400	8,940–11,400	9,948–15,499
Colorado	9,300	9,800	7,750–14,050	14,289	6,000–8,500	5,600–8,600	5,725–12,550	11.090–14,289	4,000–6,700	4,000–6,700	4,410–12,550	5,647–10,788
Connecticut	10,200–14,520	11,580–16,500	12,560–17,360	17,360	8,160–12,960	8,340–13,260	9,680–13,520	13,394–15,855	6,540–7,480	7,500–11,820	8,720–11,240	7,080–13,100
Delaware	8,660	10,820–13,800	10,880–12,880	16,000	7,060–7,260	7,980–11,480	8,920–11,880	12,000–14,000	5,300–6,600	6,100–9,680	8,120–10,280	8,280–11,860
Florida	9,900	10,800	10,200–13,800	15,750	9,600–9,900	7,800–10,800	10,200	12,500–15,744	5,460–8,400	4,500–8,760	9,600	10,500
Georgia	10,500	9,060–11,220	18,636–24,984	19,104	7,272–10,500	8,400–10,500	13,908–18,636	16,106–18,636	4,980–7,800	5,820–7,800	12,612–16,908	9,888–14,604
Hawaii	12,150	12,150	13,797–14.725	17,575–21,675	10,084–10,718	10,204–10,838	12,033–12,789	13,408–15,768	9,240–9,873	8,515–9,993	8,256–10,773	9,684–13,104

Idaho	6,468	6,720	7,770	10,680	5,997	6,720–7,300	6,500–8,400	9,600–9,900	5,964–6,180	6,720	7,320–7,872	7,800–9,360
Illinois	10,800	14,000	13,200–15,000	18,000	5,400–9,000	6,000–12,000	9,600–12,000	12,300–15,300	2,100–9,000	2,400–9,000	8,400–10,800	9,600–12,000
Indiana	7,500	8,000	9,200	12,840	5,700–6,600	7,000	6,720–8,700	9,420–10,800	5,500–5,900	4,800–6,300	6,420–6,960	7,560–9,000
Iowa	7,500	7,500	7,620–9,780	11,400	6,120–7,020	6,480–7,560	7,620–9,780	10,500–11,100	5,400–6,780	5,760–7,320	6,900–9,000	8,400–10,350
Kansas	7,764–9,144	7,764	7,398–9,000	11,055	6,060	6,060–7,392	6,693–8,160	9,535–10,944	4,980–5,772	4,092–6,060	4,983–7,392	5,772–9,114
Kentucky	9,000	10,300	10,344–11,976	15,288	5,760–9,000	6,672–10,872	6,996–8,520	13,200–14,556	4,800–6,240	4,980–6,996	5,760–6,996	6,360–10,872
Louisiana	10,500	11,500	13,800	16,500	7,200–10,500	7,750–11,250	9,800–11,700	12,000–16,340	5,300–7,800	6,500–9,750	8,500–9,600	9,000–11,500
Maine	6,604–8,216	9,360	10,192–12,428	13,303	6,084–7,592	6,916–8,580	7,592–9,230	10,388–12,058	3,900–6,366	4,888–7,228	6,240–8,372	7,023–9,885
Maryland	13,508	14,400	17,000–17,709	17,709	9,242–11,087	10,620–12,745	9,320–13,276	12,117–15,000	5,966–9,124	7,420–10,270	8,560–10,698	9,320–11,895
Massachusetts	9,180–10,980	11,024–14,144	11,908–15,106	16,676	5,580–10,380	7,202–12,246	8,476–13,247	12,215–15,896	4,560–7,260	4,641–8,125	6,240–9,035	9,126–10,842
Michigan	13,321	14,407	14,156–17,559	17,289	8,957–12,298	11,191–12,235	9,646–12,319	14,136–17,268	4,635–10,377	5,971–9,145	7,871–10,085	8,060–13,342
Minnesota	10,436	10,956	11,400–13,872	16,224	6,312–9,012	7,692–9,372	8,328–12,828	11,856–15,000	5,400–6,564	5,844–7,692	6,072–9,021	6,564–11,400
Mississippi	7,250	8,500	8,500–9,500	9,800	7,250	8,500	9,350	9,650	4,800–6,300	5,500–7,000	6,100–7,700	6,500–9,500
Missouri	10,000	11,000	12,600–13,000	15,093	6,500–7,300	7,450	8,400–10,000	10,068–15,051	5,720	6,400	7,350–9,000	7,649–10,000
Montana	6,500	7,800	9,500	12,000	6,000–6,400	6,500–7,500	8,200–8,500	10,000–11,500	5,000–5,900	5,600–7,500	6,500–8,400	7,000–9,500

Table 13—SALARY RANGES OF THREE GROUPS OF STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION PROFESSIONAL PERSONNEL BY STATES, 1956, 1958, 1961, AND 1965 (Continued)

	Highest salary other than chief state school officers				Directors of major divisions				Consultants, supervisors, and assistants			
State	1956	1958	1961	1965	1956	1958	1961	1965	1956	1958	1961	1965
Nebraska	8,000	8,200	8,700–9,600	11,100	7,500	6,900–7,700	7,000–7,900	10,000–10,600	6,000–6,500	5,800–6,500	5,800–7,200	6,200–8,760
Nevada	7,764	8,556	8,248–9,924	10,956	6,432–7,764	7,068–8,556	8,248–9,924	10,029–10,956	5,844–7,068	6,420–7,764	6,132–8,556	6,968–9,636
New Hampshire	10,226	8,866–10,192	9,621–10,947	13,620	6,420–7,704	7,676–9,190	6,580–9,885	11,625–12,430	3,910–6,067	4,240–6,860	4,764–7,900	6,886–9,208
New Jersey	12,000–15,000	15,600	18,000	18,970	7,800–11,700	10,020–15,600	13,233–17,205	15,003–17,510	5,220–8,400	5,460–9,600	9,875–15,603	9,672–14,557
New Mexico	9,000	9,000	11,000	13,656	6,700–8,500	7,000–8,680	10,000–11,500	11,280–13,000	5,000–7,000	5,400–8,080	6,540–8,400	7,200–11,200
New York	$19,000	$20,500	$24,185	$27,195	$ 9,750–11,650	$ 9,700–15,500	$18,660	$21,103–25,095	$5,660–8,770	$ 7,450–10,020	$ 9,500–11,400	$12,500–20,290
North Carolina	8,388	7,884–9,396	10,608–13,536	17,500	7,248–8,592	7,524–9,036	10,104–12,900	14,300–17,000	4,788–6,780	5,268–8,136	5,904–11,700	6,324–13,656
North Dakota	6,480	6,600	8,100–9,000	9,635	5,700–6,480	5,700–6,600	7,200–9,000	8,735–9,335	5,700–7,200	7,200	6,500–8,000	7,040–8,540
Ohio	7,920–9,420	15,000	14,000–16,000	16,000	6,600–7,920	7,560–9,000	10,000–12,000	11,280–14,400	5,040–7,200	5,520–7,920	7,560–10,320	7,200–10,500
Oklahoma	8,650	9,660	9,180–11,400	12,660	6,240–6,850	6,240–8,040	6,960–8,700	9,720–10,800	5,640	6,360	6,240–7,800	6,600–9,180
Oregon	8,940	9,720	11,400–13,800	16,500	7,200–8,940	7,500–9,300	7,500–10,980	13,800–15,420	5,280–6,000	5,760–8,220	5,520–8,940	7,500–13,320

Pennsylvania	12,500	13,301	14,600	16,170	9,454–12,075	9,454–12,075	10,432–13,979	13,858–16,126	6,090–9,454	5,529–7,055	6,090–9,454	9,408–13,572
Rhode Island	6,720–8,340	10,010	10,530–12,190	13,747	5,700–7,500	6,162–7,852	6,474–8,242	9,795–13,611	3,180–6,000	4,420–6,474	5,226–8,060	5,551–9,347
South Carolina	6,000	7,000	7,800–9,000	14,000	6,000	6,800–7,000	7,800–9,000	9,152–11,950	5,000–5,600	5,200–6,600	6,000–7,500	6,500–8,944
South Dakota	5,840	6,900	6,900–8,400	8,400	5,500–5,840	5,400–6,900	6,300–8,400	8,100	5,500–5,840	5,400–6,900	5,700–7,800	5,750–7,875
Tennessee	7,200	8,220	7,800–8,640	11,280	5,340–7,200	6,000–8,220	7,080–8,640	9,900–10,800	3,960–5,640	5,340–6,720	6,000–7,080	6,000–9,480
Texas	11,600	12,000	12,000	15,000	10,600	7,400–9,200	7,280–11,000	10,176–13,500	5,820	5,580–6,900	6,540–7,500	6,625–9,840
Utah	7,700	7,800	10,980–13,380	13,368	6,750	6,300–7,800	7,380–9,480	11,028–11,304	5,000–6,500	4,800–7,000	5,220–8,160	6,528–10,694
Vermont	7,514	8,036–9,409	7,982–10,010	11,193	6,032–7,202	7,321–8,580	7,306–10,010	8,762–10,172	5,044–6,552	5,548–7,207	5,174–8,762	6,118–8,372
Virginia	9,600–10,512	9,600–10,512	10,512–12,000	16,400	8,400–9,600	9,600–10,032	10,032–10,992	11,432–14,328	5,640–8,784	4,512–9,168	8,040–9,600	8,400–10,992
Washington	10,440	11,400	13,608–16,116	22,104	8,814–10,440	8,748–11,400	10,440–14,868	13,944–16,524	8,016–8,814	7,344–9,984	8,376–11,400	8,964–12,768
West Virginia	6,840	10,200	10,200–12,000	12,900	6,120–6,840	8,000–10,000	5,100–11,460	10,920–12,000	4,000–6,120	6,500–7,300	6,600–9,000	6,900–10,440
Wisconsin	10,848	13,500	15,000	16,500	8,400	8,964–10,884	11,551	12,648–13,368	6,960	4,464–9,144	8,772–11,352	8,892–11,988
Wyoming	6,800	7,600	9,500	12,000	5,500–6,800	7,200	8,220–9,000	10,800	5,280–5,800	5,520–6,600	6,000–8,400	7,140–10,560

Source:
Data for 1956, 1958, and 1961 compiled by the Council of Chief State School Officers directly from the state departments; data for 1965 compiled from data collected by the U.S. Office of Education under authority of Public Law 89-10 of 1965.

Legislatures have regarded state departments of education as central sources of data and recommendations for modifications in the scope and quality of education. There has been a common understanding that legislators should always be free to seek information from any valid source, but that they should rely especially upon this agency of their own creation. Most legislatures acted early to require reports from the chief state school officers at regular intervals on the status of the schools and their needs. These must be transmitted, as required by law, to the state board of education, the governor, the legislature, or to some combination of these. Whatever the route of transmittal, they constitute reports to the general public.

Periodic reports have been made by state departments of education with widely varying degrees of success. A few have been published promptly and in attractive form, relaying important issues and programs to the state governments and to the people and in a stimulating and even provocative manner advocating proposed action. However, most reports have fallen short in these regards and in general have failed to take full advantage of the opportunities offered. In some states, the periodic report has become routine and uninspiring, and leadership action has turned to other channels and methods.

State legislatures determine the resources of state departments of education through appropriations and personnel legislation. Over the years they have given governors and the finance and personnel agencies of the general state governments increasing power over education departments. For many decades numerous legislatures have demonstrated an amazing lack of concern about making the state education agencies equal to their responsibilities. Appropriations have been low, employment of professional personnel has been difficult in competition with other educational institutions, and the departments have often been forced through lack of financial support to operate under workloads that prohibited proper performance.

Fred F. Beach and Clayton D. Hutchins have reviewed financial difficulties of state departments of education in terms of procedures within state governments, indicating some improvement in many states following World War II (16). Surveys and nationwide studies have indicated widespread discontent in state departments of education having inadequate resources caused in part by administrative restrictions mandated or permitted under the laws. These problems are discussed further in the section dealing with the relationships of governors with state departments of education.

Historically, legislatures have dealt with their education departments along with numerous other departments of state governments. Education budgets are in competition for state funds with the budgets of all other departments, including many that have had strong political overtones and frankly political leadership. In this kind of competition, the education department—its image and its budget—is sensitive and vulnerable.

An education department typically has had a large number of professional personnel operating under pressures from local schoolmen and citizens, on the one hand, and under restraints by the governor and legislature, on the other. For example, local schoolmen and citizen parent groups usually exert pressure for increased expenditures for state aid to local schools. Governors and legislators, under strong pressure from tax lobbyists with considerable power and influence, often seek to hold state-level financial assistance down and pass the blame for increased taxes back to the local level. Professional personnel in departments of education are called before public legislative hearings to testify on levels of state and local tax effort. Such conflicting pressures may compromise the work of a department in ways that professional personnel in the department are unable to prevent or to mend. The department becomes especially vulnerable when it must carry much of the political responsibility for discretionary action in regard to such areas as state financial aid to local educational agencies, reorganization of local school districts, school segregation, and salary negotiations with teacher organizations.

Legislators who resist tax increases historically gravitate to membership on appropriations committees and ways and means committees. If state department of education personnel vigorously espouse increased state aid to local schools, or if they testify that a governor's recommendations are inadequate, they often bring forth the wrath of conservative legislators and tax lobbies that support their views. When hearings are held on relatively small increases in salaries of department of education personnel, it is not uncommon to see the departmental budgets suffer heavy cuts. No one can prove that such actions are punitive or are taken as reprisals, but the cause and effect relationships are sometimes clear.

In other instances, such as when the legislature decides to consolidate school districts and leaves the controversial decisions to be made administratively, the department's entire operation may be affected adversely. Since consolidation often becomes an emotional issue, legislators prefer to pass very broad and general legislation that leaves the hard decisions up to the state department of education. Advocating consolidation is as easy as supporting motherhood. However, when action gets down to what schools are to be chosen, it is not uncommon to find opposed citizens calling upon their state senator or representative to support their special interests. This places the legislator and the department of education in direct confrontation. The results of some difficult but educationally necessary decisions can affect entire divisions of state departments of education when legislative budget hearings are held.

As the operating agency of the state, an education department is vulnerable as a middleman between the state government and its other departments, on the one hand, and local educational agencies, on the other. In addition to the hazards of misunderstandings in such three-way communication, there is a natural tendency for the other parties to accept the praise for successful operations and to place the blame for failures on the middleman. The "legislative oversight" of the legislature and its sensitive relationships with the local constituents of its members make explanations or rebuttals from the department hazardous.

The legislature and the governor sometimes make compromises in legislation which leave unresolved issues to be settled by the state education department under a flexible or ambiguous statute. Legislative clarity is avoided for political reasons. Desirable flexibility may result from case-by-case decisions by the department. Under such circumstances, however, controversy involving the general state government, local educational agencies, professional groups, and citizens generally may continue between sessions of the legislature. As political and educational organizations gather ammunition for resumption of the argument in the next session, they keep sharp eyes on the state department of education. This is particularly true if the governor, the legislative leaders, and the chief state school officer have political differences or do not agree on the role of the state and their own respective roles in education. Harmony is precarious at best, and it is always in danger when organized teachers or other citizens raise serious statewide issues that must be resolved.

Effective chief state school officers and their staffs always have done far more than provide information to legislatures and promote harmony. They have recommended needed improvements, worked with interim study committees and councils, testified before legislative agencies, conferred in depth with individual legislative leaders, and given leadership to positive programs in cooperation with lay and professional individuals throughout the states they serve. Effective state department public information programs have been helpful in gaining public support.

A state department's position within a state government depends upon the ability of its leadership to take into account conflicting opinions and programs from many directions without suffering defeat for its major objectives. This success often depends upon the will of the legislature and can seldom be achieved by other than a well led and well staffed department.

If the department of education is able to communicate to key legislative leaders facts which result in a correct, if controversial, decision, the department will gain the legislators' support and defense against criticism in the legislative halls. The legislative will should be carried out by the department on the basis of objective appraisal of needs and a sound educational philosophy that is rooted in commitment to youth in the state. Department of education leaders must know, therefore, when to move from positions of strength. They also must recognize weak and inopportune situations that call for further study and recruitment of support rather than immediate action. A totally justifiable case needs strategic timing in its presentation, as well as public understanding. Strong support by key legislators should be assured in advance of presentations on the critical issues in education which face most of the states.

Relationships with Governors

Governors are the chief executives of the states, with powers that greatly vary from state to state. In 1900, the governorship in a small state was often a part-time occupation for a person with many outside interests, but complexity of structure and increased population have made such a simple approach impossible. All state governments have assumed larger responsibilities, with governors seeking powers of coordination and limitation over the proliferating and growing departments through central controls of their personnel and budgets. Most experts in general government favor such strong executive action and often deplore the kind of managerial autonomy cherished for practical operations by school districts, colleges, and state departments of education.

Many, if not most, governors agree with the political scientists who prefer that the governor appoint all departmental heads, including the chief state school officer, and serve as both the chief executive and the chief administrative officer of his state. Continued efforts to centralize governmental operations in states have long concerned state departments of education and educators generally.

The current movement of teachers toward militant action to win salary increases in large cities and in state school systems generally may tend to bring political figures, especially mayors of large cities and governors, into positions of increased educational control. Similar results may come from settlement of civil rights and poverty problems, in which education is heavily involved at both local and state levels. The current leadership roles of chief state school officers and state boards of education may depend on their effectiveness in dealing with such widespread problems. State legislatures are the agencies to determine the respective roles of state education departments and other state agencies or officials in dealing with any changes that may affect the control and management of education. They also will determine the extent to which state departments shall be strengthened and relied upon in dealing with educational problems on behalf of the state.

Fiscal Procedures. Walter D. Cocking and Charles H. Gilmore found in 1938 that through centralization most governors gradually had gained general responsibility for the development of personnel programs, for a complete program of fiscal services, and for administering and financing such programs for all departments of state governments through personnel and finance agencies. These responsibilities placed the governor in the position of developing, approving, presenting to the legislature, and administering the state budget. In 1938, the budgets of state education departments were submitted directly to the legislature in only 4 states, while in

31 states the governors were required to give final approval before budgets were presented to the legislatures (17). Today this pattern is all but universal among the states.

While procedures for handling state education department budgets differ from state to state, at some stage each such budget must receive the approval of an agency attached to the governor's office whose function is fiscal rather than educational. This approval must be obtained by all agencies before the governor can submit a complete budget to the legislature. Such central budgeting involves much negotiation with the many agencies, with the governor playing the most important role. While he is developing one budget, he is also supervising the administration of the previous budget that is in effect. In a large number of states, governors also have been given authority to transfer funds from one approved budget item to another.

The budgetary controls of the governor extend to the entire executive branch at all stages of development, administration, and reporting. The agencies set up by the chief executive supervise all others in varying degrees, and they develop techniques that add especially to the work of agencies operating complex programs throughout the state. In many states—Utah for example—a system of quarterly allotments has been established on the basis of a work budget. Such an operation often results in keeping duplicate sets of books, dealing with disturbing red tape, and other wasted efforts.

Personnel Practices. The quality of operation of a state department of education is directly dependent upon the quality of the personnel who staff it. Centralized personnel practices have been developed to increase efficiency in government operations, but these practices often have tended to restrict state departments of education in improving the quality of personnel. Generally, governors and personnel offices subject to their direction have tried with little success to compare personnel of state departments of education with those of other departments of government in regard to salary and other facets of personnel administration. Education on the elementary, secondary, and college levels is a proper function of the state, and the state education department is also a part of the state education system. State department of education salary levels and personnel practices should be compared with those of institutions of higher education and local school districts—the other components of the system—rather than with the noneducational divisions of state governments.

While the effects of federal financial assistance have led to some improvements in personnel practices affecting state departments of education since 1965, serious problems remain. It continues to be difficult to obtain the professional-level personnel required for successful operation because of inadequate salary schedules, lack of opportunities for advanced education, and professional travel restrictions. There are yet too many handicaps to attract to the state educational agency more than an occasional person with the potential to become a leader there or among his professional colleagues in local school systems and educational institutions.

When a state department of education field service consultant shows outstanding ability, he is likely to be employed quickly and at a higher salary by a college or university, a local school district, or an agency of the federal government with which he has professional contacts. Most state departments of education must be more able to compete for quality personnel before they can be more than moderately effective in meeting their responsibilities. Chief state school officers and department heads are seriously handicapped when colleges and school districts have almost complete freedom to recruit and fix salary levels for talented staff while state departments of education are denied such bargaining power.

The current situation is such that state departments also have unique requirements that further restrict the availability of needed personnel. No position in a state department of education has its exact counterpart in a school district or college. Some are quite different from those in local school districts and colleges. In a school district, a supervisor for a given subject is responsible to his superintendent, to the board of education, and to the parents of children in a rather direct way. As a state supervisor for the same subject, his relationships change. Where before he frequently worked face-to-face with an individual teacher of his subject, he now has a wider responsibility for the development of state curriculum materials, for coordinating professional efforts on a regional and state basis, and for advising superintendents of schools rather than counseling teachers.

Many state department positions require persons with preparation and experience that can rarely be found in local school districts, even if financial considerations did not stand in the way of their recruitment. State administrators of federal programs, researchers in distinctive areas of state educational activities, and even those holding positions as state supervisors of special programs—such as those for the handicapped or the gifted—need special preparation for state work.

As in business, industry, and government in general, the educational enterprise requires new skills with the passage of time. All of the educational innovations—improved teaching methods; the availability of newer media, such as television, programed material, and computers; team teaching; continuous progress programs; nongraded schools—require the retraining of teachers in service and changes in the education of beginning teachers. Similar conditions apply to those who are employed in state education departments. Their skills should be not only as new as those of teachers in the schools, but even more advanced.

State governments exercise other controls over their state departments of education that severely limit their professional leadership capacities. For example, the competitive examination procedures of state civil service programs tend to limit the ability of chief state school officers to recruit the talented and highly trained personnel in such short supply. Young Ph.D.'s, so sought out by education agencies, usually object to taking competitive examinations administered by persons not necessarily qualified in the field of specialty involved. Travel restrictions and red tape on most decisions that involve expenditures of money limit the freedom of action of professional education personnel in a manner unparalleled in most colleges and school districts. This leads to discouragement, frustration of efforts, and the eventual exodus of those capable of finding positions outside state departments of education where more freedom and authority to take action is granted.

Most colleges and many school districts provide sabbaticals, leaves of absence, and access to major conferences and seminars where professionals may share and learn. Doors to these kinds of opportunities for state education department personnel have been closed by the monolithic rule books of the personnel and finance directors in the total governing structure of many states.

These restrictions damage the capacity of the state agencies to serve their states in administering federal funds for education. The generally low level of state professional personnel has been the reason given, although greatly exaggerated, by federal officials and by some members of Congress to justify encroachments by federal personnel on state decision making in the federal-state-local administration of federal financial assistance to education.

A classic example of this federal encroachment—which was justified by alleged state education agency staff weaknesses—was the provision in Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 authorizing the U.S. commissioner of education to approve local projects directly to applicant school districts for innovative programs aimed at improving instruction for disadvantaged children. The state departments of education were bypassed in the federal law and left with only review and recommending authority. The money flowed directly from the commissioner to the local school districts. Federal officials justified this procedure by pointing out at Congressional hearings that state department personnel lacked the leadership and especially the innovative capability to administer a program such as Title III of ESEA.

The Congress re-examined the administrative structure of ESEA Title III and transferred authority to the state education agencies to approve local Title III projects to the extent of 75 percent of the federal appropriations as of July 1, 1968, with gradual assumption of state authority for approval of all Title III projects by July 1, 1971, under state plans (18). The original administrative arrangements, which left to the federal government all legal power over local project approval, involved the state agencies in ways that were demeaning and time consuming, as well as divisive among the state and local educational agencies. A federal system of finance and comprehensive control by the federal government, operating directly to certain local school districts selected by federal personnel, provided strong incentives for establishment of a federal-local school system operating parallel to but substantially independent of state systems of education. This is the sort of federal encroachment on the states that can succeed only if state departments of education are left weak in educational leadership.

Financial Support for Public Schools. Within the operation of state governments, both constitutional provisions and legislative enactments charge governors with duties affecting state departments of education and other departments. The level of state financial support for local schools, for example, is a part of the governor's budget. As the titular head of his political party he must provide leadership in building education planks in party platforms, and he must defend his party's record in the field of education. The chief state school officer should be able to recommend needed improvements in education and in the governor's budget recommendations before legislative committees. If the governor's budget message has certain inadequacies or inequities insofar as education is concerned, the chief state school officer will often find, however, that a totally candid evaluation of the governor's position on education is difficult if not practically impossible to make. Governors often tend to expect the same kind of support for their administration's programs from state departments of education as they expect from other departments which do not have vast and sensitive professional programs to administer. For this reason, they expect the chief state school officer to be a part of the governor's team and to be quite affirmative about gubernatorial recommendations to the state legislature. Since the governors in most states also control the budget, salaries, and travel approvals of all personnel in the state education agencies, they have "powerful weapons of persuasion" that will have a profound influence upon the freedom of chief state school officers' testimonies before legislatures. At best, public disagreement with the governor's recommendations on the part of the state education agency will be made under considerable stress.

Governors and chief state school officers too often tend to be listening to different drummers as they come face to face with problems affecting education. This field is so large, expensive, and important that high-level interaction in state government is crucially important to the people of every state. There have been instances when too little freedom of expression was expected and given from the state department of education to ensure that its educational views would become known and receive serious consideration within the state government and by the people.

Relationships with Other Departments of State Governments

While the relationships of state departments of education with governors and with legislatures have been given first attention in this chapter, it is recognized that they long have been affected directly or indirectly by many other agencies of state government. These relationships have been increasing in importance as education has been recognized as a means of accomplishing many of the purposes of state agencies operating in other fields. Agencies that have dealt with disease, poverty, crime, water and air pollution, and automobile accidents—to mention a few—have utilized education as a vital component of their activities and often have enriched education in the process.

State departments of education usually have served the education programs of other state agencies in appropriate ways, requiring that they have effective liaison with health, welfare, law, public safety, law enforcement, employment security, revenue, natural resources, and other departments of state government. This has called for planning, financing, staffing, and administering programs on a multiagency basis and often has involved local, state, and federal governments.

Relationships of state departments of education with agencies and departments of state government other than the governor and the legislature are indicated in Table 14. Since there has been little written on this subject, these data were secured for 1967 by asking each state department of education to identify the six state departments or agencies with which the state department of education had the most involvement and to describe briefly how its personnel interrelated with those of the other departments or agencies. Table 14 shows that the following departments or agencies are those with which state departments most commonly interacted in 1967: finance and administration, health, welfare, law, employment security, and public safety. Responses were primarily positive with respect to interagency cooperation in all areas except finance and administration, where the responses were almost entirely negative.

In all states except one, the questionnaires indicated a significant involvement with finance and administration departments or agencies. This category included such activities as budget submissions and reviews; budget adjustments and changes; purchase and expenditure approvals; and personnel employment, classifications, and

Table 14—THE DEPARTMENTS OR AGENCIES OF STATE GOVERNMENT WITH WHICH THE STATE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION HAS THE MOST INVOLVEMENT IN 30 STATES[a]

Department or agency	Number of states	Department or agency	Number of states
Finance and Administration	29	Commerce	2
Health	28	Archives and History	2
Welfare	21	Resource Development	2
Attorney General	15	Educational Television Commission	1
Employment Security	15	Corrections	1
Public Safety	13	Education Authority (capital outlay)	1
Mental Health	5	Vocational Rehabilitation	1
State Board of Higher Education	5	Public Improvements	1
Auditor	4	Library Commission	1
Revenue	4	Economic Security	1
Treasurer	4	Aeronautics Commission	1
Agriculture	4	Parks	1
State Retirement System	3	Fish and Game	1
Board of Control for Special Institutions	2	Reviser of Statutes	1
Fire Marshall	2	Transportation	1

[a] From data secured by questionnaire (19).

salary schedules. It was the one most often mentioned by the respondents. Some of the comments made on state education department problems in their relationships with the finance and administration divisions of general state governments follow:

> All purchases, budget, and management matters, and personnel matters, must be approved by the proper division within the Department of Administration. The time involved and the incomplete background of the people involved causes us delay from time to time (20).

> In terms of fiscal control, while the need for restriction in spending and budget limitation is understandable, the decision as to how this money shall be spent to get the most for the dollar budgeted and which salaries are most important to our purposes should always be made at the agency level. It is frustrating and poor practice to have a Budget Office eliminate positions by name or assignment without regard to the needs of the agency and only because they happen to be vacant for a certain amount of time (21).

> By being less than prime authority . . . the state department of education is subjected to budget, communication, authority, personnel, and space limitations that are adversely affecting efficiency and development. Criticism will tend to grow for division failures while the aforementioned limitation, if relaxed, would permit correction measures. Otherwise, the present situation could cripple, if not render impossible, opportunities for improvement.

> The department of education should have full authority to set salary standards for professional personnel. This represents a conflict between the department of education and the department of personnel (22).

These comments corroborate earlier data in this chapter pointing to the persistent trend toward greater centralization of authority in the executive branch of government relative to fiscal controls and personnel practices. They also mark such practices as serious barriers to strengthening state departments of education.

The extent to which weaknesses in state education departments are due to restraints on their funds and personnel lies beyond statistical proof. This is equally true of the most complicated and important influences on human beings and their institutions, ranging from the religion, ethics, and character of individuals to the real effects and the public images of their institutions.

The New York State Education Department provides an excellent example of how pervasive these influences may become. Based on the evidence referred to in this chapter and on common knowledge of state education departments generally, the New York Department has the broad constitutional and legal authority, the size and strength, the tradition of exercise of educational authority without direct participation by the governor, and the other characteristics of internal professional freedom that should make it substantially immune from damaging restraints over its funds and personnel by the general state government.

There is strong and significant evidence, however, that in 1968 it was extremely difficult to recruit and retain leader-quality professional personnel in the New York State Education Department. Centralized controls exercised over personnel and funds to support the leadership activities of the department make it so. Top professional personnel often refuse to bow to bureaucratic rituals such as competitive written examinations for employment and promotions, ranking on lists of eligible persons for months or years while decisions on appointments or promotions are being made, attendance sheets, comparatively low pay, long hours throughout the calendar year, inadequate retirement provisions, and other personnel restraints. These rituals do not prevail generally in local school districts or in colleges and universities in the state of New York, even though both of these classes of educational institutions are, like the Education Department, under the general supervision of the Board of Regents.

A distinguished committee recently reported that there must be freedom from such controls if the New York State Education Department is to be able to compete in the university marketplace for the talent it requires. The committee chairman was McGeorge Bundy, president of the Ford Foundation, and its members were university presidents John A. Hannah, Theodore M. Hesburgh, Abram L. Sachar, and James B. Conant, president emeritus of Harvard. Deputy Commissioner Ewald B. Nyquist concluded that "the State education department cannot achieve, let alone maintain, a leadership function for the educational community of this State; . . . nor can it maintain an equal status with the Federal government . . . unless the professional educational positions in the Department are removed from the provisions of the Civil Service Law" (23).

While states seem to trust local boards of education and universities to manage their own fiscal and personnel matters within appropriated funds and approved budgets, they have insisted on including state departments of education along with all other departments of government when they establish finance and administration agencies to control these affairs. Thus, fiscal and personnel procedures are set for education along with such agencies as fish and game, auditor, fire marshall, and public safety. Few of these departments are staffed primarily by professional personnel; they tend to serve special interests; and typically they spend much smaller amounts than departments of education.

While relationships with departments of finance and administration unquestionably need improvement, it was quite obvious from the responses to the questionnaire that state departments of education consider most interactions with other departments of state governments necessary, rewarding, and characterized by cooperation.

Departments of education cooperate with departments of health in programs for physically and mentally handicapped students when screening and health corrections are needed; in vocational education when training and education programs in the various health occupational areas are being established in high schools, vocational-technical colleges, community colleges, and to meet manpower development and training needs; and in the general elementary and secondary education programs when both departments are concerned about health and physical fitness.

Cooperation with a department of health is readily illustrated by a practice in Pennsylvania (24). The Pennsylvania Health Act requires public schools to provide nurse and medical services to students attending nonpublic schools in order that such students may have the benefits of required medical and dental examinations. The procedure used by the State Department of Public Instruction is to require local districts to certify the number of examinations required and related data on forms to be used by both the health and education departments. The health department pays the subsidy allowed for the costs of administering the services for the benefit of pupils in nonpublic schools directly to the local public school district that supplies the services.

Departments of education cooperate with departments of welfare in such programs as Title I, ESEA, where special programs are designed to assist educationally deprived pupils. Other cooperative programs serve migrants and handicapped children in special state institutions; handicapped children and youth not enrolled in school who receive some training in day care centers; and mentally retarded children and youth. Education and welfare departments mutually plan programs of early childhood education and pupil personnel services involving social workers and others cooperating for the benefit of the child. A typical example of coordination with the department of welfare is found in Utah, where the coordinator of special education in the education department is responsible for the education program in day care centers operated by the welfare department. In some cases, moneys from the uniform school fund are used to conduct special education programs in day care centers. These programs must meet special education standards and be under the supervision of the local school district (25).

As another example, welfare workers frequently need to help parents to become self-sufficient, employed adults, while educators simultaneously seek to improve motivation and learning potential for children coming from the same homes. This often involves parent education as well as education of the child if the aims of education and welfare are to be accomplished. The vocational, compensatory, and adult education efforts of the schools also need to be correlated with those of community action committees and with programs of welfare, health, and law enforcement agencies.

Departments of education cooperate with state law departments in legal matters, and in many states they have their own attorneys to handle the major part of the legal work that need not be taken to the office of the attorney general. Cooperation with state law departments is illustrated by a practice in Rhode Island under which a member of the office of the attorney general attends legal hearings and appeals made to the state commissioner of education on educational matters and serves as counsel to the commissioner (26).

Departments of education cooperate with employment security agencies in such matters as surveying the needs for trained workers and planning vocational education programs, planning and conducting training programs under the Manpower Development and Training Act, and planning for occupational and career guidance programs. To illustrate further, in Idaho the employment security agency provides information on family incomes to assist the State Department of Education in determining student eligibility under the Neighborhood Youth Corps (27).

Departments of education cooperate with departments of public safety in such matters as student transportation rules and regulations, school bus driver training and licensing, school bus inspection, and student driver education programs. In Kansas, the State Department of Public Instruction and the highway commission jointly conduct 15 bus driver clinics each year (28).

There are numerous other state departments or agencies with which education departments have joint programs or cooperative arrangements, in addition to the six with which they have the most involvement. Any of the less often mentioned departments and agencies listed in Table 14, and even others not named there, may become exceedingly involved with the state department of education in a given state at a given time. In their role of providing leadership for the improvement of education, state departments of education cooperate with numerous public and private agencies, organizations, and individuals. Their methods depend on the parties concerned and the substance of the joint program efforts, including coordinating committees or councils on a permanent or *ad hoc* basis and a wide assortment of individual and group cooperative approaches to common problems. When the state health and education departments have a joint project, for example, many of the agencies and organizations at the local level that are interested in health or education are often brought into cooperation among themselves on the subjects dealt with by the joint projects at the state level.

A PERIOD OF PROGRESS

In 1964, state departments of education entered a period of significant general progress. Chief state school officers and their departmental staff members assumed greatly enlarged responsibilities in administering federal categorical financial aids under the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and the Vocational Education Act of 1963. Then, in 1965, federal funds under Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act were made available directly to the state departments of education to strengthen them according to their needs. Title V provided staffing funds since it was assumed that state legislatures could not be relied upon to staff state departments of education promptly enough or sufficiently to administer the new federal grants-in-aid. The ESEA law was approved on April 11, 1965. The official federal regulations were delayed until September 9, and appropriations were approved by the President on September 23. Three months after the fiscal year began, the state agencies were finally authorized to employ professional personnel with federal funds. The personnel needed were difficult to attract. Under these circumstances, the state departments were able to employ only 506 professional personnel, although they sought a total of 1,068 such persons.

The first full year for Title V was fiscal year 1967, during which the state education departments increased their professional personnel under Title V from a total of 5,705 to 6,482, or 13.4 percent. In that year, the state departments sought to employ 841 professionals under Title V and employed 779 during the year, or 93 percent of the number sought. In fiscal year 1968, the state departments of the country planned to employ 910 professional staff members. If an estimated 93 percent of these were finally employed, as had been accomplished during the previous year, there was a further increase from 6,482 to 7,328, or 13.1 percent, in professional personnel.

Although ESEA Title V is the largest source of federal funds for state department professional staff members, it is by no means the only federal source. After many years during which federal funds for state administration were confined principally to vocational education and rehabilitation, federal reimbursements for part or all costs of state agencies for administration of federal programs have increased. Since 1965 most large federal categorical aids to education have authorized use of some federal funds for state administrative costs, including employment of special personnel. Good examples of these formulas for reimbursement are ESEA Title I (Education of Children from Low-Income Families), the amounts expended annually for state administration by each state up to a maximum of 1 percent of total grants to the state and local educational agencies under Title I, or $150,000, whichever is greater; ESEA Title II (School Library Resources, Textbooks, etc.), an amount to be expended during the year for state administration, not to exceed 5 percent of the amount paid during the year to the state under Title II, or $50,000, whichever is greater; ESEA Title VI (Education of Handicapped Children), an amount of the state allotment equal to the amount expended by the state in carrying out its state plan; and the program under the Adult Education Act of 1966, which gives each state department letters of credit and funds in advance for state administrative expenses and for program grants for adult education within the state.

In fiscal year 1967, the aggregate amount of federal funds paid to state departments of education for administrative purposes at the state level was approximately $53.4 million for the programs listed in Table 15. The amount was somewhat higher in fiscal year 1968.

State governments felt the impacts of these federal funds for administration in state education departments and responded in several ways in different states. To substitute federal funds for state funds was a temptation to a few state legislators and governors, but this was forbidden by the federal statutes. Many state governments placed their own personnel and financial restrictions on all funds from state and federal sources alike and thus perpetuated and increased the scope of fiscal controls over their state departments of education. In other states, however, there was a reasonable relaxation of such restrictions.

The general trend at the end of 1967 seemed to be toward increases in both state and federal funds for state administration, but with federal funds increasing more rapidly. The state increases reflected the

Table 15—FEDERAL FUNDS FOR STATE ADMINISTRATION OF SELECTED FEDERALLY SUPPORTED EDUCATION PROGRAMS, FISCAL YEAR 1967

Act	Amount
Elementary and Secondary Education Act (P.L. 89–750)	
Title I—Educationally deprived children	$11,154,908
Title II—School library resources	4,961,700
Title V—Grants to strengthen state departments of education	18,561,865
Title VI—Education of handicapped children (planning only)	2,425,000
National Defense Education Act (P.L. 85–864)	
Title III—Instructional assistance	7,003,357
Title X—Improvement of statistical services of state education agencies	2,244,098
Adult Education Act (P.L. 89–750)	2,170,516[a]
Vocational Education Act (P.L. 88–210)	14,931,242[a]
Total	$53,413,686

[a] Estimated.

growing total needs of the state agencies; more favorable attitudes toward education by governors, legislatures, and state governments generally; public pressures based on evidence of good results in the new local programs of education; and a feeling that states should finance state programs better to stay more nearly in control of them.

Even more important were the less tangible factors that came from changed public attitudes. In November 1964, James Bryant Conant, president emeritus of Harvard University, addressed the Council of Chief State School Officers in New York City and reevaluated the educational potentialites of the state departments of education. Perhaps no American educational leader of modern times has been more influential, and his frankness about his change of mind regarding the role of the chief state school officers and the state education agencies made almost immediate and clearly discernible differences both in the public image of state departments of education and in the morale of their professional leaders. Portions of this address follow:

> I am glad to be here with you today [because] it provides an opportunity for me to say quite frankly that I have changed my mind as to the role of the chief state school officer in each state. Let me explain by being quite personal. In the middle of the 1930's I became somewhat familiar with the problems of public education because I was forced to become familiar with the problems of the School of Education at Harvard University, whose presiding officer I became in 1933. Somewhat later in the thirties, when I was elected a member of the Educational Policies Commission, I became even more familiar with American public education and came to understand the great importance of that unique American institution, the comprehensive high school.
>
> Now at the same time as I learned about the comprehensive high school, I received an impression about the organization of public education which became deeply imbedded in my mind. Perhaps I misunderstood those who were instructing me in this area, but I came to envisage the American scene as one in which the local school board and the local superintendent were the all-important agencies for carrying out American public school policy. I came to believe, rightly or wrongly, that if these gentlemen would just read the documents

published by the Educational Policies Commission—particularly those carrying my own name—then the local boards and superintendents would receive nearly all the information and advice they needed to do a good job. To be sure they might, in addition, read some documents from the Commissioner of Education's office in Washington and the yearbooks published by numerous organizations, but as to chief school officers and the state boards of education, why perhaps the less said about them the better, or so it seemed to me at that time. They might be tolerated, but that was about all. This point of view, I am afraid, I presented in my speeches and in some of my writings; and when it came to my making a report on the American high school, I addressed my remarks to the local school boards which were in a position to make certain changes in American high schools which I thought important, and indeed many changes have been made in the last dozen years. Indeed, I am not sure that twenty-five years ago when I came to know something about American public education that my analysis of the role of the chief state school officers and the state boards was completely incorrect. But times have changed, gentlemen, I do not have to tell you that . . . . Therefore I would say today quite flatly that it is now clear to me that the jobs which you hold are, or should be, the key positions in education and in the structure of public education through the high school in the United States. That this is a reversal of my point of view of five years ago, let me admit quite frankly (29).

In his 1964 book, *Shaping Educational Policy* (30), President Conant made another suggestion intended to strengthen state and local school systems. This was to establish a legal compact among the states for educational cooperation and improvement. Emphasizing the role of governors, legislatures, and state governments generally, the Education Commission of the States (ECS) was formed under a compact adopted at Kansas City, Missouri, on September 29, 1965, with leadership by Terry Sanford, former governor of North Carolina, and the support of funds granted by the Carnegie and Ford Foundations. It was vigorously supported by the Council of Chief State School Officers as a promising method of involving governors and the legislative leadership of the states in developing policy and program alternatives to improve education and in encouraging state and local action to select and to place programs in effect.

Late in 1967, the Commission had been accepted in a large majority of the states, which had assumed substantial financial responsibility for its operations. There were a few signs that the leadership roles of the governors and state legislators were resulting in more financial and other cooperation for education in some state governments and optimism that eventually many state departments of education would be able to operate more effectively as a result of the Commission's influence. In June 1968, the Board of Directors and the membership of the Council of Chief State School Officers expressed discouragement about the progress of the Commission up to that time, saying that it had thus far supplied few services or other contributions of substantial value to the states and to their state departments of education that were commensurate with the expectations of the educational agencies (31).

IMPLICATIONS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF STRONG STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Rapid changes in American education and society require flexibility in the government of education. State departments should be especially alert to broaden the boundaries of educational services by leading in the adoption of beneficial changes. Such leadership tends to minimize enforcement of regulations, thus accelerating the clear

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trend of replacing controls with services and initiative.

An innovative and progressive state system of educational governance cannot be led by an education department that is rigidly restricted by centralized state controls. Its ability to exercise creative leadership is reduced if state civil service regulations force the chief state school officer to employ the "leftovers" in the highly competitive market place for talent. *A system of state educational governance that permits school districts and colleges almost complete freedom of action in adjusting salary offers to employ high quality talent and that, at the same time, compels the state department of education to comply with rigid personnel regulations that place it in an inferior bargaining position for professional competence and talent will have an inferior state department of education.* The state department of education cannot be better than the quality of professional personnel that can be employed and retained in the agency.

Recent action by the federal government—in Title V of ESEA—to strengthen state departments of education has not been paralleled by similar action at the state level. Too many legislatures and governors continue to restrict the necessary freedom of education agencies through central controls over finance and personnel. Both levels of government should see the importance of strong, active, and creative leadership at this focal point of influence in determining educational excellence or mediocrity.

Chief state school officers should lead in evaluating their department's internal staffing patterns and operational procedures. Many agencies, for instance, need reorientation toward leadership programs that disseminate promising new concepts and practices in public school teaching. Situations that make it possible to implement changes to improve educational practices should be identified and used as they develop.

Such state leadership demands insight into and projection of new horizons in education. This requires planning, evaluation, and pilot programing, and it has implications for state department staffing and operational procedures. State departments may influence other state organizations affecting education to broaden any of their operations that may tend to segment education into parts and sectors, cooperating with inventive individuals and groups to provide more flexible leadership. Comprehensive programs for general improvement and their implementation are urgent leadership responsibilities of state departments of education.

In short, state education agencies could often do more *from within their agency operational structure* to use the present as a means of shaping the future. Some agency regulations and practices probably have perpetuated undesirable conditions. Departments need to exercise state initiative for constructive changes. Such will require projections of needs, discernment of trends, designing of programs with sharply focused project elements, mounting of pilot program efforts, evaluation, and dissemination of information. The implications call for new areas of concentration of resources for many state departments of education. They imply new relationships with local school systems, with teacher education, and with other state institutions and agencies.

The emerging functions of state leadership responsibility in education must be supported by state agency resources that are commensurate with the demands to be met. The state department of education can then serve as the master link in the chain of a properly defined local, state, and federal partnership in education.

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Chapter 3

State Organization for Service and Leadership to Local Schools

Robert M. Isenberg

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State Organization for Service and Leadership to Local Schools

INTRODUCTION

Like most aspects of our American civilization, the corporate framework for each of the fifty separate state school systems is a result of evolutionary development. And like other aspects, the evolution in each state is a continuing thing. Adjustments to details of the legal structure or in the interrelationships of its components are made as regularly as legislative bodies, boards of education, special advisory committees, and professional educators meet to test ideas and make decisions. There is continuous consideration of how the schools can be strengthened so their purposes might be fulfilled better, how new programs and new services can best be provided, and how the system can be adjusted to operate more systematically.

An accurate report of the development of these state school systems and of the extension of state leadership and influence into local communities and local schools must recognize the dynamics of this structural evolution. New and slightly modified configurations emerge and begin functioning before descriptions of what previously existed are recorded. There is also a marked diversity, for each of the fifty state school systems had its origin at a different time, in somewhat different circumstances, and has developed in a unique state context. It is easy to understand why no two state school systems are alike.

While these realities suggest a state-by-state description of organizational arrangements, how each system was developed, and why changes have been made from time to time, a more general approach has been selected for this discussion. It attempts to deal with all fifty state school systems at the same time. This limits the amount of illustration and documentation that it seems appropriate to include in relation to a single point or idea and results in the omission of many specific details. However, the advantages of such an approach are its encouragement of interpretation and analysis and the fact that it permits an identification of some of the contrasts and similarities among state systems.

School district reorganization and school consolidation efforts have been the central issue in some of the most colorful moments in the education history of many states. Local communities are almost never apathetic about what the process involves or the kinds of decisions required. It is hoped that this chapter captures some of the feeling that the reorganization process always seems to generate. The chapter briefly notes the establishment and development of school systems, some of the ways states have attempted to modify and strengthen their systems, and a summary of what might be learned from this bit of history to guide the future reorganization efforts of states and localities.

EARLY DEVELOPMENTS: THE BACKGROUND FOR ORGANIZATION

The actions of states and communities during the earliest days of this country created at the same time a school structure for which substantial reorganization would be an ultimate necessity and conditions that would make its accomplishment both difficult and painful. To understand why school district reorganization has been a major educational concern in so many states for so long and why progress seems to come so slowly, it is helpful to turn briefly to that period in history when local school districts were first established and the patterns of state systems were beginning to take shape.

An initial observation on that period is that *all major educational decisions were made by local people at the local level.* While education is recognized and firmly established as a legal and constitutional function in each state, it has not always been so. Public education in the United States began as a series of local institutions which were established by groups of parents who wanted schools for their children. Where parents lacked this interest or could not afford to operate schools, there were none.

> Wherever half a dozen families lived near enough together to make organization possible, they were permitted, by the early laws, to meet together and vote to form a school district and organize and maintain a school. Districts could be formed anywhere, of any size and shape, and only those families or communities desiring schools need be included in the district organization. The simplicity and the democracy of the plan made a strong appeal (1).

There were no requirements or guidelines to give either assistance or direction to local people in those days. How many days the school would operate, who would be eligible to attend, who would be employed as teacher and what qualifications he should have, and all other aspects of school operation were dependent on local determination. It was only gradually and slowly that state constitutions, legislative enactments, and administrative regulations brought school management and operation under control to a point where standards of quality and essential order and uniformity were assured. And as each step was taken in this direction, regardless of how obviously necessary or how beneficial its consequences, there were those ready to resist it as an encroachment on "local control." The present situation in state-local relations leaves little room to question the legal authority of the state. At the same time, the schools are operated by local school districts to which state laws have delegated vast areas for local decision making. Nor has there been any lessening of resistance to state legislative proposals which would limit such local prerogatives.

The second characteristic of the provisions for education in the early period of our history is that *local school districts were extremely small.* Cooperating with their neighbors to provide the schooling they thought their children should have was an easy and natural thing for people to do. And each cluster of people, each one-teacher school, became a separate school district, a separate legal and corporate entity. Such efforts were encouraged and enhanced by early state laws which gave taxing authority to the neighborhood school district so that it might operate and maintain its school as a public enterprise rather than one dependent on individual contributions or charges. The basic characteristics of this "common school district" were a separately identifiable local school district and a separate board of control for each—typically one-teacher—school (2).

Although invented in Massachusetts as a function of town government, the common school district idea spread quickly to all parts of the country. It moved westward as our country expanded. The institution was in harmony with the concept of local self-government that was dominant in pioneer society and was unusually versatile and appropriate for the physical circumstances of the day. The common school was a neighborhood institution which fit the requirement that a school be within walking distance for all the children who would attend. It also served as the neighborhood's social center—for box suppers, spelling bees, dances, and for young and old alike. Its smallness and its closeness to the people who supported and managed it were assets.

Whatever curricular shortcomings the one-teacher school may have had, it was the means through which universal public education was made available throughout the United States. They grew in number to an estimated high of about 195,400 by 1917. While some of the schools in that total were attendance centers in larger administrative units, a majority were one-teacher school districts. In many rural counties, there were more than 100 with some not more than two miles from the next.

The belief is sometimes advanced that the kinds of small school districts prevalent throughout most of the country did not exist in the Southern states where the county tended to serve as the basic unit of local government. The county did become prominent as the principal unit for school operation in that section of the country long before it was adopted elsewhere, but there is evidence that common school districts similar in all respects to those of New England and the Middle West were also common in parts of the South. While the plantation system and other factors meant fewer public schools—consequently fewer common school districts—the districts that existed were small. A review of the history of school development in Florida, for example, describes how the present system of county school districts was organized in 1869 and how the county has been the basic administrative unit ever since. The report also includes some descriptions of earlier state provisions for education, however, such as an 1845 enactment designating the county judge as "superintendent of the common schools" and including division of the county into school districts and the apportionment of school moneys among the various districts in his list of duties (3). The educational histories of other states in the South further indicate the existence of small districts.

The third general characteristic identifiable in the early history of American education is that *educational systems developed without careful planning*. From their beginning, state systems just grew. Changes in the way things were accomplished or carried on were made from time to time when problems were encountered in prior methods of doing things or when there seemed to be a better way. Modifications and adjustments tended to originate more from needs, hardships, and complaints than from objectives, principles, or design. The approach was always pragmatic.

This lack of planning can be illustrated by the rapid establishment of local school districts. Since the initiative to create school districts came from the parents of children in local neighborhoods, it would be difficult to document any serious state encouragement earlier than the permissive laws which state legislatures enacted. None of the original 13 states made provisions for education in their first constitutions. In fact, while the number of states had grown to 23 by 1820, only in 13 of the state constitutions in that year was there any reference to education. Schools were operating before there were constitutional provisions requiring their provision. School districts were created before laws authorizing their establishment were enacted:

> By the time the states were ready to establish general policies for the administration of schools, many local traditions had grown into maturity and the boundaries of school districts had been practically determined (4).

The general absence of serious planning is equally evident in the way provisions for the chief state school officer —and ultimately state education departments—and intermediate agencies were developed. Both grew out of the need to provide some degree of supervision and control for the large number of local school districts. From assigning responsibility to the secretary of state or other existing state official to creating a full-time educational officer, state legislatures experimented. Since travel was by horse and buggy over poor roads, even the most diligent state official could not visit many schools in a single year. Those schools that were distant from the state capital were not visited very frequently. This problem gave rise to the invention of a representative of the state government close enough to where the schools were operating so that he could know what each was doing, determine whether they were fulfilling the minimum requirements of the law, and possibly help them by leadership and inspiration.

Because it already existed as a unit of government for specific purposes, the county was selected as a base of operation for this official. It was in this way that the office of the county superintendent of schools became an intermediate agency to assist local school districts and to function as an agent of the state. Like the common school district, the county superintendency spread westward and was included in the provisions of the first constitutions adopted by certain Western states.

What is significant in this brief review is the recognition that the major elements for consideration in a discussion of school district reorganization or the organization and operation of a state school system have their roots in that period. Before the concept of public secondary education ever came on the scene, states had organized and functioning local, intermediate, and state education agencies. Although none was very sophisticated, they were legal components of an educational system. There also existed large numbers of very small school districts and a high degree of local autonomy.

EDUCATIONAL CHANGE CREATES NEED FOR DISTRICT REORGANIZATION

The foregoing discussion suggests that it could be only a matter of time before an ultimate overhaul of the school district structure would be necessary. The offering in many small schools was meager and inadequate. Horace Mann was among the first to point out their shortcomings:

> In an attempt to accommodate all with a school-house near by, the accommodation is substantially destroyed. . . . A school-house is erected . . . but it is [often] at the expense of having a school in it (5).

Some of the school districts were so small that whether they kept their school open or closed depended entirely on families with children moving into or out of the district. Some areas in certain Western states experienced dramatic population shifts and out-migration after the initial wave of settlers. The Kansas Legislature, for example, enacted laws in 1893, 1895, and 1899 designed to permit the disorganization of depopulated school districts (6). Actually, these laws were little used; it was much easier just to close the schoolhouse and not operate. In this way the district would be ready to reopen if or when families with children moved in.

Unusual situations sometimes developed in such circumstances. The school of a particular district in one Midwestern state, for example, had been closed for more than 9 years. All the children of families living in that district had grown up, completed school, and moved on to other places. There were no children to attend school, so the schoolhouse remained closed. As a substantial school building, it stayed in good repair even with lack of use. A neighboring farmer kept the weeds cut down in summer, and all the other patrons satisfied themselves that things were going well by attending the legally required annual district meeting held at the school each spring. Most people felt they had a good district and maintained a good school, even though it didn't operate. As was destined to happen, the day came when a family with three school-age children moved into the district. The school was reopened; once more it was operational. Since the mother of the three children held a valid teaching certificate, she was employed by the district as teacher.

Small districts became obsolete chiefly because they were unable to adjust to change. They were established to serve conditions existing when people were settling the land they cleared and when a mastery of fundamentals was adequate educational attainment. They could not get in tune with the pressures of social, economic, and educational change.

> If our life were static—its needs unchanging, with no changes in our culture and economy, and without any population growth and mobility—then

perhaps there would be no need for making changes or adaptations in school district organization (7).

Similar sentiments were expressed in a somewhat more folksy way by Oregon's State Superintendent of Public Instruction Rex Putnam:

> All we need to do to solve the school district reorganization problems of Oregon is build a high fence around the state to keep everyone not already a resident from coming in, pass laws outlawing the birth of children, any kind of communication, and the movement of people from one place to another, and then make all these provisions retroactive to 1920 (8).

Education has experienced many changes, but undoubtedly the most significant development to challenge the ability of school districts has been that of providing secondary education. At first, only the cities, county-seat towns, and larger villages were able to take on the responsibility of operating a high school. Providing a secondary school program was beyond the capability of most school districts since they were extremely small. One solution for children living outside the cities or towns that did operate a high school was to attend the city or town school as a nonresident on a tuition basis. Even though this often required "boarding in town" during the school term, many students took advantage of such an opportunity. The other approach, encouraged by state laws in some instances, was to organize separate high school districts—a separate board, separate taxing authority, and separate attendance area for high school purposes only. Often these high school districts would include six, eight, a dozen or more elementary school districts within their boundaries. Separate high school districts were created in a number of states, but only in Illinois, Kansas, Montana, and California were they generally organized statewide.

As the shortcomings of the many small school districts were magnified by the challenge to provide universal secondary education, the leadership agitating for organizational reform became more influential and effective. A special Committee on Rural Education appointed by the National Education Association reported in 1897 on improvements needed in the schools throughout the country. One specific recommendation was for a major reorganization of school districts (9). Coincidental with that report, and undoubtedly influenced to some extent by its recommendations, came a series of state actions. Cubberley points out that in the period from 1897 to 1905 twenty different states enacted legislation authorizing and encouraging district reorganization (10).

However necessary legislative authorization and encouragement were to promote local action. It was slow getting under way. Even constitutional encouragement failed to stir much action. The voters of Ohio adopted a new Constitution in 1912 with a section calling for provision "by law for the reorganization, administration, and control of the public school system of the state supported by public funds." The following year Governor James H. Cox issued a proclamation setting aside one day for the specific promotion of school improvement.

> The governor . . . in his message to the General Assembly at its first session following the adoption of the new Constitution . . . suggested that a survey precede [any] legislative enactment on [education]. The opinion was expressed that there was disorder and incongruity in the present archaic school structure, and that it would be useless to attempt to make laws intelligently and efficiently without first having the most comprehensive appreciation of existing conditions.
>
> The governor mentioned that the survey was already under way and suggested that Friday, November 14, 1913, be observed by every school district in Ohio as School Survey Day and that teachers, pupils, parents and patrons assemble

> during the afternoon and particularly during the evening. He stated that in his opinion a wonderful inspiration would be given to the whole movement when the lights would burn in every schoolhouse in Ohio on the evening of November 14 and that it would spur them to a greater interest in community life when the people in rural Ohio assembled in 4,000 community meetings at the shrine of the local schoolhouses.
>
> The proclamation further suggested that an Educational Congress be held . . . and that lay delegates to the Congress be selected at the community meetings . . . [that] the mayors of incorporated areas . . . supplement his proclamation and . . . that the fullest measure of cooperation be given by boards of education, Teachers' Institutes, the Grange, women's clubs, mothers' clubs and labor and civic organizations. The governor closed his proclamation by saying, "Let it be a day of genuine awakening" (11).

The day was observed much in the manner anticipated. So, too, were delegates selected for the Educational Congress. While several benefits did eventually come from its considerations, its general effectiveness in bringing about an "awakening" is suggested in the following summary:

> The Educational Congress met in Memorial Hall at Columbus on December 5th and 6th, 1913. The meeting was well attended. All phases of rural and village school problems were discussed. The governor addressed the meeting and appropriate resolutions were adopted (12).

Those who advocated reorganization were working against the strong sense of attachment people had for the small school district. It was difficult to find any approach that would capture much attention or build much confidence in district reorganization as a desirable thing to do. In 1932, when Illinois had nearly 10,000 one-teacher districts, the State Tax Commission tried to appeal to people by suggesting that they could save substantial amounts of tax funds. (It took 15 more years before a major reorganization program was actually under way.)

> In every county of Illinois more one-room schools are being maintained than are necessary to meet the needs of the rural pupils of the county. If fewer schools were maintained and the average daily attendance was raised from fifteen pupils to twenty-five or thirty pupils per teacher a tremendous saving in school costs would result and the quality of one-room schools would be greatly improved (13).

In the classic publication regarding school district reorganization, Howard Dawson approached the topic of structure positively by attempting to determine the positive characteristics a school administrative unit must have in order to operate in an effective and efficient way (14). The approach was later modified and enlarged in another classic study by Howard Dawson, Floyd W. Reeves, and others (15).

There were many other kinds of efforts. A 1937 statement of the Educational Policies Commission pointed out the need for reorganizing "local units of administration" and emphasized that forming larger units in no way detracted from "the policy of local administration of education" (16). While in many areas it continued to be unpopular to advocate and support reorganization, by the end of the Depression, more and more groups and individuals were beginning to take firm positions. The following resolution adopted in 1941 by the chief school administrators of Wisconsin is illustrative of many such actions:

> WHEREAS, The program of school district consolidation is in the interest of the educational welfare of Wisconsin's rural children, renders the school system more efficient, secures defensible economy and stops indispensable waste of funds, secures a more equitable distribution of state and county school aid, and releases money from unwarranted distribution, for use in the subsidizing of elementary and high school transportation; therefore

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Wisconsin Association of School Administrators go on record as favoring the continuation of the school districts consolidation program (17).

The resolution suggests some of the gains that might be expected from adequate reorganization and consolidation. Basically, two separate reorganization problems have persisted throughout most of the first half of this century—at least until the end of World War II, as will be pointed out later. One of these, largely limited to only a few states, has been a continuance of the separately organized elementary and high school districts; the other, the continued existence of large numbers of small school districts. By midcentury, three separate groups of these small districts were identifiable—each with its own set of problems. One group consisted of small elementary school districts, most of them still the one-teacher variety. A second group with a different and distinctive cluster of problems were the districts attempting to operate a small high school. While some of this group operated only the small high school, most were part of a 12-grade or unified district. The third group were districts that continued as legal entities but did not operate a school. Either they had no children or they sent those they did have to a neighboring operating district on a tuition or contract basis.

At the end of World War II, these three types of districts still exist in large numbers and were still desperately in need of reorganization. Fortunately, more and more people and groups were calling for action. There was a greater willingness to acknowledge limitations than had been evident earlier. Districts that were not operating a school came under fire in legislative halls. The high costs and inadequate programs of the small high schools were being regularly held up for public attention. One review of the limitations of small districts included the following ten points:

1. Barren, meager, insipid curriculums, particularly at the secondary-school level
2. Inability to attract and to hold high-quality teachers and administrators
3. Inability to construct the school plants needed
4. Needless waste of manpower through unjustifiably small classes and low pupil-teacher ratios
5. Unreasonably high per-pupil expenditures for the quality of educational program provided
6. Inefficient use of financial and other educational resources
7. Poor location of buildings
8. Inequality of the burden of school support
9. Cumbersome, complex formulas for distributing state school aid
10. Absence of many needed specialized educational services that add quality to the educational program (18).

Certain of these limitations grew from provisions built into the state school system when school districts were first being created. Others emerged with educational demands that exceeded the capability of most basic administrative units in the system. The need for organizational reform was evident; demands for action were more insistent.

PREPARING FOR THE NATIONWIDE MOVEMENT

A local school district is the basic administrative unit for providing educational programs and services—for operating schools. While specific administrative functions are often performed at the school building and classroom level, the local school district is the smallest legally constituted unit in each state's educational enterprise. The only importance or purpose of a school district is in its function as some kind of legal machinery through which states and communities can provide schools, employ instructional personnel, and furnish all the other components making up a modern educational program.

When local school districts are unable to perform the functions allocated to the basic administrative units in the state school system or to provide the types and quality of educational service the system expects, adjustments are necessary. The adjustment needed may be no more than increased support through access to additional personnel or more funds. A slight modification of expectations or the reallocation of a particular function may be more appropriate. On the other hand, failure to perform adequately may indicate a need for the reconfiguration of the basic administrative units—a reorganization of school districts.

Throughout most of American education's first 100 years, the circumstances of growth and expansion had called for the creating of more and more school districts. The objective was to make certain that the children of every community had access to a school. There is scattered evidence indicating specific occasions and instances during this same period of years when it had been desirable for school districts to be merged or abolished and for schools to be consolidated. A great deal of reorganization actually did take place. States enacted laws permitting such action, and local people took advantage of the opportunity to consolidate. One of the important types of reorganization involved bringing together into a single corporation all the separate school districts that had grown up in a single city. Until the beginning of this century, however, the creation of new districts moved forward much more rapidly than did the actions for consolidation. There were more additions than subtractions.

The largest total for the number of organized school districts was reached about 1900. This does not mean that new and additional districts were not created. In fact, it was during the 25-year period following that date that our country experienced the greatest expansion of secondary education. In that period, most of the separately organized high school districts were established, but the number of these new districts was slightly more than equaled by those that were disorganized or otherwise abolished. It was also in that period that recognition of the need for a major reorganization of school districts began to grow. Growth of the movement was slow; its voice was soft. The scholars and those who were the spokesmen for educational improvement seemed largely convinced that forceful state leadership would be required to initiate and guide the reorganization effort. They did not believe that appropriate action would be initiated if left entirely to local decision. Cubberley expressed his views clearly and bluntly:

> To have a fully organized board of school trustees for every little schoolhouse in the country—a board endowed by law with corporate rights and important financial and educational powers—is wholly unnecessary from either a business or an educational point of view. In fact, it is just such boards which impede progressive action and stand as the most effective block in the road of real educational progress for rural children.
>
> What is needed is a fundamental reorganization and redirection of rural and small-village education, and along lines which will transform such schools into more useful social institutions. This, however, can be accomplished only by some authority of larger scope and insight than the district-school trustee, and by the application to the problem of a larger type of administrative experience than that represented by district control (19).

The lack of action at the community level to bring district reorganization was more than offset by a seemingly endless series of proposals, debates, and enactments in the chambers of state legislative bodies. New laws or modifications of previous laws were considered with regularity at each session. Arkansas, Washington, and Illinois were among the more than a dozen states to have some type of consolidation law in effect before 1920. New York adopted provisions in 1914 to establish a network of central rural school districts throughout that state; in 1925, this law was made effective by amendment. Some of these legislative actions were merely suggestive of what needed to be done. Such enactments as that of Utah in 1915 establishing the county as the local school administrative unit were, on the other hand, most substantial.

These early school district reorganization activities served in part as psychological preparation for the major efforts which have since taken place. Beginning slowly during the Depression years of the 1930's, successful attempts to reorganize school districts progressed steadily and with increasing momentum through the early 1940's and World War II; about 1947, they virtually exploded into a nationwide movement. Some phase of this movement is still going on in most states. No longer is it limited to the small school district or rural areas; cities and suburbs alike are involved. The overhaul of school structure that has taken place and that can be expected in the future is without parallel in state or local government. Only in agricultural production has there been a comparable reconfiguration of administrative units. (There is, in fact, more than just a small relationship between the developments in commercial farming and the reorganization of school districts.) The developments of the past 20 years—without the benefit of a revolution—have been remarkable.

The following sections of this chapter attempt to give some perspective to this nationwide reorganization movement, even as it continues. Included is some indication of what reorganization has accomplished both in terms of administrative organization and from the view of educational benefits. Also included are brief descriptions of different approaches to the reorganization process the various states have used, the kinds of opposition and resistance reorganization promoters have encountered, the state's exercise of its leadership role, second-round and second-order reorganization, and what seems to make for a successful program.

Reorganization

Since no two states have identical conditions within their separate boundaries but all have independent legislatures, the specific provisions for reorganizing school districts have always varied greatly among the states. Even with interstate idea sharing and statesmanlike statute borrowing, each state developed its own laws and procedures. Actually, because state legislatures have continuously been engaged in adopting new reorganization laws or amending existing ones, a hodgepodge of alternative laws have been simultaneously in force in a number of states. People were able to choose which type of reorganized district they would form on the basis of which procedures they elected to follow. In Pennsylvania, for example, boards of school directors could by their own action create a joint school district or, if they chose the route of procedures requiring petitions and a referendum, they could establish a union district. Until recently, Kansas communities could choose among forming a community high school district, a rural high school district, a unified district, or some other district organization (20). It has been reported that at one time Missouri had six separate reorganization procedures in addition to their major reorganization law and that Indiana communities could choose from among 22 different laws (21).

This multiplicity of school district reorganization legislation defies brief description except by the broad general approaches to accomplishing what has been desired (22). Reorganization procedures have varied from state to state from the actual creation of districts by legislative action or mandate to the most permissive of measures. In reality, the procedures in most states have both mandatory and permissive features so that specific laws cannot be classified neatly in a single category. Generalizing for discussion purposes, school district reorganization legislation may be described as compulsory, permissive, or semipermissive.

1. Compulsory legislation reorganizes school districts by direct legislative action.
2. Permissive legislation makes reorganization possible, but it is up to local areas to initiate the procedures.
3. Semipermissive legislation requires localities to take certain actions but leaves the final decision about reorganization for local determination.

Compulsory Legislation. Compulsory legislation recognizes that all school districts are the creatures of state law. With state constitutions giving to their legislative branch a mandate to "establish and maintain a uniform and efficient system of public schools throughout the state," state legislatures have created or permitted the creation of school districts and delegated to them certain authority for school operation. From a legal point of view, school districts exist as agents of the state for the sole purpose of administering functions related to the state system of schools. State legislative control in all matters related to school districts is absolute, "limited only by constitutional provisions that may curb its exercise" (23).

Compulsory legislation which reorganizes local school districts by direct legislative action can be utilized to bring about simultaneous reorganization on a statewide basis. This procedure was followed early in the history of some states. The Maryland Legislature established the county as the local unit of school administration in 1868. After many years of ineffective provisions for school operation, Florida adopted a new Constitution in 1868 which made similar provisions for the county school districts that have operated continuously since. In 1923, the Legislature in North Carolina abolished all the local common school districts and established the county as its basic local school unit. Provision was made for city districts independent of control by the county boards of education but dependent on the county for local revenue (24).

The two most recent examples of compulsory statewide school district reorganization are those of West Virginia and Nevada. A series of financial problems during the early Depression years in West Virginia convinced the governor and the Legislature that the state could not economically finance the public schools without a fundamental reorganization of the school district structure. This resulted in a 1933 legislative action abolishing all 450 existing school districts and establishing new districts having boundaries coterminal with each of the 55 counties in the state. The 1955 legislative session in Nevada took similar action, abolishing 176 organized school districts and creating 17 county-unit districts. In that state, vast areas and sparse population were the major problems. Before the reorganization, much of the power lines, railroads, and other taxable resources in the state were not in any local school district.

Other types of compulsory legislation are less sweeping than total statewide reorganization. Some require localities to take certain kinds of action but do not actually create new districts. While most of these laws will be considered as "semipermissive," they vary in the extent to which they are compulsory. One approach that fits this description requires a specifically designated local agency or committee to develop a reorganization plan for their area. A 1953 Mississippi law actually gave county boards of education authority to reorganize districts if the plan they were required to develop met the approval of the State Educational Finance Commission. County boards in South Carolina also were empowered to reorganize districts within their respective counties without referring the matter to the voters if, in their judgment, it would be good for education. The new districts were in effect when their order was filed with the State Educational Finance Commission. Another variation is provided in Kansas' Unification Law of 1963. That statute requires local planning boards to develop a reorganization plan for approval by the state superintendent and further requires these boards to submit their recommendations when approved to the voters. In this sense, the law can be classified "semipermissive." An added feature is that both the planning board and the state superintendent are required to file separate reports with the Kansas Legislative Council when the plan prepared has not been approved.

One further type of compulsory reorganization legislation that might be identified mandates reorganization when certain conditions or circumstances prevail. Many states now have laws which call for the automatic abolishment of nonoperating districts. Sometimes the law specifies that any district that has not operated a school for a specified period of time shall be annexed to an adjoining district and delegates responsibility for the action to the county board of education or some other body. This type of provision can also apply to an enrollment minimum. State laws in more than 20 states delegate authority for the dissolution of all school districts having fewer than some specified number of children enrolled or in average daily attendance.

Permissive Legislation. The general character of what is here considered permissive is that the specific process and procedures, however simple or complex they may be, are specified in the reorganization law; the initiation of action to follow these procedures is a matter for local decision. This type of legislation has been more frequent than any other because individual legislators have been particularly sensitive to actions that might not be acceptable to the voters "back home." While the authority of the state to abolish and create school districts may be absolute in a legal sense, the political considerations have often weighed more heavily.

Most state laws of the permissive variety delegate a study or planning responsibility to some local group or agency and specify how proposals for creating new districts can be adopted. Whether or not the chief state school officer, state board of education, or other state agency must approve the plans developed locally has wide variations among the states. In some instances the law specified that standards for guiding the reorganization will be developed by the state education agency. With respect to state involvement, the central school law in New York has been somewhat unique in that no action begins until the people of a local area petition the commissioner for "permission" to consider a reorganization proposal. After the commissioner has determined that a desirable central school district could be developed in that area, he would "lay out the district" (officially designate the specific area of the proposal to be considered—which might conform exactly to what the petitioners requested or be modified) prior to the regular procedures for planning, promoting, and voting.

Illinois, which for a number of years had the distinction of having more school districts than any other state—12,070 in 1932—enacted permissive-type legislation in 1945: the School Survey Act. This law not only called for a study of reorganization needs and possibilities in each county by a survey committee but also required the people first to determine by vote whether they wanted a study. However permissive this procedure, 93 of the state's 102 counties elected to have a study, and 8 of the remaining 9 counties organized survey committees within the next 2 years (25). The study committees met and developed reorganization plans for their respective counties in accordance with procedures set up in the law and with state education agency assistance. The Act required that the proposals developed be submitted to a vote of the people and carry separate majorities of the votes cast inside and outside incorporated places of 500 or more people. Using these procedures, the number of districts was reduced to 2,349 in a 10-year period.

School district reorganization laws, permissive or otherwise, far too often make the process so difficult, or make it appear so, that people get discouraged and give up. Rather than generalize about this kind of circumstance, it can better be illustrated by an actual semiofficial description of the procedures used to organize a school administrative district in Maine. The permissive nature of the approach should be evident; so should the discouraging procedures.

The following legal steps must be taken to form a school administrative district:

> 1. There must be an interested group of citizens in the towns which, it is hoped, will include school committee members, municipal officers and other leading citizens. This Citizens' Study Group will make an extensive and inclusive survey of existing educational conditions in the towns involved. The group will estimate the costs and benefits to be gained by becoming a school administrative district and present a report to the school committees of each town which will petition the School District Commission for initial approval of a school administrative district. The facts of the survey should accompany the petition.
>
> 2. If the School District Commission approves of the formation of a district for the towns petitioning, on the basis of the provisions of the law, the school committee members and selectmen of the towns hold a joint meeting to determine the method of representation for the towns on the Board of School Directors of the new district. The law provides for a board of not less than five nor more than 18 members to be elected and to govern the school system much as each town's school committee now governs the school system within the town. A decision on a plan of representation requires a two-thirds vote of all those present at this meeting.
>
> 3. After the method of representation on the proposed Board is decided, town meetings will be held in each town to vote approval of the district [and in the case of towns now part of community school districts, to also vote themselves out of the older ones]. The scheme of representation and the amounts of debts to be transferred will be in the warrants of each town for citizens to consider.
>
> 4. Having approved the district plan, each town will elect School District Directors. Finally, the district must be properly certified, according to law, by the School District Commission, and the new school system is in business.
>
> In the event that some of the towns vote favorably on the proposal and one or more others, for one reason or another, choose not to join with this administrative district:
>
> 1. The towns that approve the school administrative district can form and operate a district without the town or towns which voted against joining the district. It will be necessary to follow the above steps again, [however,] including in the revised survey the facts concerning [only] the towns desiring to organize as a school administrative district (26).

The procedures described are not nearly as complex or difficult as they seem; but they do appear somewhat formidable. The procedure on failing to get a favorable vote in all towns considering the proposal is reminiscent of the permissive law in Iowa between 1951 and 1953 when a favorable majority vote in each district was required for any plan of reorganization to carry. One vote less than a majority in the smallest district in an area considering a reorganization proposal was enough to defeat the entire plan.

Permissive procedures have similarly been the basic approach in the school district reorganization efforts of Connecticut, Indiana, Michigan, Oklahoma, Texas, Arizona, and Montana. To those in the states who work with these procedures, the wheels of progress seem to grind frustratingly slow. There is no doubt that the process is more cumbersome and slow than reorganization by legislative mandate. But when one steps back and takes a long-range view of how much has been accomplished with permissive legislation, there is a temptation to be more impressed with how much has happened than with how little.

Semipermissive Legislation. Establishing local and state reorganization committees charged with responsibility to survey the local school situation and then propose and carry out definite reorganization plans are illustrative of the kinds of procedures included in semipermissive reorganization legislation. Final decision about whether or not a new district will be formed is usually reserved for local people; the mandate is that they are forced to consider and cannot avoid facing the question. Some have labeled this approach "permissive legislation with teeth." While its impact is not quite as immediate as reorganization by direct legislative action, laws of this type have been most effective in bringing reorganization action. Much of the most recent reorganization legislation has been of this type. The fact that legislators have been almost exclusively attracted to the semipermissive procedures suggests both the desire to effect certain reorganization without actually mandating it and that those formulating reorganization legislation have a much higher level of sophistication for process and how to obtain group action than existed earlier. Many states now have had nearly 20 years of reasonably successful experience.

Like the compulsory and permissive laws, those regarded as semipermissive vary greatly in terms of their mandatory elements. The law which almost completely reorganized all school districts in Idaho in the 2-year period between 1947 and 1949 had a high degree of compulsion. Its basic provisions called for a special state level committee appointed by the State Board of Education to give the entire program direction. County committees were required to prepare and submit comprehensive reorganization plans and, after approval by the state committee, hold special elections in the area affected. The law gave the state and county committees approximately 2 years to complete the reorganization process. County committees were required to organize any territory not in a reorganized district by that date into one or more reorganized districts without further approval by the voters. Although the deadline for mandatory completion was later extended and ultimately eliminated, the 2 years of concentrated action was an organizational revolution unmatched by any other state short of immediate legislative decree (27).

Reference has been made to the Unification Law of 1963 in Kansas. This legislation required county selection committees to develop and recommend county unification plans to the state superintendent for his approval. When the plans were approved, special elections for adoption were conducted. If any plan was rejected by the voters, the local committee was required to modify their plan and once more submit it for approval and adoption. While the procedures of this law did reserve final decision on whether or not the existing school districts would actually be reorganized to the voters of the area, the pressure for action was unmistakable. The results were significant. The state which had struggled painfully with school district reorganization problems for 20 years following a 1947 court decision that ruled a major reorganization law unconstitutional was able to reduce the number of the districts from 1,500 to 349 in a single year (28).

Not all of the semipermissive laws were as effective, however. California has long been trying to reorganize its separate elementary and high school districts into unified districts. Following the same county study and proposal development procedure already noted for Idaho and Kansas, more proposals were lost than adopted in California over one 4-year period. Of the 65 unification proposals submitted to the electorate, only 9 were adopted (29). The percentage of success increased substantially after that time, but more significant results were not realized until the State Legislature became serious enough about unification and the elimination of elementary districts not directly involved with any secondary school program to require that all territory in the state be part of either a high school district or a unified district.

A number of other states—Colorado, Iowa, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, and Wisconsin among them—have procedures and semipermissive laws somewhat like those already identified. However widely they differ in their specific details, their basic pattern is similar. Instead of outlining their provisions, an approach to accomplishing reorganization that is entirely aside from the basic legislation should be pointed out. The discussion properly belongs in the area of semipermissive provisions because they are the type which strongly urges reorganization without actually mandating it. South Dakota had such a provision to help encourage the elimination of its large number of one-teacher districts. Any district which had an enrollment of fewer than 10 children for three successive years would be denied state support. Iowa urged reorganization through state-board-established "high school standards." Any high school adjudged not to meet the standards was not entitled to receive state support or to accept any nonresident students. Although later declared unconstitutional, the application of this standards requirement was nearly as effective in promoting reorganization as compulsory legislation.

Other incentive programs designed to encourage district reorganization have also been effective. A reorganization law enacted in South Carolina in 1951 included a provision for state funds to aid districts in financing school building construction. The State Educational Finance Commission, given responsibility for carrying out the provisions of the act including authority to set up criteria both for reorganization and for the approval of facilities grants, controlled the funds although county boards had full authority to reorganize districts without a referendum. In general, as the reorganization program moved forward, the Educational Finance Commission did not approve building funds for districts which failed to reorganize according to state-approved plans. While the only real pressure for reorganization was building aid rather than a mandate, compulsory legislation could hardly have done more. The number of South Carolina's school districts was reduced from 1,220 in 1951 to 103 two years later. Mississippi has spurred reorganization action by the incentive of building aid in much the same manner but with less money. New York, which provides school construction funds subject to the general requirement that all school construction projects must have state education agency approval, has a policy which will not approve any school construction by districts that have been designated in the state's "master plan" to be joined with one or more additional districts. There is no reorganization compulsion; neither is there any schoolhouse construction.

REORGANIZATION BRINGS EDUCATIONAL BENEFITS

All reorganization efforts have been prompted by a belief that strong basic administrative units are a prerequisite to providing high quality educational programs. It was this premise that made the small school district a prime concern of the educational reformers in this country. From the beginning of this century, when the small school was charged and found guilty of offering inadequate education at premium prices, it has steadily been losing its struggle for survival. The educational development of children has emerged as a motive stronger than the preservation of neighborhood control of school operation. It is appropriate, however, to make some brief assessment of whether or not school district reorganization has actually achieved what was anticipated, whether any real benefits have been realized.

Throughout nearly all the years of reorganization, the usual measure of "progress" in relation to school district reorganization has been the extent to which the number of school districts was reduced —a comparison of the total number of legally constituted school districts at one time and another, the difference representing the number eliminated by reorganization. Because the problem had been identified as "too many and too small," these comparisons have been extremely useful. State-by-state tabulations have been the heart of national progress reports (30), and most chief state school officers included such data in the annual reports they prepared for their state boards of education, legislatures, and others (31). To be able to report that the total number of school districts in this country has been reduced during the past 20 years from approximately 106,000 to about 22,000 gives a certain degree of specificity to a generalization about the major overhaul of school government. Within individual states, the comparison is even more dramatic. During this same 20-year period, for example, the number of districts in Mississippi was reduced from 4,194 to 149; in Kansas from 6,906 to 337; in Wisconsin from 6,393 to 494; and in Missouri from 8,558 to 813. If fewer and larger school districts is accepted as a desirable goal, there has indeed been great progress.

Table 1 reports data for each state. The three dates noted—1932, 1946, and 1966—have been selected for specific reasons: 1932 is the first date for which state-by-state district data was collected by the U.S. Office of Education; 1946 marks the end of World War II and the point at which major district reorganization efforts as a nationwide movement began; 1966 data are the most up-to-date at this writing.

However useful tabulations of the number of school districts have been, they reflect nothing about the quality of the ed-

Table 1—NUMBER OF BASIC ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS, BY STATE, 1932, 1946, 1966

State	1932	1946	1966
U. S. Total	127,649	101,719	23,461
Alabama	112	108	118
Alaska	17	66	27
Arizona	500	338	298
Arkansas	3,193	2,179	398
California	3,589	2,629	1,187
Colorado	2,041	1,871	183
Connecticut	161	171	178
Delaware	126	17	51
District of Columbia	1	1	1
Florida	67	67	67
Georgia	272	208	196
Hawaii	1	1	1
Idaho	1,418	1,114	117
Illinois	12,070	9,861	1,340
Indiana	1,292	1,131	406
Iowa	4,870	4,775	501
Kansas	8,748	6,906	349
Kentucky	384	256	200
Louisiana	66	67	67
Maine	518	500	342
Maryland	24	24	24
Massachusetts	355	351	392
Michigan	6,965	4,572	930
Minnesota	7,773	7,657	1,324
Mississippi	5,560	4,194	149
Missouri	8,764	8,558	888
Montana	2,439	1,382	873
Nebraska	7,344	6,987	2,388
Nevada	266	237	17
New Hampshire	244	240	199
New Jersey	552	557	594
New Mexico	98	103	90
New York	9,467	5,112	986
North Carolina	200	171	169
North Dakota	2,228	2,273	547
Ohio	2,043	1,622	712
Oklahoma	4,933	4,416	994
Oregon	2,234	1,607	390
Pennsylvania	2,587	2,543	595
Rhode Island	39	39	40
South Carolina	1,792	1,703	108
South Dakota	3,433	3,415	2,015
Tennessee	194	152	151
Texas	7,932	3,605	1,303
Utah	40	40	40
Vermont	268	269	262
Virginia	125	124	131
Washington	1,792	691	360
West Virginia	450	55	55
Wisconsin	7,662	6,393	535
Wyoming	400	361	173

ucational program offered. It cannot even be determined from such data whether any of the school districts actually provided any school program at all. The data reported are totals, and therefore they include the nonoperating school districts. This number has declined every bit as rapidly as has the total due to state pressures for their elimination. There were 17,131 nonoperating districts in 1948; in 1966, there were only 1,688, with a concentration of more than three-fourths of these in three states. It can hardly be claimed that eliminating a school district that does not operate a school contributes to educational improvement. (Its biggest contribution to quality education might be to remain nonoperating.) There can be no question that its elimination improves the state system.

The real test in determining the benefits derived from reorganization must be found in such changes and improvements as have occurred in the instructional program. During the early years of reorganization, the chief objective of much of the reorganization was the establishment of high schools in rural areas. From not having access to a high school program to having one available was readily observable instructional benefit. Rapid expansion of secondary education in rural areas had to wait for the development of the motor truck and its adaptation as a school bus for transporting schoolchildren. Other than what could be observed and the testimonials of those involved, sound research evidence that district reorganization yields instructional benefits was not available.

With the now extended history of substantial reorganized school districts together with a greatly expanded research capability in education, types of evidence are available to document what only a few years ago could be no more than hypothesized. Fitzwater compared selected reorganized school districts in an effort to determine how their programs were different from what they had been before reorganization. He found more offerings at both the elementary and secondary level (music, art, physical education, kindergartens, vocational education), more special services (guidance, audiovisual, remedial, health), and an instructional staff with a higher level of professional preparation (32).

A somewhat different kind of study by Kreitlow reports similar findings. Comparing reorganized and nonreorganized districts in paired Wisconsin communities, the support for reorganization developed by his study is indisputable: broader curricular offerings, more and better materials, more and better facilities, better qualified teachers, and a better use of the available human resources. Of special significance in the Kreitlow study was attention to certain sociological and community factors. He tried to test the notion that when a community (neighborhood) closes its school and becomes part of a reorganized district it will deteriorate in both significance and identity—especially when the school involved is a high school. The evidence supported a conclusion that loss of a high school by a rural village does not bring about any change of consequence in the village or in its services. The pattern of social change prior to loss of the high school is maintained without disruption (33).

Other evidences of the relationship of district reorganization or school size to the instructional program and other aspects of school administration and operation are increasingly available. Some compare schools to a fixed or accepted standard, such as those of an accrediting association (34). Others relate to pupil achievement, costs, breadth of program offered, and other factors (35). Some approach demonstrating the effectiveness of reorganization through a descriptive and analytical case study approach (36), while others draw out similarities existing in a group of schools (37). Generally, nearly every significant study yet completed has identified the almost unanticipated finding that larger reorganizations realize greater benefits than small ones. Benefits seem to relate more to size than to the reorganization process and its resulting reconfiguration.

It should be obvious that sufficient research evidence is now available to justify the claims and efforts of all promoters of school district reorganization over the years. Reorganization has brought educational benefits. There have been other results, however—not always anticipated. The traditional routine functions of the state and intermediate education agencies may be made obsolete by statewide local district reorganization, but newer functions of leadership on a higher level then become possible. When reorganization comes, district by district, year after year, the state and intermediate agencies must adapt to a multiplicity of service patterns. This area is discussed briefly in the following section. Another result of reorganization is that many school districts continue to be too small. Some of the earlier reorganizations and some of those newly formed are not large enough to operate effectively. Some can hardly be larger. One of Nevada's 17 reorganized county school districts (Esmeralda County) had a 1967-68 total of 54 pupils. The district operates three widely scattered one-teacher elementary schools and transports its secondary students to adjacent Nye County. Another Nevada county district (Elko County) with an area larger than that of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island combined had a 1967-68 enrollment of 3,669 students. The extreme situation of vast size and small enrollment is not, however, the continuing reorganization problem. As some are now pointing out, the difficulty arises from the fact that many states have gone through the reorganization process and yet continue to maintain inadequate districts (38). A reorganization of previously reorganized districts will be needed. The process has already been initiated in a few states.

REORGANIZATION INVOLVING CITIES AND METROPOLITAN AREAS

School district reorganization and school consolidation are nearly always associated with small communities and rural areas. This derives from the fact that the nationwide school district reorganization movement that took place during the second third of the twentieth century was primarily an attempt to reduce the large number of small basic administrative units and develop in their place an organizational structure more capable of providing broad-gauged educational programs in an effective and economical way. Toward the accomplishment of such ends, city school systems seemed far removed. They had within their boundaries a sufficient number of children to justify the establishment and operation of nearly every kind of educational program it seemed desirable to undertake. They were self-sufficient. Whether large or small, city school systems were able to operate with enough independence to avoid developing relationships with other types of school districts in their state.

It should be recognized that cities had not always been separated from a need to reorganize and consolidate. The following capsulized description of early city experience is illustrative:

> In viewing city school districts, as they are now organized in the majority of instances, it is easy to overlook the fact that many cities years ago had the same basic reorganization problems that today confront many rural communities. In the early stages of public education in most cities, the number of school districts was multiplied as the city grew and additional schools were established. Chicago in the 1830's had five school districts, each with its own board which employed teachers, levied taxes, and constructed school buildings. Buffalo, New York, in 1839 had 15 districts, each maintaining a school. In Pennsylvania an 1834 law made each city ward a school district: In 1897 Pittsburgh had 38 subdistricts, each with a six-member board empowered to levy taxes, construct school buildings, and employ teachers; there was also a 38-member central board which had charge of the high schools, paid all teacher salaries, adopted the

course of study for the entire city, and purchased books and supplies (39).

Accomplishing reorganization by joining their separate entities into a single unified school system during the early years of city development proved to be a great asset. The reorganization came before most cities grew into the urban complexes they were destined to become. As unified agencies, they were structurally prepared to accommodate growth. And so they grew and served their constituents.

The general self-sufficiency and independence of school systems were enhanced by developments which were economically favorable. Cities became the nation's centers of industrial production, commerce, and most other major economic activities. They had resources with which to attract the most capable leadership available, both for administration and for the development of instructional programs. Many gained recognition as centers for educational innovation. They pointed a direction for all other school districts where attempts to emulate them were continuously under way. Their accomplishments were sufficient that Cubberley was prompted to equate them with all the progress made in education:

> It is not too much to say that the great educational advance which we, as a nation, have made during the past half-century has been to a very large degree, the advance which our cities have made in organization, administration, supervision, equipment, instruction, and in the extension of educational advantages (40).

For those decades about which Cubberley wrote, city school districts were in a position of economic advantage and exemplified the best that was known in educational programing. They no longer are so favored. The intervening 30 or so years have witnessed overwhelming population increases, rapid transportation, industrial decentralization, and a seemingly limitless technological development. During those years, millions of city residents have migrated to peripheral suburban communities—only to be replaced by equal millions coming from rural areas and other places. Although spread over time, these changes have not been gradual. And they have strained the ability of school organization to meet them either adequately or appropriately.

Population growth pressures apply not only to central cities but to the larger metropolitan area as well. The cities seem to spill over into their fringe areas. People move and relocate in all directions. Growth follows the installation of such utilities as water and sewer lines. It occurs wherever home sites are available. And neither the installation of utilities nor the availability of building lots has any direct relationship to municipal or school district boundaries. The result is that formerly identifiable towns and villages are expanded into new population configurations which disregard all former school district boundaries. In the same way, the boundaries of the central city tend to lose all meaning. It becomes no more than an imaginary line.

One of the basic problems of most metropolitan area developments is the tendency for taxable valuation to be distributed unevenly throughout the area. Metropolitan areas evolve with certain sections set apart for industrial development, commercial activity, apartments, single-family dwellings, and other designations. Where there are a number of separately existing local governmental units—including separate school districts—serious imbalances regarding assessed valuation and access to local property tax income result. When some school districts include only residential properties while others include large amounts of industrial wealth there is a wide variation in their ability to support education. Educational need and the ability to support education can differ greatly among the school districts of any metropolitan area.

A different kind of hardship (common in the growth of metropolitan area made up of a number of separate school districts) often develops from the relationships existing between where pupils live the attendance centers to which they are assigned and the boundaries of the separate districts. Because a pupil lives on one side of a boundary line rather than another, he may be required to ride a school bus some distance to school even though he may live just a few blocks from a comparable school of another district. There have been a great many instances where a central city neighborhood has changed from residential to commercial, has become involved in renewal, or has otherwise markedly changed its character. It has not been at all uncommon to find vacant classrooms in substantial and adequate school buildings in such neighborhoods, while at the same time schools are overcrowded, on double shifts, or otherwise strained in developing sections of the same city or in the suburbs. School buildings often are not located to serve the areas where students live. Often they are in separate jurisdictions.

Despite its usual multigovernmental composition, most metropolitan areas are singularly integrated social and economic units. The central city has traditionally been the focus not only for those residing within its boundaries but for those in its suburbs as well. While in certain economic areas this traditional unity has undergone some small breakdown, each metropolitan area (the central city and suburbs combined) maintains a complex of interrelationships and an almost indestructible social and economic interdependence. Only politically is it divided into indefensible components. Substantial reorganization is needed. Some has already taken place. More can be expected.

Approaches to Reorganization

Because of earlier insulation and independence from communities functioning outside their municipal boundaries, cities have been extremely reluctant to consider or accept any kind of relationship with their suburban neighbors. At times, however, they have been unable to avoid involvement. In some instances, for example, they have just needed outside growing room. In others, it has been strategic to develop an association which helped to capture some prime real property valuation. Frequently, cities have responded to the pleadings of groups of people living in adjacent areas for an extension of city schools and other city services.

The differences in local circumstances of metropolitan areas have created a variety of forces to motivate the involvement of cities with their suburban neighbors. The nature and extent of their involvement and the way they have gone about it have been dependent on and to a large extent shaped by the specific laws of each of our states regarding reorganization.

> Resolving the problems of school district reorganization in metropolitan areas—for both central cities and their suburban fringes—hinges upon many factors. Among these are present city- and suburban-area district structure and the existence or absence of legal provisions through which appropriate and desirable reorganization can take place. Wide variations among states in these respects have resulted in differing approaches to accomplishment (41).

One of the oldest and most common procedures involving cities, their peripheral area, and the process of school district reorganization has been *annexation by the central city of adjacent territory and consequent extension of the municipal boundaries.* The process is simply a legal procedure by which territory outside a city is incorporated and made an integral part of the city. Following annexation, the newly added territory is eligible for all the services of the city and liable for all the obligations that being within the city's confines entails.

Very few cities have not had occasion at one time or another to extend their boundaries by the annexation of immediately adjacent territory. Atlanta annexed a major part of Fulton County early in 1952; Chattanooga annexed part of surrounding Hamilton County; in North Carolina, the city of Asheville annexed part of Buncombe County. A study of urban development and expansion would show similar city expansion through annexation in Topeka, Dallas, Denver, Grand Rapids, and numerous other cities, large and small.

While the support and pressure for the extension of city boundaries comes from both inside and outside the central city and may be motivated by the desire for sewers, water, garbage collection, police and fire protection, public transit, or other city services—possibly all of these services may have higher priority to suburban residents than city-administered education—annexation does extend the boundaries of the city school district. Regardless of what type of school district the annexed territory might previously have been a part, it is included in the city school system after annexation. Annexation automatically brings with it both municipal expansion and a type of school district reorganization.

Similar in some respects to annexation and yet an entirely different procedure is the *extension of the city school district* to include territory previously outside the city *without a comparable extension of the municipal boundaries.* Approaching school district reorganization in this manner by definition assures that the city school district and municipality are not coterminous. The approach is possible only in instances where the state laws permit school districts to operate relatively autonomously from other municipal functions.

Because schools most commonly operate in a manner that is separate and independent from other aspects of municipal government, even in some of the largest cities, a large number of city school districts have boundaries differing greatly from the city itself. An earlier review of approaches to school district reorganization in metropolitan areas has pointed up the extension of school district boundaries in one major city:

> The Los Angeles City School District . . . includes within its boundaries the city of Los Angeles and a number of other municipalities—Huntington Park, Bell, South Gate, Gardena, and San Fernando—as well as some of the unincorporated areas of the county. In former years the municipalities of Beverly Hills, Culver City, and Torrence were included in that district, but these have separated and now operate independent school systems (42).

Numerous additional examples of a school district considerably larger than its municipality could be identified. New York's "city consolidation" law has encouraged the development of such districts, particularly where smaller cities are a part of the reorganization. It should be pointed out that the noncoterminous boundary circumstances can work the other way just as well. In Nebraska, for example, the Westside Community School District is entirely independent from the Omaha City Schools, while at the same time it is within the municipal boundaries of Omaha. The separateness can go even a step further. For many years, Highland Park, Michigan, has operated as a separate municipality with its own school system, although it is completely surrounded by the city of Detroit.

A third identifiable approach to reorganization involves *the merger of a city school district with one or more major school units outside the city.* This approach differs from that of extending the school district boundaries beyond the municipal boundaries only in degree. In its simplest form, it involves the merger of two basic school units. Greenville and Greenville County in South Carolina, for example, were merged into a single school district in 1951. About that same time in New Mexico, the city of Albuquerque and all of Bernalillo County were merged into a single school district. Gallup and McKinley County and other cities and counties in New Mexico were merged a few years later.

This approach to school district reorganization (inclusion with a major city) is no longer uncommon. In 1960, the two largest school systems in North Carolina merged into a single school administrative unit. This merger of the Charlotte and Mecklenburg County school systems helped that metropolitan area develop a much more efficient school building program during a period of rapid growth than would have been possible if the systems had continued a separate existence. Just as significant was the contribution the merger made to equalizing the tax burden throughout the entire area. The administrative organization developed is similar to what resulted from the reorganization legislated into existence in West Virginia and Nevada and described earlier. Charleston, West Virginia, for example, is a part of the Kanawha County school district. In the same way, Las Vegas is a part of Nevada's Clark County school district.

It should be emphasized that in all of the instances where a city school district and the county or other major outside school district have merged—Greenville-Greenville County, Albuquerque-Bernalillo County, Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, Charleston-Kanawha County, and Las Vegas-Clark County—as well as in the 67 county school districts of Florida and the counties of Maryland and parishes of Louisiana, combining the city and county into a single administrative unit has been *for school purposes only*. Other functions of city government have not been extended beyond the municipal boundaries. The cities of Miami and Miami Beach, for example, are among the numerous separate municipalities within Dade County, which is served by a single school system. However sprawling the city of Albuquerque, it does not cover all of Bernalillo County.

A similar but even more far-reaching approach to reorganization is *the development of metropolitan area government*. The development of what is commonly called "Metro" differs from the city-county mergers identified above in that *there is a complete merger for all functions and for all services of local government*. In the merger of the city of Nashville and Davidson County, Tennessee, in 1963, the county boundaries and the municipal boundaries of Metro became the same. The previously existing arrangements of county government and the previously existing city government (including its mayor, city council, and all other divisions and departments) were abolished and replaced by a new form of charter government. With the new organizational framework, the previously separate school systems were merged into a Metro school system.

Metropolitan area local government proposals have been studied by special committees and other groups in the Louisville-Jefferson County area in Kentucky and the Memphis-Shelby County area of Tennessee. Specific Metro proposals reached the referendum stage in the Knoxville-Knox County and Chattanooga-Hamilton County areas of Tennessee but were rejected by the voters in both instances. Thus, until early 1968, Metro as developed in the area was a unique type of organizational arrangement in the United States. At that time, a modification of Metro government was voted into existence for the Jacksonville-Duval County area in Florida with all territory of the county except a few small and separate municipalities included (43).

The prototype for the Metro approach to local government reorganization has been the development in the Toronto, Ontario, area of Canada. Prior to 1954, that metropolitan area had been made up of 13 autonomous municipalities and approximately 240 square miles. Because what is regarded as a "two-tier" form of local government was then established, these separate municipalities continue to exist and continue to operate somewhat independently for certain services and functions. Other services and functions are administered for the entire metropolitan area as if it were a single political unit. In the Toronto approach, a Metropolitan Area Council (made up of representatives of the component municipalities) has responsibility for such functions as the assessment of property, taxation, water supply and sewage services, law enforcement, health and welfare services, and certain types of educational functions. Other responsibilities are left to the separate local administrative units. In the area of education, a Metropolitan School Board was established paralleling the Metropolitan Council. The Metropolitan School Board is responsible for reviewing and consolidating the component school district's budget estimates, spreading a uniform tax levy over the entire metropolitan area (44), assigning pupils to convenient schools regardless of local district boundaries, and for providing all of the special classes for exceptional children. For some functions, the local boards and the Metropolitan School Board share responsibility. All plans for the construction of new school buildings, for example, are initated by the local districts. The Metropolitan School Board integrates all these plans and provides most of the construction funds. For many functions, the local boards of education continue to administer their schools in much the same manner as they did before the creation of Metro. To date, it is evident that the Toronto approach to Metro has put a certain premium on local responsibility and local autonomy and has worked hard to respect, strengthen, and preserve them.

Obstacles to Reorganization of City School Districts

The various approaches to school district reorganization in metropolitan areas have achieved a certain measure of benefits for the cities and suburban communities involved and suggest the kinds of alternatives available to other school systems in similar circumstances. Considering some type of organizational realignment is not an easy task, however. A wide variety of obstacles stand in the way of successful accomplishment.

> Any realistic appraisal of the various approaches to the solution of the district organization problem in metropolitan areas indicates there is much yet to be done. The number and complexity of the problems involved are difficult to overestimate. School district organization in these areas has probably received less attention than any other phase of metropolitan government. Some over-all community planning studies have failed even to include school district organization, and others have disposed of it with only superficial consideration. In a number of cases, plans promising some success have been proposed only to fail of enactment because of lack of popular support (45).

One of the first obstacles likely to confront school systems in a metropolitan area as they undertake an exploration of the possibilities and implications of reorganization action derives from the fact that the laws under which reorganization can be accomplished are either not applicable or not appropriate to their particular circumstances. The basic school district reorganization laws of nearly every state were designed specifically to consolidate the large number of extremely small school districts.

> The progress made in reorganization in metropolitan areas has largely been effected through consolidation under laws designed primarily for rural reorganization. Unfortunately, these laws do not provide avenues for securing the best form of organization in metropolitan areas and as a result the reorganization has been piecemeal and in most cases admittedly inadequate (46).

The fact that school district reorganization throughout our educational history has been considered almost exclusively a rural phenomenon imposes two additional complicating obstacles. The first of these is an almost total lack of experience with reorganization where a substantial city is involved. City school administrators and city boards of education not only have been removed from any school district reorganization experience but have difficulty even thinking about the procedures that become essential in going about it. Almost as frequently, state department of education officials who are seasoned veterans in reorganizing the small school districts in rural areas are completely inexperienced where a large city is involved. The second rural-related problem applies primarily to the suburban and peripheral territory that might be reorganized with the central city to a single school administrative unit. The school district boundaries existing in the areas surrounding most cities were established originally to fit the needs of a rural countryside and seldom have much applicability to the pattern of urbanization. Many of the suburban districts are completely urbanized, but many still have distinctly urban and rural sections. They may have equally divided social and economic relationships with the central city. This existing boundary problem can be troublesome whether or not the suburban area formally joins with the city in a single school district. Boundaries established a century or even two decades ago tend to have little or no relationship either to a desirable and carefully planned pattern of urban growth or to the way it is likely to develop without planning and controls. It is obvious, then, that the school district boundaries of both a city and its suburban neighbors can handicap and retard appropriate reorganization.

> A core city school district in a metropolis exists by virtue of a boundary which functions like a noose and is responsible for many of the fiscal, educational, and social problems which develop inside that boundary. Modernization of local governmental units is essential to the long-range solution of urban core problems (47).

As troublesome to bringing about effective reorganization as are the inadequacies of state laws, lack of experience, and rigid obsolescence of existing boundaries are the attitudes of responsible city officials and city people in general toward their suburbs and the attitudes of officials and people in general in the suburbs toward the central city. In both instances, these attitudes have grown out of a history of limited relationships and lack of communication. From the earliest years of our nation, the cities have been both relatively self-sufficient and the centers of progress. For many years, the city boundary had significance. Major decisions were made by the city's official governing bodies in a completely unilateral way. Decisions were made and actions were taken without much consultation or regard for how these decisions or actions might affect or might be interpreted by those living outside the city in fringe areas. There has seemed to be no need and little reason for city people to consult or even communicate with their suburban neighbors when they wanted to take action.

In the context of city isolation and insulation, an equal separateness has developed in the suburban communities. Although sometimes they have functioned within the local governmental arrangements of a rural area, modifications have been made in many instances—frequently incorporation and the establishment of municipal government. These developments have grown out of the need and demand for certain public services which the previously existing local government structure was either unable or unwilling to supply, the need and demand for self protection against annexation or other political encroachments considered highly undesirable, and community pride. As they developed, suburban communities were seldom able to attract much attention or assistance from their core city. In comparison with those of the central city, suburban problems seemed not to be of sufficient magnitude to warrant either attention or help. The suburban communities developed their local governmental structures independently. And as they were developed and perfected, there developed a pride and satisfaction with the results—sufficient to resist nearly any suggestion from outside that the local structure be modified or changed in any major way.

Despite the reality that each metropolitan area exists in large measure as a large but single social and economic unit with a common need for such essential services as water supply, sewage disposal, traffic control, and public transportation, as well as schools, in almost every instance metropolitan areas are made up of numerous independent county, municipal, town or township, and school governmental units. These often inefficient governmental arrangements have developed in an atmosphere in which communication and official relationships between the units involved and between these units and the central city have been extremely limited. The migration of population to the suburbs during the past three decades, coupled with a deterioration in cities at a rate exceeding the ability to rebuild and renew, have had a tendency to strengthen the independence of the separate suburban units and their desire to stay that way. It is an attitude that reinforces the long history of city-suburban separateness, independent action, and lack of communication. It continues as a major obstacle to any type of reorganization proposal—whether limited to schools or applicable to the entire range of local government functions. Suburban areas are unwilling to disregard the possibility of city domination. They value their independence. So strong is their feeling that it has been determined that in many metropolitan communities a reorganization proposal could not survive a referendum (48). It is suggested that many of the problems associated with multiple school districts could be avoided for the future if reform were initiated while communities are still small and before they develop as metropolitan centers.

While numerous problems confront the planning, organizing, developing, and financing of public services and facilities in a metropolitan area that is fragmented into many policy-making and administrative jurisdictions, those having to do with taxation and finance are the most influential determiners of how decisions are made. Economic factors frequently cause the defeat of sound proposals for streamlining local government and eliminating duplication.

> Population density does not require adequate suburban school districts to be large geographically, and the direction or extent to which existing school districts may be projected in a reorganization proposal can seldom be determined by strong sociological forces. Economic forces tend to play a much more deciding role. The consequences are frequently an aggressive scramble among school districts and municipal governments to enlarge boundary lines wherever there is financial advantage. Poorer districts seek to join those which are more able. The wealthy ones hold out. Some having local wealth sufficient to yield some tax advantage, even in the operation of an inefficient school program, oppose any reorganization. Others financially favored seem less opposed to reorganization as such than to merging with districts having a smaller per-capita valuation than their own. Such proposals they resist stubbornly. Even further, as if existing wealth differences are not enough, there is frequently considerable friction among suburban school districts and municipalities as they seek to preempt territory having valuable industrial potential (49).

Economic factors other than local valuation differences also tend to block or retard reorganization in metropolitan areas. Central cities frequently operate within a framework of a tax ceiling which deprives them of any tax leeway or flexibility which involvement in school district reorganization often requires. Similar limits sometimes apply equally to suburban municipalities. Another handicap is the frequent absence of an equitable procedure for accommodating such indebtedness as may exist when school districts reorganize. Also discouraging are the seemingly inexcusable delays in making real property improvements available either for tax purposes or as a base for bonding power. Resolving such problems would greatly assist the chance for accomplishing effective reorganization.

There are close relationships between school district reorganization problems and general governmental organization problems in metropolitan areas. Where inefficient and inadequate school systems are a product of fragmented jurisdictions, it can be expected that the same kinds of characteristics can be ascribed to other governmental functions. And although some approaches to school district reorganization avoid any comparable modification of other governmental arrangements, it is extremely difficult to consider school district organization or reorganization in a metropolitan area without taking into account the legal relationships of the city school district to the municipal government of the city. Most city boards of education have legal responsibility for operating a quasi-school corporation organized with complete independence from municipal government. Some city school systems function as departments of municipal government, however, and are dependent on that government for certain types of operational authority. In still other instances, the control of school operations is divided between the school board and the municipal government. Board of education independence to determine how all available financial resources will be expended, coupled with dependence on municipal government for the amount of such resources, is illustrative of this third type of relationship. The manner in which school board members are selected is another common area of interdependent relationships. The specific nature of these relationships has many implications for school district reorganization. Fiscally independent suburban districts, for example, may have some reluctance and some legal questions when it is proposed that they reorganize with a fiscally dependent central city. In general, the nature of the legal relationships between city school districts and municipal government directly contributes to or discourages the involvement of the city in a reorganization effort. The greater the degree of school district-municipal government independence, the greater the chances for reorganization. A high degree of dependence reduces the number of reorganization alternatives.

Organizational Decentralization. Although nearly all school district reorganization efforts have been directed toward making school districts larger, with the expectation that with increased size they might administer educational programs more efficiently and effectively, it is evident that school systems can become so large that efficiency and effectiveness actually are decreased; in such instances, some kind of decentralization is required. By the 1950's, a number of the larger school systems in the country had either adopted some type of decentralization plan or had one under consideration. Decentralizing functions within a school system can be regarded as an attempt to achieve certain of the benefits enjoyed by smaller administrative units but within the framework of the large system.

Decentralization is not a form of school district reorganization in the usual sense. All of the decentralization plans put into operation at this writing have been a restructuring of the school system's internal organization, with specific functions and certain designated operational decision-making responsibilities delegated to subunits within the system. The decentralization accomplished to date has been in the nature of adaptation of a school system's internal organizational arrangements and the manner in which functions and responsibilities are allocated among its component elements. In no instance has decentralization brought about the division of any city or other large school system into separate legal entities; rather, the approaches relate to basic changes in the governance of school systems. This may well become one of the most controversial educational issues as efforts are made to stop the deterioration of cities during the last third of the twentieth century. Given the controversial nature of the question of the governance of school systems, certain ramifications should be noted.

Every large organization—whether it administers schools, manufactures automobiles, or distributes electricity—seems to lack flexibility and responsiveness. Just the enormity of the operation makes it impersonal. Policy making and administrative decisions emanate from some remote and vague center of control, and those functioning at levels below this center feel themselves without any ability to influence the way the system is operated. Practices become institutionalized, with the result that individuals seem unable to adapt to the unique needs and characteristics of individual situations.

> Large scale organizations inevitably tend to become cumbersome bureaucracies. Authority systems have to be established; responsibilities have to be fragmented; control has to be maintained; rules and regulations have to be provided; and systems of allocations have to be developed to assure some fairness in the distribution of resources. [In the case of education,] maintenance of the bureaucracy sometimes becomes a more vital criterion for the establishment of patterns of operation than the educational welfare of children and the idiosyncratic plans and proposals of classroom teachers (50).

Recognizing the existence of bureaucratic rigidities as well as the fact that many large school systems have served a student population having widely different experiential backgrounds and consequently equally diverse educational needs, these systems instituted a policy of delegating certain specified program functions to responsible subunits. Some type of decentralization plan has been operational in New York City, Detroit, Dearborn, Chicago, San Francisco, Montgomery County (Maryland), and other large school systems for several years (51). Experimental or pilot programs have been either established or proposed in many other large school systems—the Washington, D.C., and Seattle systems among them. The delegation in these approaches to decentralization has been on a geographic basis rather than through departments in the line organization. In each instance, the major goals have been the encouragement of program adaptations to more nearly meet the educational needs of discrete population groups and a broader involvement in program decision making.

Decentralization efforts designed to cut through the bureaucratic machinery of large-scale organization and to achieve some degree of local involvement have recently encountered new forces with racial and ethnic overtones, as well as others having the welfare of teachers as their primary interest. The controversy has developed in certain ghetto areas where the basic issue concerns the amount of power that should be delegated in a "community control" system by the legally constituted parent board of education. The advocates of "community control" insist that local determination over budget, personnel, curriculum, textbooks, the construction of school buildings, and other major administrative activities is necessary. The representatives of the teachers oppose any move that would deprive them of hard-won employment security, while the central administration is willing to give up only partial control over all these functions. The result has been an almost explosive situation in which all points of view are advocated in an extremist manner.

There can be no doubt that the power struggles growing out of the delegation of responsibilities to "community control" boards may cause a slowdown of the decentralization movement. But it is presumed this will be only temporary.

> Even enthusiastic supporters of school decentralization are saying privately that the battle between the Ocean Hill-Brownsville demonstration school district and the United Federation of Teachers will create a backlash that is certain to slow decentralization. But they are also convinced that the trend toward decentralization in big cities is too powerful to be blocked in the long run. For the immediate future, these observers say, there is little doubt that decentralization plans, if they are to have any chance of acceptance, will considerably reduce the local decentralized districts' power over the teachers in their schools. . . . But the movement has too

many economic and political forces behind it to be stopped, even if there is a temporary slowdown (52).

Additional support for the belief that continued decentralization is both essential and inevitable is found in the circumstances which exist in large cities, their need for change and innovation, and the manner in which innovation and experimentation take place.

> The further the operating unit is removed from the decision making process, the more rigid the authoritative structure of the school, the less involvement of teachers and principals in educational planning, the greater the distance of the parents and citizens tends to be from the control mechanisms of the school district. The greater, as well, will be the tendency of the school district to maintain the *status quo,* to discourage new ideas, and to maintain equilibrium at the expense of adaptability (53).

Widespread recognition of how extensive and how complex the social and economic problems of cities have become is essential for the support, understanding, and resources that solutions will require. Some glimpses of the seriousness of these problems have already had sufficient impact to bring them to or near the top of our national priority list. There can be little question that, in the educational sector, some type of decentralization will be an element of every workable solution. What will be most difficult will be finding an effective and acceptable balance between the responsibilities and authority held by the central board of education and those which can be delegated to subdistricts or to individual attendance centers.

Because firm guidelines for decentralization have not been developed, school systems have been required either to adopt some modification of a plan developed elsewhere or develop their own approach. Seldom have the plans adopted achieved all that it was hoped they might accomplish or continued in operation without modification. As a result, two broad generalizations seem to be emerging from the accumulated experience of school systems operating some type of decentralization plan: the subdistricts within large school systems should embrace the broadest possible range of programs—preschool, elementary, secondary, vocational, and adult; subdistricts should have a population base of approximately 25,000 to 50,000 pupils (54). Such guides would seem adequate to accommodate the concept of the educational park and such other innovations for providing special educational programs as may be needed to bring about a greater social and racial integration of pupils than can be served through neighborhood schools (55).

REORGANIZING STATE AND INTERMEDIATE AGENCIES

All of the foregoing discussion of reorganization concerns local school districts, the basic administrative units of state school systems. Because local school districts include and serve almost every community, they are the most widely known and best understood of all the components of any educational system. They are always observable; it is with the local school district that most public contacts are made.

The system has other components performing other functions. There are, of course, other local school districts. Except for very extreme or unusual circumstances —parts of some Indian reservations and the unorganized territory of Maine are notable examples—all the territory of every state is part of a local school district. In addition, every state has a state education agency, and in 32 states there exists a statewide network of intermediate education agencies to which functions different from those performed by the local or state agencies are allocated. Operating an elementary or secondary school program is a local district function, for example. Intermediate units and state agencies do not operate such schools; they have functions different from those allocated to local districts. As an example, state agencies determine the allocation and supervise the distribution of state financial support for local district programs. The concept is one of a system, with each element exercising a certain degree of autonomy with respect to different functions.

The local districts, intermediate units, and state agency combine to make the state system of schools; their combined activities make up the state's principal organized educational effort. It is noteworthy that direct state agency operation of elementary and secondary schools, teachers colleges, junior and community colleges, and other institutions offering instruction beyond the high school has tended to decline after they have become well established as local institutions—even despite the fact that many are wholly financed by the state. Such operation tends to become imcompatible with local sentiment and to interfere with more acceptable functions for exercise by the coordinating arm of the state in the state educational system.

A few direct operational responsibilities of central agencies are probably necessary, or at least they persist. For example, some intermediate administrative units have direct operational responsibility for classes for exceptional children, hospital classes, educational programs in detention homes, programs for unwed mothers, and, in some instances, for area vocational schools; some state agencies have indirect responsibility for the operation of state schools for the blind, severely mentally handicapped, and others.

Reorganization of State Departments of Education

While most of the reorganization of educational units has involved a major adjustment of boundary lines, this has not been a characteristic in the reorganization of state education agencies. State boundaries are much too firmly established and stable to respond to changes of this type. There have been state education agency changes, however—some having a great deal of significance and many of them relatively recent in terms of state history. With the details of these changes reported in the descriptions of how each state education agency has developed, only brief mention of this type of reorganization is included here.

One aspect of state education agency reorganization concerns the assignment of policy-making responsibilities. Some type of state board of education exists in 48 of the 50 states—in all states except Illinois and Wisconsin. Eight of these state boards have been created since the end of World War II—Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Rhode Island, and South Dakota. Even in spite of differences in the number of members on these boards and the manner in which they are selected, it is fair to say there has been a distinct trend toward the establishment of a lay policy board. In addition to these boards, an additional state board has been established in Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Washington, and Wisconsin for administering vocational education (56).

All states have a chief state school officer, although there are as many differences in their functions and in the specific characteristics of their position as there are differences among the official titles assigned to them. In 24 states, the chief state school officer is appointed by the state board of education. In 4 others (New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, and Virginia), the chief state school officer is appointed by the governor. In the other 22 states, he is elected by popular vote either on a partisan (16 states) or nonpartisan (6 states) basis. There are similar differences in the length of his term. That 16 of the 24 states providing for appointment of the chief state school officer by the state board of education have adopted the procedure since the end of World War II illustrates the trend and the extent of this type of reorganization.

One other type of reorganization deserving mention relates to the internal adjustments and the way in which staff members function as a result of federal subsidization of certain types of educational programs. The earliest influences began in 1917 and were related specifically to the vocational education acts. Another major influence came in 1959-60 and the subsequent years with the National Defense Education Act. The most recent federally stimulated reorganization came as a result of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Especially significant in this latest of the federal influences has been the designation of specific funds for the strengthening of state education agencies and the development of state leadership. Some of the reorganization of state agencies has capitalized on these funds for leadership development, suggesting the need for further reorganization in other states. Such will become essential if the level of state education leadership needed now and for the future is to be assured.

Reorganization of Intermediate School Districts

The intermediate administrative unit was originally organized in most states as an "arm of the state," an extension of the state education agency. Directing, assisting, and inspiring the large number of small local school districts in its area of jurisdiction were its primary functions. Traditionally, the intermediate unit area was the county and the intermediate unit officer, the county superintendent of schools. During that period when counties often contained 100 or more separate school districts, each operating a one-teacher school and when public education was limited almost exclusively to elementary education, the county superintendency of the traditional type was highly appropriate. The histories of the states demonstrate how they served their functions and the school districts in their counties with distinction.

A system, however, is like a mobile —a mechanism that can function well only when its delicate balance is maintained. The extensive reorganization of local school districts brought on a major upset of state-school system balance. Despite intermediate-unit-level support and leadership for local district reorganization, its successful accomplishment has contributed to making the traditional intermediate unit structure obsolete. An intermediate area with 100 or more one-teacher districts is a different setup from a county with but one, two, or three school districts, each with its own board of education, professional administrator, and instructional staff. The functions traditionally performed by intermediate school offices were no longer appropriate. For a number of years after Jefferson and Douglas Counties in Colorado were reorganized into a single county-unit school district, there continued in these counties (and several dozen others in other places) an elected county superintendent of schools as the constitutionally required intermediate unit officer. A constitutional amendment in 1965 made it possible to eliminate the office.

Little can be gained from descriptions of obsolescence. The important observation is that adjustments made at any point in a system will influence every part of that system. Every state that has experienced any significant degree of local district reorganization will have also experienced changes in the nature of the functions and services appropriate for the intermediate and state levels of organization. These needs have been recognized in some states. State departments of education and intermediate administrative units have been reorganized or are now experiencing reorganization in some states. Little yet has been done in others.

Because the boundaries of states are relatively fixed, because each has but one state education agency, and because most people are not closely associated with its operation, state agency reorganization has not been nearly as dramatic as that at local and even intermediate levels. It has been substantial, nevertheless. The variations among the 50 state education agencies are sufficiently great to require nearly 50 separate categories for description (57). Other state agency reorganization characteristics have to do with staff, staff functions, and the relationships of the state agency with its local and intermediate units and with federal agencies.

Reorganization of the intermediate level has been somewhat more varied. Basically, it had taken or will take one of two possible directions: (1) development of a multicounty regional service agency with capability for providing highly specialized educational services; or (2) elimination of the intermediate component in the state system. A third alternative available for states is to continue to ignore their intermediate agency and permit it to deteriorate with obsolescence.

Some states have taken major steps at intermediate unit reorganization. The boards of cooperative educational services in New York, Michigan's intermediate school districts, Wisconsin's cooperative educational service agencies, Texas' education service centers and Oregon's intermediate education districts are illustrative of the emerging regional service agency types. Some of these agencies have a large service area. There are 20 service centers for the 254 counties of Texas, for example; Nebraska with 89 counties has created a network of 19 cooperative educational service units; Iowa has a plan for developing 16 regional agencies for its 99 counties. Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Colorado, Washington, California, and other states have intermediate unit reorganization plans in some phase of development and might well make major changes in the near future.

The second alternative identified—eliminating the intermediate level of organization—involves a shift to a two-echelon state system. Idaho made this move in 1953, after an extensive reorganization of local districts. Many of the new districts were county districts, and it seemed logical to just abolish the county school superintendency. Constitutional amendment in Kansas in 1966 will result in the elimination of the position of county superintendent in that state in 1969. Colorado's constitutional amendment permits counties to determine the future of their county school office; most counties have elected to abolish the office. The only alternative they have is to keep it as it is. Wisconsin resolved its traditional county school office by legislating it out of existence at the same time that it established its cooperative educational service agencies. The traditional type of intermediate agency was abolished on a statewide basis as the new type was created. This replacement process is taking place more gradually in Iowa, Michigan, New York, and Washington. A different approach is that of Texas and Nebraska. Both states have superimposed a new regional service agency structure over what previously existed. The result is two statewide networks of intermediate units operating separately at the same time.

A third alternative some states have elected to follow is to ignore the need to either reorganize or eliminate their intermediate level structure; this results in its inevitable drift into ineffectiveness and obsolescence. Minnesota, Missouri, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Illinois, North and South Dakota, Montana, Wyoming, and Arizona have so far followed this course. Several other states have done not much more. It is difficult as yet to determine which of the other courses open they may elect to take.

State Leadership in Reorganization

Planning a single school district reorganization proposal, developing sufficient understanding of what it requires and involves, building support, guiding it successfully through approval and referendum procedures, and, ultimately, making a newly created school district operative is a process which often requires several years and many thousands of man-hours to complete. Forming just one newly reorganized school district involves the patient and skillful leadership of school board members, parents, business leaders, legal advisers, and countless others. To conceptualize or mentally quantify the total amount of leadership effort school district reorganization activities of the past half-century have required would be fruitless. The benefits derived from this seemingly limitless contribution of leadership—broader curricular offerings, more specialized services, better qualified teachers, better use of resources, more instructional materials—have served both as motivation and reward.

State-level leadership has been prominent in promoting and guiding school district reorganization. In most states either the state board of education or a special reorganization committee has been assigned responsibility for developing standards for reorganized districts, assisting local committees with study and planning, and approving specific proposals. In virtually no instance has the state agency assumed a passive role. State officials initiated appropriate school district reorganization in some states; they counseled legislators for effective reorganization laws in others. Manuals describing reorganization procedures, guidelines, promotional leaflets, and other informational materials were developed by state agencies. Consultants, speakers, advisers, and other staff members met either officially or informally with school boards, community groups, and others—eager, interested, questioning, reluctant, belligerent—to discuss reorganization procedures and possibilities. Specific help was provided for local surveys and planning. The support and cooperation of farm groups, business organizations, and other citizens was encouraged and developed. State agencies were hard at work promoting, informing, and supporting—but nearly always respecting the right of local people to make up their own minds and make their own decision.

Experience with school district reorganization has demonstrated the importance of orderly planning by state and local educational leaders. While state education agency consultants have effectively assisted local study groups in most states, New York has had a singular procedure. In that state, it is necessary for local communities to request an opportunity to vote on a reorganization proposal. Before this permission is granted, a state education agency staff of school district reorganization specialists meets with local community leadership groups to ascertain whether they have developed a desirable reorganization. State agency assistance is provided as needed from that point of initiation until the new district is operative or until the proposal is defeated. Practically no reorganization proposal has been considered in that state in the past 30 years without having had the close personal attention of a department of education staff member.

State influence in assisting the reorganization process has been a direct function of state reorganization commissions and state department of education staff members to whom providing special reorganization assistance is assigned. Frequently, however, other specialists have been equally influential. The success of a given reorganization proposal may hinge on the curricular opportunities the new district can offer. It may rest on the possibility of providing transportation for those who will need such service. Previous reference has been made to how reorganization can be encouraged by the availability or the withholding of school construction funds. Leadership takes many forms.

Progress in the promotion and development of school district reorganization programs has required a quantity and quality of leadership almost beyond comprehension. Yet at state, intermediate, and local levels, it has been available, ready to initiate and guide whatever actions were necessary to assure communities access to better schools. In many communities, the accomplishment has been strongly contested. State and local leaders have been faced with every kind of obstacle the opponents of reorganization could devise. But always there has been faithful persistence. Nearly always it has been rewarded.

EXPERIENCE AS A GUIDE TO FUTURE EFFORTS

Providing appropriate educational programs for individual children in circumstances where both the content and the methods of instruction are continuously changing is a challenge which states and local communities must meet. Unfortunately, organized educational programs and sophisticated educational services do not just happen. Some individual, organization, or agency must assume responsibility for providing them. School districts are the legal machinery through which local educational programs are implemented. When these local school districts are not adequate to accomplish the tasks for which they must accept responsibility, some type of reorganization is needed.

Because providing education is a state responsibility and because the authority for the existence of all school districts resides in state legislation, it follows that state legislatures have the initial and major responsibility for all school district reorganization that takes place. While they can delegate certain responsibilities to their state education agency, to local school districts, or to other groups by legislative enactment, they cannot ignore their responsibility.

After several decades of experience with school district reorganization in some states and significant experience over a shorter period of time in most others, much has been learned. Working with the reorganization process has been instructive. A few general observations drawn directly from this experience may be helpful as guides for a future in which continued, perhaps even accelerated, reorganization is a certainty.

1. *There should be a carefully developed state plan for school district reorganization.* Enactment of a law establishing procedures by which school district reorganization can take place is not enough. An overall state plan based on what are regarded as desirable criteria for school districts is essential in guiding desirable development. Most reorganization mistakes have been made by reorganizing too small, by organizing into existence the wrong combination of school districts, by creating islands "with no place to go," or by other action reflecting a lack of suitable planning. While every state "master plan" should be reviewed and modified at frequent intervals, it represents at all times a helpful guide to both state and local officials for the prevention of unfortunate and unwise reorganization.

2. *Intensive study and planning should be important components of the reorganization procedures.* Each local area has certain unique problems arising out of its diverse social, economic, and geographic characteristics. An objective analysis of all the pertinent local factors, and an identification of all the alternatives available are essential for intelligent action. Special assistance for the conduct of such study and planning is a legitimate state education agency function. In states where such assistance has been available, the reorganization which has been accomplished has been both more rapid and more adequate. On the other hand, where there has been a failure to carefully assess the educational needs of an area and the resources available to meet them, inadequate reorganized school districts have resulted. There should also be some provision of the funds necessary to carry on the kind of study that is needed.

3. *Planning for school district reorganization should be coordinated with general community planning.* While schools almost always operate under a specific set of state laws and are frequently legally independent from other aspects of government, they are still part of a community which operates as a socially integrated whole. The location of parks, expressways, sanitation systems, and other public buildings are of great importance to school planning. Zoning policies or changes in zoning classifications have significance for the probable number and location of pupils and need for school facilities. Obviously, then, there is a need to relate reorganization planning to the total community and its planning and development.

4. *Provision should be made for lay planning boards at both the state and local*

level. Reorganization plans which appear to hold great promise often fall short of realization because they are not well understood and consequently lack popular support. For people to accept changes in the school district structure, they must know and understand the benefits that may result and how the newly proposed district is likely to operate. This understanding and support can best be developed when lay citizens have major responsibilities for the planning. At state level, either the state board of education or a special commission for reorganization should be assigned this planning responsibility. Local planning groups would be responsible for the study and development of specific proposals. These boards should be made up of laymen with ready access to assistance by professional educators.

5. *The local planning area should be a cluster of contiguous counties or other area of comparable size.* Because a majority of all school district reorganization action has taken place in states where the "community school district" is the common pattern, the most typical area for the planning of reorganization has been the county. Many state laws specify and assign responsibilities to county school district reorganization committees. However effective these committees have been, county planning tends to impose boundaries on thinking and consideration. There have been many instances where such planning has failed to recognize that the logical boundary lines for a newly reorganized district should cross the county boundary. In other instances, committees have been unable to plan acceptable proposals for such multicounty communities. Planning areas which overlap county boundaries would eliminate these problems.

6. *The school district reorganization law and the procedures developed for implementing it should be clear and specific.* Changing the local governmental structure which has legal responsibility for administering schools is a major undertaking for any local area. Not infrequently, there are strong emotional attachments to the existing district pattern and fear of what might develop if the reorganization proposal is adopted. In such circumstances, school district reorganization is assisted greatly when the law is clear and easily understood. Ambiguous language continuously requires explanation, and even legal opinions are troublesome. Guidelines, manuals of directions, and all other items or materials related to the reorganization process should be designed to prevent misunderstanding.

7. *The state reorganization law or the procedures adopted for implementing reorganization should establish definite time limits for local action.* Most school district reorganization has been accomplished long after the need for it had developed. In reorganization, as in the adoption of all other innovations, there is an unfortunate time lag which deprives children of needed educational opportunities and services. Experience indicates clearly that the absence of a time schedule within which the planning and consideration of reorganization proposals is required tends to encourage inaction. Without a time schedule, there often develops a general agreement that school district reorganization is needed and ultimately will take place but that the community is not yet ready to take the step. A time schedule contributes to readiness.

8. *The state should have review and approval authority for all school district reorganization proposals.* The existence of a "master plan" can set forth the state's expectations for redistricting. The procedures adopted can provide the means by which action is taken. But without the power to review and either approve or veto local plans and action, the state has no real way to prevent the creation and continuation of inadequate districts, of newly formed districts which intentionally exclude high pupil population and low valuation areas, and other unfortunate developments. Only with review and approval authority can a state make certain that its reorga-

nization goals are met, that the reorganization process can be guided with sufficient control to proceed in an efficient, effective, and orderly way.

9. *The school district reorganization goal should be the establishment of comprehensive school districts.* Many states have struggled to eliminate the inefficiencies and overlapping nature of separate elementary and secondary school districts operating in the same geographic area under separate boards of education and separate administrative arrangements. Unification has been their goal. The duplication, lack of coordination, competition for support, and other handicaps which separate district structures foster are well documented. State reorganization laws should be designed to prevent either the creation or continuation of such districts.

10. *School district reorganization should not bring a financial penalty in terms of state support.* Economic factors, primarily a fear of higher taxes, are the greatest obstacles to most reorganization proposals. In support of such resistance is substantial experience indicating that the expanded educational benefits derived from reorganization do in fact bring slightly increased costs. A certain amount of financial equalization also comes with school district reorganization. While high valuation areas within a newly reorganized school district should expect to carry an equitable share of support for the new district, a serious problem is created when the state's finance laws are so lacking in coordination with the reorganization process that financial hardship results. This problem can be avoided by careful state planning and review of the local reorganization proposal in advance of its adoption.

11. *Special legislation directed to the problems of school district reorganization involving cities and districts in metropolitan areas is essential if the most effective reorganization is to be achieved.* Reorganization involving cities and other school districts in metropolitan areas is sufficiently important to warrant the enactment of special legislation. Appropriate school districts in these areas can be created only with extreme difficulty under laws designed primarily for rural areas. Metropolitan area growth and complexity require legislation that is designed both to stimulate reorganization and to provide the legal framework through which effective and desirable organization can be achieved.

12. *There should be a periodic review of all school district reorganization laws and procedures, coupled with appropriate revisions where they are indicated.* Changes in population growth and distribution, in educational demands, and in virtually every aspect of community life make it essential that all procedures for adaptation be reviewed and kept up to date. This type of appraisal should make certain that the kind of reorganization desired is in fact taking place. Areas needing strengthening should be strengthened. So should all other action indicated be implemented.

The strength of any state system of schools depends on its ability to function as a system with each component functioning in an effective manner. Weakness anywhere weakens the operation of the system. When the weakness is in the legal structure, reorganization is needed. There is no substitute for it—not more teachers nor specialized personnel nor facilities nor equipment. School district reorganization in years past has demanded a maximum type of leadership at all levels in the system. The need for continuing reorganization leadership will not be less in the future.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public School Administration* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1929), p. 5.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 10-11.
3. Florida Department of Education, *Florida County Superintendents of Public Instruction*, Research Report No. 61 (Tallahassee: The Department, 1968), pp. 1-8.

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5. Massachusetts Board of Education, *First Annual Report Together with the First Annual Report of the Secretary of the Board* (Boston: The Board, 1838), p. 26.

6. W. C. Kampschroeder, "School District Unification in Kansas," *Journal on State School Systems Development,* I (Summer 1967), 96.

7. Charles O. Fitzwater, *School District Reorganization: Policies and Procedures,* Office of Education Special Series No. 5 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1957), p. 4.

8. Statement made by Rex Putnam, Oregon State Superintendent of Public Instruction from 1937 until 1961, on November 22, 1954, at the Northwest Regional Drive-In Conference on Administrative Leadership held in Spokane, Washington.

9. "Report of the Committee of Twelve on Rural Schools," Henry Sabin, chairman, *Journal of Proceedings of the National Education Association,* 1897 (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1897), pp. 385-583.

10. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1934), p. 722.

11. Ohio Education Association, *History of County School Districts in Ohio,* R. M. Eyman, director (Columbus: The Association, 1962), p. 27.

12. *Ibid.*

13. H. S. Hicks, *The One Room School in Illinois* (Springfield: Illinois State Tax Commission, 1932), pp. 7-8.

14. Howard A. Dawson, *Satisfactory Local School Units,* Field Study No. 7 (Nashville, Tenn.: Division of Surveys and Field Studies, George Peabody College for Teachers, 1934).

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18. American Association of School Administrators, *School District Organization,* report of the AASA Commission on School District Reorganization (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1958), p. 23.

19. Cubberley, *Public Education in the United States,* pp. 65-66.

20. Kampschroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 101-102.

21. American Association of School Administrators, *School District Organization,* p. 176.

22. For a detailed summary of the school district reorganization laws and procedures of 16 states, see Charles O. Fitzwater, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-321.

23. Madaline Kinter Remmlein, *The Law and Public School Administration* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1953), p. 12.

24. Dawson, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

25. D. E. Lindstrom, *Development of Rural Community Schools in Illinois,* Bulletin No. 627 (Urbana: Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Illinois, 1958), p. 15.

26. Maine School District Commission, *School Administrative District Organization* (Augusta: State Department of Education, 1958), pp. 5-6.

27. Fitzwater, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-59.

28. Kampschroeder, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-103.

29. Edgar L. Morphet, Howard S. Bretsch, Theodore L. Reller, and Drayton B. Nuttall, *The Unified School District in California,* Bulletin of the California State Department of Education (Sacramento: The Department, 1956), p. 21.

30. See American Association of School Administrators and Department of Rural Education of the National Education Association, *School District Organization: Journey That Must Not End* (Washington, D.C.: The American Association of School Administrators, 1962).

31. See, for example, Michigan Superintendent of Public Instruction, *One Hundredth Report* (Lansing: Department of Public Instruction, 1950).

32. Charles O. Fitzwater, *Educational Change in Reorganized School Districts,* Office of Education, Bulletin 1953, No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1953).

33. Burton W. Kreitlow, *Long-Term Study of Educational Effectiveness of Newly Formed Centralized School Districts in Rural Areas,* Cooperative Research Project 375 (Madison: Department of Agricultural and Extension Education, University of Wisconsin, 1962).

34. J. F. Thaden, *Equalizing Educational Opportunity Through Community School Districts,* Special Bulletin 410 (East Lansing: Agricultural Experiment Station, Michigan State University, 1957), pp. 37-41.

35. For a review of the research and literature relating school size to various aspects of instruction and administration, see E. Robert Stephens and John Spiess, "What Does Research Say About a Local School District?" *Journal on State School Systems Development,* I (Fall 1967), 182-99.

36. For a brief analytical case description, see William Inman and Donald Rushing, "Process and Product in School Consolidation," *Journal on State School Systems Development,* I (Fall 1967), 173-181.

37. David C. Elsass, "Big Reorganizations Pay Best!" *Ohio School Boards Journal,* VIII (March 1964).

38. See Robert M. Isenberg, "Districts Grow: So Do Problems," *American School Board Journal,* CLIV (April 1967), 46-47.

39. American Association of School Administrators, *School District Organization,* p. 101.

40. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *Public School Administration,* p. 77.

41. American Association of School Administrators, *School District Organization,* p. 281.

42. *Ibid.,* p. 287.

43. At the time of this writing, Metro government for Jacksonville-Duval County has been voted but is yet to become operative. It should be noted especially that the development of city-county metropolitan government in Florida does not bring about any school district reorganization. All the schools of Duval County, for example—those in Jacksonville, in the other municipalities of the county, and in unincorporated areas—have been in a single county school district for nearly one hundred years.

44. The Toronto plan for achieving a certain amount of equalization in the financial support for education is similar to the way the intermediate education districts of Oregon accomplish this goal.

45. University Council on Community Development, *A Study of Metropolitan Area School District Organization in Illinois* (Urbana: Council on Community Development, University of Illinois, 1961), p. 125.

46. *Ibid.*

47. Statement by Mrs. Forrest Rieke, chairman of the Big Cities' Committee of the National School Boards Association. Quoted in National School Boards Association, *Information Service Bulletin* (Evanston, Ill.: The Association, November 1966), p. 3.

48. See Basil G. Zimmer and Amos H. Hawley, *Metropolitan Area Schools: Resistance to District Reorganization* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage Publications, 1968), p. 320.

49. American Association of School Administrators, *School District Organization,* p. 279.

50. Keith Goldhammer, "Local Provisions for Education: The Organization and Operation of School Systems and Schools," *Emerging Designs for Education,* edited by Edgar L. Morphet and David L. Lesser, Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Citation Press, Scholastic Magazines, 1968).

51. For a brief description of the plan implemented in Chicago in 1955, see American Association of School Administrators, *School District Organization,* pp. 305-309.

52. Fred M. Hechinger, "Decentralization Snags," *New York Times* (September 18, 1968), p. 32-C.

53. Goldhammer, *op. cit.,* p. 89.

54. See Great Plains School District Organization Project, *Guidelines for School District Organization: Project Report,* the Project financed by funds provided under the

Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, P.L. 89-10, Title V (Lincoln, Nebr.: The Project, 1968).

55. See "Big City Survival Plan," *American School Board Journal*, CLVI (September 1968), 15.

56. U.S. Office of Education, Division of Vocational and Technical Education, Memorandum to Edgar Fuller, executive secretary, Council of Chief State School Officers, September 27, 1968, "Position of State Director: Educational Organizational Structure."

57. For other aspects in basic legal structure in state departments of education, see "Patterns of Selection of Chief State School Officers and State Boards of Education," compiled by the Council of Chief State School Officers and included as Table 3 in Chapter 2 of this volume, "State Departments of Education Within State Governments."

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Chapter 4

State Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education

R. L. Johns

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State Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education

INTRODUCTION

It seems presumptuous to attempt to write in one chapter the history of state financing of the public schools since 1900. The problems and issues of state school financing since the beginning of the century have been interwoven with all of the political, social, and economic issues that have faced us as we have evolved from a nation largely rural in structure and culture to one that is largely urban and suburban. Therefore, a penetrating history of state school financing would analyze the interrelationships of all of these variables to state school financing.

Furthermore, numerous lengthy tomes, surveys, dissertations, monographs, and articles have been written on this subject. For example, Cubberley's work, *State School Funds and Their Apportionment,* was published in 1905; the 13 volumes of the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission were published in the early twenties; Mort's *State Support for Public Schools* was published in 1926; Swift's *Federal and State Policies in Public School Finance* was published in 1931; and *State Support for Public Education,* by Mort and the research staff of the National Survey of School Finance, was published in 1933. Although these landmark studies were all written before the mid-1930's, the concepts and principles presented in them largely have dominated the thinking on state school support to the present. A useful history of state support could no doubt be written by reviewing these studies and other important ones written on this subject during the past 65 years. However, such a history might read more like a review of educational research than a dynamic history of the political action of the states to provide educational opportunities for the children and youth of the nation.

Another problem facing the writer of a history of state support of the public schools in the United States is that each of the 50 states has a different history. A lengthy volume could be written on state school financing for each of the 48 contiguous states. Actually, a chapter of some length could be written about the state school financing in each of the two recently annexed states, Hawaii and Alaska. A history of state school financing in the United States that consisted of only a few paragraphs about each of the 50 states would not do justice to any state, and it would not present a very useful national history.

For the reasons given above, this chapter does not present a chronological record of the principal events in state school financing in any one state or even the nation during the past 65 years. The attempt is made, however, to present the development in state school financing in large, bold strokes, somewhat in the fashion of the impressionist artist who ignores detail but searches for the truth behind the complexity of objects and events. Such a history might be useful to the 50 state departments of education.

Each state department of education, usually in alliance with its state education association, has been in the middle of each political struggle to advance state school financing in that state during the past 65 years. A state department of education is prone to see the history of state school financing as a chronology of events occurring by biennial or quadrennial periods during which the principal actors were governors, chief state school officers, legislative leaders, and leaders in the state education association. Such a view can obscure the real issues and forces that shape educational policy and that tend to cross state lines and become national in scope. Personalities and events in a given state, of course, are important, but they take on

Table 1—PUBLIC SCHOOL REVENUE DERIVED FROM STATE SOURCES, 1900-65 (In thousands)

State	1900	1910	1920	1930	1939–40	1949–50	1959–60	1965–66
U.S. Total	$44,312	$77,185	$160,345	$372,193	$659,868	$2,165,689	$5,721,937	$9,644,948
Alabama	907	2,126	4,382	8,076	11,954	53,527	121,873	194,000
Arizona	11	65	967	2,208	2,204	11,546	44,512	87,000
Arkansas	447	1,301	1,857	3,913	6,084	26,339	44,209	75,254
California	3,505	5,348	8,680	26,531	78,234	236,753	754,793	1,200,000
Colorado	118	134	1,212	863	1,179	9,927	32,498	69,000
Connecticut	474	776	1,855	3,428	2,762	15,376	78,982	136,628
Delaware	66	196	580	4,590	4,124	10,141	42,700	66,552
Florida	124	196	454	2,765	12,402	50,138	194,970	326,454
Georgia	1,323	2,328	3,969	4,807	15,409	51,863	154,046	272,368
Idaho	205	294	663	828	1,108	5,478	15,111	30,321
Illinois	1,900	1,882	5,695	4,055	13,301	58,185	168,739	308,350
Indiana	2,174	3,191	4,294	4,580	18,584	56,484	109,942	252,706
Iowa	118	992	522	2,129	472	18,298	24,981	45,000
Kansas	421	502	600	663	3,316	20,668	38,860	96,237
Kentucky	1,448	3,500	2,921	5,841	10,570	23,992	69,025	148,000
Louisiana	342	1,088	2,416	5,359	14,274	73,889	192,809	279,155
Maine	520	1,199	2,219	3,196	1,778	7,121	15,665	30,300
Maryland	779	1,528	2,066	3,952	5,586	29,747	88,038	155,102
Massachusetts	169	425	4,460	8,225	7,937	26,750	63,439	119,000
Michigan	1,020	5,708	7,148	20,200	41,902	143,387	327,355	518,000
Minnesota	1,296	2,984	6,091	10,155	16,120	41,104	127,613	211,000
Mississippi	811	1,617	2,097	6,203	6,053	18,549	77,541	100,378
Missouri	1,489	2,518	3,686	5,413	17,572	40,687	85,861	152,398
Montana	...	181	1,141	1,970	944	7,374	16,144	30,000
Nebraska	693	623	1,031	1,411	180	2,669	6,656	7,900
Nevada	125	200	373	475	439	2,447	15,300	31,730
New Hampshire	39	112	347	640	396	947	2,376	7,681
New Jersey	2,516	3,215	13,809	21,629	6,003	34,656	127,508	180,000
New Mexico	403	59	645	1,550	3,955	28,549	68,812	97,036
New York	3,745	5,297	12,922	89,059	117,508	238,496	653,389	283,000
North Carolina	817	265	3,471	6,969	26,752	91,294	185,917	323,359
North Dakota	447	1,087	1,436	1,403	1,342	6,142	14,429	20,500
Ohio	2,028	2,610	4,280	5,702	48,529	81,924	205,483	308,000
Oklahoma	130	525	1,472	3,348	13,080	46,106	51,182	73,070
Oregon	203	320	470	455	75	20,679	52,962	78,000
Pennsylvania	5,493	7,203	11,682	23,891	36,715	117,279	388,970	603,956
Rhode Island	137	197	258	1,198	1,202	4,503	11,485	25,734
South Carolina	534	82	1,003	3,981	8,126	32,820	95,833	146,789
South Dakota	253	581	1,725	1,726	1,029	2,838	4,858	10,500
Tennessee	129	706	1,575	5,367	8,633	53,255	109,708	170,200
Texas	3,326	5,994	17,443	32,341	34,314	170,729	362,849	623,000
Utah	328	705	2,034	3,756	4,453	15,824	41,021	71,286
Vermont	139	296	1,155	693	771	3,230	6,830	11,204
Virginia	1,012	1,701	4,352	6,372	8,469	34,692	89,539	175,695
Washington	918	2,626	3,670	8,498	18,555	68,652	185,055	269,000
West Virginia	411	751	738	2,174	14,273	45,311	65,350	85,347
Wisconsin	776	1,801	3,729	7,947	8,100	20,978	70,290	117,895
Wyoming	43	150	750	1,658	240	6,383	16,931	30,863

NOTE:

Data from 1900 to 1930 include federal funds. However, the national picture with respect to state funds is not distorted by this inclusion since federal funds amounted to less than 0.3 percent of total revenue receipts prior to 1930. Data from 1900 to 1930 were taken from Paul R. Mort, *State Support for Public Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1933). Mort used as his primary source the statistical reports of the U.S. Office of Education, but he made some corrections in the data. The data for 1940 to 1960 were taken from *Statistics of State School Systems*, by the U.S. Office of Education; and data for 1965-66 were taken from *Estimates of School Statistics*, by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

more significance when viewed from a national perspective. Therefore, the following matters are treated in this chapter:

1. A brief, panoramic review of the quantitative trends in state school financing during the past 65 years
2. A description of the basic concepts and theories of state school financing that emerged during the first part of this century and the identification of the leaders who advanced them
3. The dissemination and development of techniques for apportioning state school funds
4. The activities of certain organizations and agencies in promoting the development of state school financing
5. A summary of some of the important historical problems and issues of state school financing.

TRENDS IN STATE FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Table 1 shows by decades the amount of state funds provided for the public schools of 48 states. (The states of Hawaii and Alaska were omitted from this table because of the recency of the admission of these states to the Union.) Federal funds were included with state funds for the decades from 1900 to 1930 because reports from the states frequently did not separate the sources of receipts properly. Furthermore, the federal school funds received by the states were negligible prior to 1930. For example, in 1930 the federal government provided only 0.3 percent of the revenue receipts of the public schools.

It will be noted from Table 1 that state support for the public schools increased from only $44,312,000 in 1900 to $9,644,948,000 in 1965. The total revenue receipts of the public schools in 48 states increased from $218,315,000 in 1900 to $24,190,960,000 in 1965-66. These enormous increases mean little unless consideration is given to increases in school enrollment and decreases in the purchasing power of the dollar. School enrollment increased from 15,503,000 in 1900 to 43,577,098 in 1965. The 1900 dollar had slightly more than four times the purchasing power of the 1965-66 dollar. When 1900 dollars are converted into the purchasing power of 1965-66 dollars, it is found that the revenue receipts per child enrolled increased from $56.68 in 1900 to $555.13 in 1965. This remarkable change in policy, of providing almost 10 times as much total revenue per pupil in 1965 as in 1900, reflects not only the increased affluence of the American society but also the increased value placed on education.

The state support for the public school per pupil enrolled increased from $11.51 in 1900 to $221.33 in 1965, expressed in terms of the purchasing power of the 1965-66 dollar. The state support provided per pupil in 1965 was almost 20 times the amount provided in 1900. Therefore, state support for the public schools has increased twice as fast as total support.

Another way of identifying trends in state support is to examine the proportion of total school revenue provided in each state from state sources. Those percentages are set forth for each state in Table 2. Here it will be observed that for the United States as a whole the revenue derived from

Table 2—PERCENTAGE OF SCHOOL REVENUE DERIVED FROM STATE SOURCES, 1900 to 1965-66

State	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1965–66
U.S. Overall Average	20.3	18.1	16.8	17.3	29.2	39.8	39.4	39.9
Alabama	82.3	74.1	51.3	40.8	54.1	71.6	65.3	61.8
Arizona	4.0	7.4	18.7	19.6	18.8	33.8	34.0	40.9
Arkansas	31.1	35.3	23.7	33.7	43.2	58.1	46.6	42.6
California	48.7	28.1	20.4	25.6	45.9	41.3	40.6	38.8
Colorado	4.0	2.3	9.0	3.2	5.0	20.2	19.5	24.5
Connecticut	15.9	14.0	12.3	8.1	8.7	23.6	34.6	34.7
Delaware	24.0	32.7	35.3	87.9	84.4	83.5	82.5	77.3
Florida	18.3	13.5	7.2	22.8	50.4	50.8	56.5	46.1
Georgia	64.4	53.0	43.5	35.6	56.8	57.4	64.0	59.8
Idaho	40.4	14.0	9.7	7.7	10.7	23.5	27.6	41.0
Illinois	10.2	5.2	8.7	5.3	10.0	16.5	20.6	22.7
Indiana	29.2	21.0	10.6	5.5	32.2	37.4	29.9	38.7
Iowa	1.4	7.5	1.5	4.3	1.1	19.1	12.0	13.5
Kansas	9.4	6.1	2.3	1.7	10.9	24.0	19.2	32.0
Kentucky	52.6	53.0	37.1	26.1	40.0	35.1	45.8	54.0
Louisiana	30.0	25.3	24.5	26.9	52.3	69.6	70.2	64.0
Maine	29.2	36.5	35.6	28.6	15.6	27.8	25.8	29.6
Maryland	26.5	39.2	41.6	17.7	21.6	38.3	34.2	32.8
Massachusetts	1.2	2.0	12.3	9.5	10.0	20.5	20.0	22.3
Michigan	15.3	41.1	17.1	18.2	41.6	53.4	43.2	45.1
Minnesota	22.7	20.8	19.5	20.6	31.7	36.2	39.7	39.1
Mississippi	59.4	55.2	52.1	33.5	37.1	47.8	56.5	50.2
Missouri	20.8	19.4	11.9	10.6	32.1	38.9	31.0	32.1
Montana	...	6.7	9.9	14.1	7.2	25.3	23.6	28.0
Nebraska	17.4	8.9	6.6	5.4	1.0	6.2	6.5	5.2
Nevada	55.5	35.0	26.6	19.0	17.0	36.5	51.3	53.2
New Hampshire	3.9	7.0	8.7	9.0	5.1	6.2	6.3	11.6
New Jersey	40.6	17.6	35.6	21.2	5.5	19.0	23.7	20.0
New Mexico	91.5	7.8	17.6	21.8	45.3	86.0	74.4	64.4
New York	10.9	9.6	12.1	27.6	33.1	40.0	39.5	44.4
North Carolina	82.9	9.0	30.1	16.6	65.8	67.5	66.7	66.2
North Dakota	30.7	20.5	12.1	11.1	12.8	27.0	26.4	27.7
Ohio	15.2	10.2	7.3	4.1	35.3	31.4	27.7	25.2
Oklahoma	18.1	15.8	7.5	10.6	34.0	56.5	27.7	28.0
Oregon	12.4	6.9	4.8	2.3	.4	28.6	29.3	26.8
Pennsylvania	22.0	15.6	15.9	13.9	21.0	35.1	45.8	43.3
Rhode Island	9.4	8.6	5.2	8.6	10.3	20.2	23.2	31.7
South Carolina	65.5	3.9	15.8	25.5	48.6	55.2	66.6	59.2
South Dakota	13.7	14.9	16.6	10.1	7.6	12.1	8.9	12.4
Tennessee	7.2	15.9	17.8	24.7	33.3	56.9	58.0	48.2
Texas	75.0	57.2	54.0	42.6	39.4	61.8	50.0	50.3
Utah	28.2	26.8	31.5	33.6	37.3	50.3	44.0	44.3
Vermont	15.7	19.8	33.1	12.2	14.5	27.6	24.8	23.4
Virginia	50.4	39.1	36.7	27.9	31.2	39.6	37.0	38.4
Washington	43.8	28.4	18.1	28.9	57.9	65.6	61.6	58.5
West Virginia	20.2	19.0	6.4	8.3	50.7	62.7	52.9	46.6
Wisconsin	13.3	15.8	15.6	17.0	17.2	17.4	22.6	23.1
Wyoming	14.8	19.5	24.3	27.1	4.3	42.0	47.5	41.2

NOTE:

Data from 1900 to 1930 include federal funds. However, the national picture with respect to state funds is not distorted by this inclusion since federal funds amounted to less than 0.3 percent of total revenue receipts prior to 1930. Data from 1900 to 1930 were taken from Paul R. Mort, *State Support for Public Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1933). Mort used as his primary source the statistical reports of the U.S. Office of Education, but he made some corrections in the data. The data for 1940 to 1960 were taken from *Statistics of State School Systems*, by the U.S. Office of Education; and data for 1965-66 were taken from *Estimates of School Statistics*, by the Research Division of the National Education Association.

state sources declined from 20.3 percent of total revenue receipts in 1900 to 16.8 percent in 1920, then increased to 39.8 percent in 1950, and has remained at approximately that level. However, the percent of revenue derived from state sources would have shown some increase in 1965-66 had it not been for the great increase in federal revenue in 1965-66 resulting from the passage by Congress of the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

The trends in individual states do not always correspond with national trends, and it is interesting to study them. The proportion of revenue derived from state sources reflects to some extent the successes and failures in improving school financing in each state. Care should be exercised, however, in interpreting the data presented in Table 2. A decrease in the proportion of revenue derived from state sources does not always reflect a decline in state support. It may only reflect an increase in local support with no decrease in total state support, which could be considered an advance in school financing.

On the other hand, an increase in the percent of school revenue obtained from state sources without any decline in the funds received from local sources could also be interpreted as a forward step in school financing. For example, in 1900 Alabama provided 82.3 percent of its revenue from state sources. However, this did not indicate sound fiscal policy, or even a good state support program, simply because at that time the Alabama Constitution permitted only a negligible local tax levy for schools. In 1920, the revenue derived from state sources in Alabama declined to 51.3 percent of total revenue. This did not mean that Alabama's state support program had declined in 1920. Actually, total state support for the public schools had increased in Alabama from $907,000 in 1900 to $4,381,514 in 1920. What had happened was that in the late teens the people of Alabama adopted a constitutional amendment greatly increasing the amount of local taxes that boards of education could levy. Therefore, at that particular time in Alabama's history, local school revenue increased at a greater rate than state revenue. Since there was no decline but actually further increases in state school revenue, the decade of the twenties historically has been considered a favorable period in school financing in Alabama. In the period from 1930 to 1950, the percent of school revenue in Alabama derived from state sources increased from 40.8 percent to 71.6 percent. During that 20-year period there was no further releasing of restrictions on local school financing in that state, and most of the increases in school revenue came from state sources. But it will be noted from Table 2 that the percent of revenue derived from state sources declined from 71.6 percent in 1950 to 61.8 percent in 1965-66, despite the fact that total revenue derived from state sources increased from $53,527,000 in 1950 to $194,000,000 in 1965-66. Again what had happened was the adoption of constitutional amendments by the people of Alabama permitting further increases in local tax rates for schools which resulted in the increase of local revenue for schools in Alabama at a faster rate than state revenue in the late fifties and early sixties.

One familiar with the history of education in any state can take Tables 1 and 2 and find reflections in the data presented of that state's fiscal policies for schools during the past 65 years. Some states, like Alabama, have moved forward during one period with state support and during another with local support; but seldom has Alabama moved forward with both state support and local support at the same time.

Nebraska represents a completely different pattern with respect to state school support. The revenue derived from state sources declined from 17.4 percent in 1900 to 5.4 percent in 1930 and ended with 5.2 percent in 1965-66. This means that Nebraska made almost no progress in state school support between 1900 and 1965-66. The states of New Hampshire and South Dakota have followed somewhat similar patterns of state school fiscal policy.

In contrast with Nebraska, Delaware began in 1900 with 24 percent of school revenue provided from state sources, increased to 87.9 percent in 1930, remained at above 80 percent for the next 30 years, and declined to 77.3 percent in 1965-66 only because of substantial increases in local support. Actually, state revenues have been the principal source of school financial support in Delaware for more than 40 years.

An examination of Table 2 will reveal that the following states provided a lower percent of state revenue for schools in 1965-66 than in 1900: Alabama, California, Georgia, Mississippi, Nebraska, New Jersey, New Mexico, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Virginia. However, in several states the decline in the percent of revenue derived from state sources was due to liberalizing tax limits for schools in the early part of this century. Only Delaware, Nebraska, and New Jersey provided a lower percent of revenue from state sources in 1965-66 than in 1930.

Some recent trends indicate that the percent of school revenue derived from state sources in most states will continue to increase despite increases in federal funds. If any federal funds are used for tax relief, the substitution will probably be for local school taxes rather than state taxes. It is shown in Table 2 that the following states provided less than 20 percent of school revenue from state sources in 1960: Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and South Dakota. Since the percent of federal revenue for schools increased from about 4 percent of the total in 1960 to approximately 8 percent in 1965-66, it could have been hypothesized that more states would have provided less than 20 percent of their total revenue from state sources in 1965-66 than in 1960. However, only Iowa, Nebraska, New Hampshire, and South Dakota provided less than 20 percent of school revenues from state sources in 1965-66.

State financial support has become a major factor in school financing in all but a few states during the first 65 years of this century. Historical trends indicate that state school financing in the future will provide a larger share of school support than at the present time.

The Early Theorists on State Support

All important social movements have had an intellectual leader or leaders. These men, who are almost always theorists, are sometimes considered impractical by the general public. However, it is the theorists who shape social policy and social organization more than any other group in society. Politicians and public officials usually base their policies on theoretical assumptions of some kind. Politicians such as Jefferson, Hamilton, and Madison, who were also theorists, have had a profound effect on governmental policy in the United States.

The early theorists on state school finance were not politicians or holders of public office. All of them were university professors, but they have had a profound influence on political policy in the United States with respect to state school financing. These theorists dealt with some of the crucial values, issues, and problems in American society. Therefore, what they had to say was of great interest to the public. Some of the values and issues involved in determining policies on state school financing follow: Is equalization of educational opportunity a function of a democratic government? What level of education should be guaranteed to everyone in order to promote the general welfare? To what extent should the states exercise control over the public schools? To what extent should "home rule" in school government be encouraged? Are nonproperty state taxes more equitable than local property taxes? What percent of school revenue should be provided from state sources?

The early theorists on school finance usually stated their value assumptions, outlined their goals, and then presented conceptual designs or models by which those goals could be attained. These conceptual designs and models could be empirically tested by research. The theoretical concepts produced by the theorists were seminal, and they germinated much research not only by the theorists but by their students. Perhaps the best early research in educational administration was in the area of state school support because that research was based on identifiable conceptual designs.

The central stream of state school finance theory in the United States originated at Teachers College, Columbia University, at the beginning of the twentieth century. The chief participants in this stream and their principal concepts are discussed in the following sections.

Ellwood P. Cubberley. The development of the theory of state school support began with Cubberley, who was a student at Teachers College, near the beginning of the twentieth century. His famous monograph on *School Funds and Their Apportionment* (1), a revision of his doctoral dissertation, was published in 1905. It is interesting to note that George D. Strayer, Sr., who is discussed later, also received his doctor's degree at Teachers College in 1905. These two were among the first professors of educational administration. Strayer stayed at Teachers College, and Cubberley went to Stanford University. These two giants were largely responsible for developing the early literature of educational administration. The conceptualizations of school finance developed by these two men, their students, and students of their students have dominated the thinking on educational finance during the twentieth century.

Cubberley's work was so fundamental in formulating the basic concepts of state school financing that several quotations from his original study published in 1905 are set forth below. He studied the historical development of education in the United States, the legal arrangements provided for public education, the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the distribution of wealth, and the inequalities of educational opportunity among the several districts of a state. He then formulated his concept of the state's responsibility for providing educational services as follows:

> The state owes it to itself and to its children, not only to permit of the establishment of schools, but also to require them to be established,—even more, to require that these schools, when established, shall be taught by a qualified teacher for a certain minimum period of time each year, and taught under conditions and according to requirements which the state has from time to time seen fit to impose. While leaving the way open for all to go beyond these requirements the state must see that none fall below (2).

He applied his basic concept of state responsibility to the apportionment of state school funds in the following words:

> Theoretically all the children of the state are equally important and are entitled to have the same advantages; practically this can never be quite true. The duty of the state is to secure for all as high a minimum of good instruction as is possible, but not to reduce all to this minimum; to equalize the advantages to all as nearly as can be done with the resources at hand; to place a premium on those local efforts which will enable

communities to rise above the legal minimum as far as possible; and to encourage communities to extend their educational energies to new and desirable undertakings (3).

These concepts were stated by Cubberley in 1905, but they seem quite applicable today. Numerous books, monographs, and articles have been written on state responsibility for education and state school financing, but it is difficult to find in all the literature on this subject a better or clearer statement than Cubberley's conceptualization. It is true, as will be pointed out later in this chapter, that Strayer and Mort at a later date criticized one part of Cubberley's conceptualization; but the differences that arose were on the technology of state distribution of school funds rather than the values or goals. The difference arose over the implementation of the phrase, "to place a premium on those local efforts which will enable communities to rise above the legal minimum as far as possible."

Let us examine more closely the quotation set forth above. In a few words, Cubberley clearly set forth these concepts of state responsibility:

1. The state has the responsibility of establishing and enforcing minimum educational standards, but it should not prevent any community from exceeding those standards.
2. All of the children of a state are equally important, and the state should use its financial resources to equalize educational opportunities throughout the state as nearly as practicable.
3. The state has the duty to secure for all as high a minimum of good instruction as is possible but not to reduce all to this minimum.
4. The state should provide leadership to encourage communities to extend their educational energies to new and desirable undertakings.

Where in the present-day literature can one find a better statement of state responsibility? Cubberley's conceptualization of state responsibility not only has had great influence on school financing, but it has furnished a sound rationale by which state departments of education have been able to define their basic functions.

After formulating his conceptualizations of sound policy in state school financing, Cubberley used them as criteria to evaluate the methods used by the states to distribute school funds at the beginning of the century. As Cubberley's study was the first comprehensive one to be made of state school funds, and as it was made at the very beginning of the period for which this history is being written, his findings provide a valuable benchmark for measuring progress in state school financing. Therefore, some of his principal findings are set forth below:

1. That due to the unequal distribution of wealth, the demands set by the states for maintaining minimum standards cause very unequal burdens. What one community can do with ease is often an excessive burden for another.
2. That the excessive burden of communities borne in large part for the common good should be equalized by the state.
3. That a state school tax best equalizes the burdens.
4. That any form of state taxation for schools fails to accomplish the ends for which it was created unless a wise system of distribution is provided.
5. That (judged by Cubberley's criteria) few states (at the beginning of the twentieth century) had as yet evolved a just and equitable plan for distributing the funds they had at hand.
6. That "taxes where paid," property valuation, total population, and school census were all undesirable methods of apportionment.
7. That total enrollment, enrollment for a definite period, average membership, average daily attendance, and aggregate days attendance are each successive improvements over the census basis of apportionment.
8. That any single measure for distributing state funds is defective; but if one

is used, the best single measure is the number of teachers employed.

9. That the best basis for distributing state funds is the combination of the teachers actually employed and aggregate days attendance.
10. That special incentive funds shall be provided to encourage communities to provide secondary education, kindergartens, manual training, evening schools, and so forth.
11. That a reserve fund should be established for the relief of those communities which have made the maximum effort allowed by law and yet are unable to meet the minimum demands made by the state (4).

It will be observed that Cubberley not only evaluated the methods of state distribution in use at the beginning of the century, but also recommended a pattern or methodology for distributing state school funds. He incorporated the following factors in his methodology: the equalization of education opportunity, the reward for local effort, and incentives for innovations. His reward-for-effort factor, later attacked by both Strayer and Mort, was provided in his proposal to use teachers employed and aggregate days attended as the basic units for state apportionment.

Cubberley's influence on state school finance was so great that it was not challenged until 20 years later. It should not be concluded from the material presented in this chapter that Cubberley's interests were confined to state school finance. Actually, his interests were very broad, and he contributed to the knowledge of practically every area of educational administration and organization.

Harlan Updegraff. Updegraff is not as well known as some of the other theorists in state school financing, but his contributions are important. Although he accepted the concepts of Cubberley for the most part, he did make some important additions to Cubberley's model. Updegraff, a professor of educational administration at the University of Pennsylvania, made a survey of the financial support of rural schools in New York state in 1921 in which he presented some new concepts of state support (5). These are the principles of state support he proposed:

> 1. Local support is fundamental.
>
> 2. The local units for the support of schools should contain, insofar as practicable, enough property taxable for school purposes to raise that portion of the expenses of the school which it is believed should be borne by the local districts without an undue burden upon the owners of property.
>
> 3. Some portion of the support of local schools should come from the state government, the amount being dependent upon certain factors, exact standards for which have not been scientifically determined, but which will vary in the different states.
>
> 4. The administration of state aid should be such as to increase the efficient participation of citizens in a democratic form of government.
>
> 5. The purpose of state aid should be not only to protect the state from ignorance, to provide intelligent workers in every field of activity, and to educate leaders, but also to guarantee to each child, irrespective of where he happens to live, equal opportunity to that of any other child for the education which will best fit him for life (6).

Those were the days in which the word *efficiency* was greatly emphasized in administration. Therefore, it is not surprising that Updegraff presented a set of criteria for determining the efficiency of state support, a summary of which follows:

1. The efficient participation of citizens in the responsibilities of citizenship should be promoted by making the extent of the state's contribution dependent upon local action.
2. The state should neither be timid nor autocratic in withholding state funds because of deficiencies in local action.
3. Special grants should be provided to en-

courage the introduction of new features into the schools.
4. The districts should receive support in inverse proportion to their true valuation per teacher unit.
5. Efficiency in the conduct of schools should be promoted by increasing the state grant whenever the true tax rate is increased and by lowering it whenever the local tax is decreased.
6. The plan of state aid should be so framed that it will measure precisely the elements involved and will respond promptly and surely to any change in the local districts (7).

Updegraff not only proposed principles and criteria for state support, but he developed techniques for the distribution of general school aid which embodied his ideas. He proposed a sliding scale that provided increased amounts of state aid per teacher unit for each increase of ½ mill of school taxes levied ranging from 3½ to 9 mills (8), but he provided proportionately more state aid for a district with a low true valuation per teacher unit. For example, he provided a total of $840 per teacher unit for districts which levied 3½ mills. If the district had a valuation of only $5,000 per teacher unit, it received $822 per teacher unit in state aid and raised $18 in local taxes, making a total of $840. But if a district had a valuation of $235,000 per teacher unit and levied 3½ mills of taxes, it would receive a state grant of only $17 per teacher unit and would raise $823 from local taxes, making a total of $840.

If these same districts levied 9 mills of taxes, the district with a valuation of $5,000 would receive a state grant of $2,115 and would raise $45 in local funds to have a total of $2,160 available per teacher unit. The district with a valuation of $235,000 would receive a state grant of $45, raise $2,115 in local funds, and have a total of $2,160 available per teacher unit.

Under Updegraff's plan, the state would support variable levels of minimum programs ranging from $840 per teacher unit to $2,160. He attempted to incorporate the concepts of equalization of educational opportunity and reward for effort within the same formula. As will be pointed out below, both Strayer and Mort opposed that approach. Updegraff justified his proposals for encouraging additional local effort on the basis of efficiency. Updegraff's ideas fell in disfavor for many years following the emergence of the concepts advanced by Strayer and Mort. However, today Updegraff's concept of a variable level foundation program depending upon the level of local effort is being utilized in some modern state support programs. It is not being justified on the basis of efficiency, but on the basis of providing an incentive for quality education.

Updegraff introduced another idea, the teacher unit, which today is incorporated in most state support programs. He suggested that instead of using teachers employed as a basis of state distribution, standard numbers of pupils per teacher should be fixed for different school levels, for urban and rural districts, and for different types of classes (9).

George D. Strayer, Sr. Strayer, after earning his doctor's degree from Teachers College in 1905, remained on the staff and soon became the first professor of educational administration at that institution. He, like Cubberley, was interested in the total area of educational organization and administration, and he made major contributions in every sector. In none, however, did he make a greater contribution than in state school finance, for he advanced the theoretical basis of school financing. A man's contributions are not measured by the volume of his writings but rather by the permanence of the impact of his contributions on human thought and public policy. It has already been pointed out in this chapter that the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission published its findings in the early twenties in 13 volumes. One of those volumes, *The Financing of Education in the State of New York* (10) by Strayer and Haig, devoted four pages to a theoretical conceptualization of the equalization of educational opportunity which has had more impact on educational thought and policy than all of the remainder of the pages of the 13 volumes (11). Those who are prone to scoff at the value of theory might contemplate this phenomenon with profit.

So important has been the effect of this report that some selected excerpts from it are set forth below. The concept "equalization of educational opportunity" that prevailed at that time was described as follows:

> There exists today and has existed for many years a movement which has come to be known as the "equalization of educational opportunity" or the "equalization of school support." These phrases are interpreted in various ways. In its most extreme form the interpretation is somewhat as follows: The state should insure equal educational facilities to every child within its borders at a uniform effort throughout the state in terms of the burden of taxation; the tax burden of education should throughout the state be uniform in relation to tax-paying ability, and the provision for schools should be uniform in relation to the educable population desiring education. Most of the supporters of this proposition, however, would not preclude any particular community from offering at its own expense a particularly rich and costly educational program. They would insist that there be an adequate minimum offered everywhere, the expense of which should be considered a prior claim on the state's economic resources (12).

Strayer and Haig stated that to carry into effect the principle of "equalization of educational opportunity" or "equalization of school support," it would be necessary—

> (1) to establish schools or make other arrangements sufficient to furnish the children in every locality within the state with equal educational opportunities up to some prescribed minimum; (2) to raise the funds necessary for this purpose by local or state taxation adjusted in such manner as to bear upon the people in all localities at the same rate in relation to their tax-paying ability; and (3) to provide adequately either for the supervision and control of all the schools, or for their direct administration, by a state department of education (13).

Strayer and Haig then presented the following conceptual model for formulating a plan of state support which incorporated the principles they had outlined:

> (1) A local school tax in support of the satisfactory minimum offering would be levied in each district at a rate which would provide the necessary funds for that purpose in the richest district.
>
> (2) The richest district then might raise all of its school money by means of the local tax, assuming that a satisfactory tax, capable of being locally administered, could be devised.
>
> (3) Every other district could be permitted to levy a local tax at the same rate and apply the proceeds toward the cost of schools, but
>
> (4) Since the rate is uniform, this tax would be sufficient to meet the costs only in the richest district and the deficiencies would be made up by state subventions (14).

It will be noted that Strayer and Haig emphasized the equalization of the tax burden to support schools as well as the equalization of educational opportunity. However, they did not incorporate the reward for effort or incentive concepts in their state support model. They attacked these concepts, which had been advanced by Cubberley and Updegraff, in the following words:

> Any formula which attempts to accomplish the double purpose of equalizing resources and rewarding effort must contain elements which are mutually inconsistent. It would appear to be more rational to seek to achieve local adherence to proper educational standards by methods which do not tend to destroy the very uniformity of effort called for

> by the doctrine of equality of educational opportunity (15).

The concepts advanced by Strayer and Haig laid the foundation for the work of Mort, which is discussed next.

Paul R. Mort. Mort was a graduate student at Teachers College during the years that Strayer was participating in the Educational Finance Inquiry. Strayer was Mort's major professor, and Mort became very much interested in the theoretical conceptualizations of Strayer and Haig concerning state support. These theorists referred to a "satisfactory minimum program" to be equalized, but they offered no suggestions concerning how to measure it. Mort assumed the task of defining a satisfactory minimum program as his doctoral problem. His doctoral dissertation, *The Measurement of Educational Need* (16), was published in 1924.

Mort perhaps should be classified a disseminator and developer (17), but he was a theorist as well. Although he accepted completely the conceptualization of Strayer and Haig, he somewhat clarified their theories, and he advanced some concepts of his own concerning the formulation of a state minimum program. Therefore, some of the key ideas developed by Mort in his dissertation are presented below.

Mort presented an extremely advanced concept of what should be included in the state-assured minimum program. These are the elements he recommended for inclusion:

> (1) An educational activity found in most or all communities throughout the state is acceptable as an element of an equalization program.
>
> (2) Unusual expenditures for meeting the general requirements due to causes over which a local community has little or no control may be recognized as required by the equalization program. If they arise from causes reasonably within the control of the community they cannot be considered as demanded by the equalization program.
>
> (3) Some communities offer more years of schooling or a more costly type of education that is common. If it can be established that unusual conditions require any such additional offerings, they may be recognized as a part of the equalization program (18).

Mort modestly stated that "it cannot be hoped that these will prove exhaustive as the thinking in this field develops" (19). However, his concepts of the elements to include in a minimum program are as valid today as when they were written. For example, his third element includes compensatory education for the disadvantaged, which is a comparatively recent extension of the educational offering.

Mort defined a satisfactory equalization program as follows:

> A satisfactory equalization program would demand that each community have as many elementary and high school classroom or teacher units, or their equivalent, as is typical for communities having the same number of children to educate. It would demand that each of these classrooms meet certain requirements as to structure and physical environment. It would demand that each of these classrooms be provided with a teacher, course of study, equipment, supervision, and auxiliary activities meeting certain minimum requirements. It would demand that some communities furnish special facilities, such as transportation (20).

Mort sought objective, equitable measures of educational need that could be used by a state legislature in determining the amount of the state appropriation for equalization. He also wished his measure to be used by officials in the state department of education for apportioning state school funds with a minimum of state control.

Mort was not unaware of the political difficulties of obtaining legislative approval of his proposals. Therefore, he based his formulas primarily on the average practice of school districts in determining the numbe. of teachers to include in the equalization program for elementary and high schools of different sizes and for weighting the relative costs of elementary and high schools.

He used complicated sets of regression equations to estimate on the basis of average practice the typical number of teachers employed per pupil in elementary schools that varied in size. He assumed that sparsity of population would make it necessary for some districts to operate certain small schools which would not have the economies of scale provided by larger schools. In other words, he assumed that a greater number of teachers for a given number of pupils would need to be employed in the small schools than in the large schools. His statistical studies, based on average practice in New York state at that time, showed that more teachers were employed per pupil in elementary schools with an average daily attendance of less than 142, but that the average number of teachers per pupil employed for larger elementary schools did not vary substantially. He found that the number of pupils per teacher varied in high schools up to 518 in average daily attendance but did not vary substantially in high schools above that size. He developed separate regression equations for both elementary and high schools. One could take the average daily attendance of any size school, substitute it in the appropriate equation, and compute the number of either typical elementary teachers or typical high school teachers (21).

Mort also sought a single standard unit of measurement by which he could compute the cost of a minimum program to be equalized. He did this by multiplying the typical elementary teacher by 27.46, which was the typical average daily attendance per teacher in large schools. This multiplication produced the number of weighted elementary pupils. He also multiplied the number of typical high school teachers by 27.46 in order to compute the number of weighted high school students. But he found that the average current expense cost of weighted high school pupils was twice as much as the current expense cost of a weighted elementary pupil. So, therefore, in order to compute the total number of weighted pupils for a school district, all of equal cost, he multiplied the weighted high school pupils by two and added the product to the number of weighted elementary pupils. Mort also determined the cost per weighted pupil of the minimum program on the basis of average practice. He found that the current expense cost per weighted pupil of school districts that approximated the state average true valuation per weighted pupil was $70 in New York state in 1922-23. He concluded that that was an acceptable figure for determining the cost of the minimum program in New York state (22).

Under Mort's plan for measuring educational need, all costs of the minimum program could be computed in terms of weighted pupils. For example, using Mort's cost figures for New York state, let us assume that a legislature adopted a minimum program costing $70 per weighted pupil; that the weighted pupils computed for a district total 1,500; but that the necessary additional cost of transportation is $14,000, which, divided by $70, equals 200 weighted pupils. This, added to 1,500, gives a total of 1,700 weighted pupils for that district. The cost of the minimum program for that district would be 1,700 times $70, or $119,000. Of course it is not necessary to convert allowable transportation costs into weighted pupils, but Mort thought this computation was desirable in order to avoid the appearance of providing a special aid for school transportation.

Most foundation programs (23) today use some form of the weighted teacher or weighted pupil measure. The weights, of course, have changed, as well as the methods of determining them, but the concept of making allowance for necessary cost variations beyond the control of local boards of education is still recognized as sound policy.

Mort's conceptual design for state

support was not complete, however, until he had dealt with the following problems:

1. Should the state pay the entire cost of the minimum program, or should part of the cost be paid by local districts in proportion to their taxpaying ability?
2. If the cost of the minimum program is shared, what portion should be financed by the state and what portion by local school districts?
3. How should the relative taxpaying ability of local school districts be determined?

These issues will be discussed in order. Mort theorized that the state could equalize the educational opportunities provided in the minimum program and also the tax burdens for the support of that program either by the state's financing the entire cost of the minimum program from state taxes or by financing part of the cost of the program from state funds and requiring local districts to finance the remainder of the cost from local sources in proportion to their relative taxpaying ability (24).

Mort called complete state support of the minimum program the "large fund" method and joint state-local support of the minimum program the "small fund" method because a larger state fund is required to support a minimum program at a given cost level by complete state support than by joint support. Because of the scarcity of state funds at that time, and because a richer minimum program could be providet under the "small fund" or equalization method, he favored the latter method.

The determination of the proportion of cost of the minimum program to be borne by the state and the proportion to be borne by local districts was a vexing problem at that time, and it remains so. Nevertheless, Mort boldly attacked it. Earlier in this chapter, it was pointed out that Strayer and Haig recommended that the local taxes required for support of the minimum program be the yield of a required uniform minimum tax levied on the equalized valuation of the district. The mills of taxes required would be the number of mills of levy required in the richest district in the state to finance the entire cost of the minimum program. Mort found that in a state like New York the richest district could be a very small one with a true valuation per weighted pupil so high that it would require only a very small levy in that district to provide the minimum program (25). The required minimum levy so determined would be so small that the small fund method would require almost as large a state fund as the large fund method. Therefore, he recommended the use of the richest county unit or the richest large city as the "key district" for determining the total local share of the cost of the minimum program.

Mort dealt with the problem of determining local taxpaying ability very briefly. He reasoned that it was useless to determine the theoretical taxpaying ability of a local school district because the only taxpaying ability it possessed was determined by the types of taxes it could levy. Since the property tax was practically the only tax available to boards of education, he concluded that the equalized value of property was the only valid measure of local taxpaying ability (26).

Mort's conceptual design for a program of state support incorporated the principle of the equalization of a minimum program of educational opportunity and the equalization of the tax effort to support that program, but it rejected the concept of "reward for effort." His design included refined measures for determining the cost of the minimum program, a rationale for determining what part of the cost of the program should be borne by the state and what part by local districts, and, finally, a rationale for measuring local taxpaying ability. It was a broad conceptual design, and it has had a powerful influence on determining the history of state support since the time it was developed.

Mort became a professor of educational administration at Teachers College following his graduation in 1924. All of the details of his design were not complete at that time. He and his graduate students continued to refine and fill in the missing parts of the design. For example, the writer became a graduate student in educational administration at Teachers College in 1926 and selected as his doctoral problem the measurement of educational need for transportation (27). Harry developed an index to measure variations in the cost of living as they affected measures of educational need (28). Grossnickle developed a technique for measuring educational need for capital outlay (29).

Mort, assisted by a large staff of assistants and consultants, made a national study of state support for public education in the early thirties (30). In this study, Mort made a few additions to his design for state support. He asserted that the following two principles should control state school support: the principle of equalization and the principle of efficiency (31). He accepted the Strayer and Haig definition of the equalization principle presented earlier in this chaptetr. He stated that the efficiency principle demands that "the state shall make adequate provisions for local initiative within the minimum program of education and over and beyond this minimum program" (32). It also demands that local tax districts be large enough for the operation of a public school system and for the provision of local leadership. Mort was very much concerned about innovation and change, and he believed that most of it came from local initiative. But he insisted that the reward for effort policy recommended by Cubberley and Updegraff was a device and not a principle. Mort considered reward for effort and special rewards for special projects as poor devices to stimulate local initiative (33).

Mort made another modification in his design in 1933. He recommended that the uniform required local tax rate on which state aid is computed be sufficiently low so that practically every district in the state would receive state aid. This represented a departure from the use of his "key district" concept for determining the local rate of contribution.

This national survey, *State Support for Public Education,* contained a summary of the condition of state support at about the midpoint of the period we are studying. Therefore, a brief summary of a few of the findings concerning state support in 1931-32 are set forth below:

1. In all but a few states, the actual minimum status of education was determined by the economic ability of local districts to support schools rather than the social needs for education.
2. The minimum program actually guaranteed was in nearly every state far below the program provided in communities of average wealth.
3. An analysis of the methods used by the different states to measure educational need revealed that no state was using as refined measures as were available. Measures in use were inequitable in one or more of the following respects: treatment for variation of size of school, treatment of districts of the same size, caring for the higher costs of high schools, caring for nonresidence, consideration of costs of living, consideration of transportation, and consideration of capital outlays (34).

It was stated earlier that Mort was a developer and disseminator as well as a theorist. He succeeded in obtaining the adoption of the major features of his plan by the New York State Legislature in 1925. He participated in a number of state surveys conducted by the Department of Educational Administration of Teachers College in which he had the opportunity to advocate his plan of support. In addition, he was employed by a number of states as a special consultant to assist in developing state support programs. It should not be assumed that Mort never modified his conceptual design for state support. While he retained his basic design, he made modifications in it that the times required. During the late thirties and the forties, Mort became greatly concerned about the slowness of communities to adapt to changing times. He and his assistants made a great many studies of this problem (35).

He found that it required about 50 years for a practice that had been found to be good to be disseminated generally throughout the United States. He also was concerned about the satisfaction of so many school districts with a minimum program and the lack of a desire on their part for a quality program. Therefore, shortly before his death in the early sixties, Mort served as a consultant to Rhode Island and developed a variable level foundation program that provided additional state aid for those districts willing to levy higher taxes for schools than the tax required for participation in the minimum program. Thus, Mort in effect grafted the variable level program of Updegraff onto his minimum program. He did not consider this a reward for effort but rather an incentive for local initiative which satisfied one of the demands of the efficiency principle. Mort's willingness and ability to adapt and change was one of the principal elements of his greatness.

Henry C. Morrison. Morrison is sometimes forgotten by those studying the theory of state school financing. This remarkable man, who was state superintendent of education of New Hampshire from 1904 to 1917 and professor of school administration at the University of Chicago, made contributions in a number of areas of education (36). He is perhaps more noted for his theories of instruction and curriculum than for his theories in school finance. However, Morrison wrote an important book, *School Revenue* (37), in which he made some significant contributions to the literature on school finance. He noted the great inequalities of wealth among school districts that caused great inequalities in educational opportunity. He observed that constitutionally education was a state function and that local school districts had failed to provide that function efficiently or equitably. He asserted that attempts to provide equal educational opportunities by enlarging school districts, by offering state equalization funds—such as those advocated by Mort—or by offering state subsidies for special purposes had failed. He theorized that those measures would continue to fail to meet educational needs and, at the same time, to provide an equitable system of taxation to support schools. Therefore, Morrison proposed a model of state support whereby all local school districts are abolished and the state itself becomes both the unit for taxation for schools and for administration of public schools. He suggested that the most equitable form of tax for the state to use for the support of schools was the income tax.

Morrison's ideas on state school finance were not well received. At that time, great emphasis was being given to local initiative and local home rule. In fact, local self-government was almost equated to democracy itself in the political thought of Morrison's times. The Cubberley, Updegraff, Strayer, Haig, Mort axis of thought was in the mainstream of American political thought and, therefore, widely accepted.

However, the defects that Morrison saw in local school financing are as evident today as in his time. Furthermore, educational opportunities are far from being equalized among school districts within most states, and there is more complaint about the inequities of local property taxes for schools than ever before. It is interesting to note that in recent years Hawaii has established a state system of education with no local school districts that is similar to the model advocated by Morrison. The federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was enacted by Congress largely for the purposes of remedying some of the defects of the American system of education that Morrison foresaw if the states continued to rely largely on local school districts to perform state functions. Morrison's model for state school financing is not as far outside of the mainstream of American thought today as it was in 1930.

Summary of the Early Theorists. It has been said that we all stand on the shoulders of the giants who have preceded us. That is certainly true of the early theorists in state school finance. Each of these theorists made some contribution to present-day concepts of state school support. Although there are some who would add other names to this list of theorists, the men described above were the principal contributors to the theory of state school financing.

The Developers and the Disseminators

The developers and the disseminators of state support policies are far too numerous to catalogue completely. All of the early theorists were university professors, each of whom had hundreds of students who spread to every institution of higher learning in the United States that taught educational administration and school finance. Some of those students became state superintendents of schools, members of state departments of education, and local superintendents. The students of the early theorists who became university professors also taught students who became university professors who, in turn, had students who became university professors, all teaching the basic concepts of the early theorists.

As of this writing we have at least three generations of developers and disseminators dating from the early twenties. John Guy Fowlkes, who was a graduate assistant and student of George D. Strayer in the early twenties, assisted Strayer and Haig in preparing Volume I of the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission report, which was discussed earlier. Upon graduation from Teachers College, Fowlkes became a professor of educational administration at the University of Wisconsin, where he continued his interest in, among other things, state school financing. As of this writing, one of his students, H. Thomas James, an authority on educational finance, is a professor of educational administration at Stanford University. One of James's students, J. Alan Thomas, also an authority on educational finance, is a professor of educational administration at the University of Chicago. Thus, the stream of school finance theory originating at Teachers College, with Cubberley and continuing with Strayer, Haig, Mort, and others, remains unbroken. Many examples similar to this could be given to show the network for dissemination of state school finance policies and practices that has existed for many years.

Since it is impossible to report in this chapter all the developers and disseminators of state school finance policies and practices, it was decided to concentrate on those persons who through surveys, research, and consulting services most frequently affected state school finance legislation and policies and those who have published the most on state school finance.

State School Finance Program Developers. The following persons have had more direct influence on the formulation and enactment of legislation on state school finance than any other group: Paul R. Mort, Alfred D. Simpson, Fletcher Harper Swift, Edgar L. Morphet, R. L. Johns, Francis G. Cornell, Erick L. Lindman, William P. McLure, and H. Thomas James. All of this group, except Mort, Swift, and Cornell, at one time were employed in a state department of education. Simpson was employed by both the New York and Connecticut Departments of Education and later became a professor at Harvard University. Morphet was employed by both the Alabama and Florida State Departments of Education and later became a professor at the University of California at Berkeley. Johns was employed by both the Alabama and Florida State Departments of Education and later became a professor at the University of Florida. Lindman was employed by the Washington State Department of Education and became a professor first at George Peabody College for Teachers and later at the University of California at Los Angeles. McLure was employed at the New York State Education Department and later became a professor at the University of Illinois. James was employed by the Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction and later became a professor at Stanford University.

One might draw the conclusion from this recital that work experience in a state department of education is good training for a university professor, or one might conclude that state departments of education have not been able to compete financially with universities for the services of experts in school finance. Perhaps both conclusions are accurate. It is certain that experience in a state department of education is useful in learning something about the politics of education, a knowledge valuable in securing the enactment of state school support legislation. Undoubtedly the experiences of these men in state departments stimulated their interest in state school financing and gave them some know-how in getting bills enacted into law. Perhaps more work experience or internship experiences should be provided at state departments of education for trainees in educational administration than are now generally available.

The political activities to obtain state school support of only two of these men, Mort and Simpson, have been well described. Bailey and his associates (38) presented an extremely interesting analysis of their activities, in cooperation with the state educational agencies and others, to obtain the enactment of state school support legislation in the Northeastern states. Bailey and his associates are political scientists, and they view it as being entirely appropriate for schoolmen to be politically active to attain educational objectives. With reference to Strayer, Haig, and Mort, they stated:

> The authors, by their writings, by consultancies to public officials and education commissions, by the drafting of legislative proposals, and by placing their protégés in strategic places in professional associations and state agencies, enormously influenced the course of educational policy throughout the Northeast—and beyond—in the forty-year period now ended (39).

The same thing could be said of all of the developers of state support listed above. They have all been academic "scribblers," they have all been consultants to public officials and education commissions, they have all drafted legislative proposals, and they have all trained protégés for strategic positions.

With reference to Simpson, Bailey and his associates stated:

> The principal companion figure to Mort was Alfred I. Simpson of Harvard, originally a Mort protégé, but subsequently a leader in his own right. Indeed, one long-time school observer, estimating the work of the academics, remarked, "You divide New England states, at any rate, into Harvard and Columbia territory" (40).

Fletcher Harper Swift, a professor of educational administration first at the University of Minnesota and later at the University of California at Berkeley, made many studies of state support and was a great disseminator of knowledge on the subject. He wrote a number of bulletins on state support for the U.S. Office of Education, and he wrote one major book, *Federal and State Policies in Public School Finance in the United States,* which did much to popularize knowledge in this area (41). Swift accepted the Strayer-Haig-Mort model of state support as the best that had been developed up to that time.

Morphet and Johns usually have worked as a team in developing state school support legislation. Both were students of Strayer and Mort, and both accepted the basic theories of state support advanced by Strayer, Haig, and Mort. However, both of these men made some significant modifications in Mort's technology of calculating educational need and local taxpaying ability. Morphet and Johns, either together or individually, have provided consulting help for developing state school support legislation in more than half the states of the nation. As has been indicated, Mort also served as a consultant in a great many states for developing state support programs. But some important differences developed between these two men and Mort, largely centered around the issue of state control.

Mort abhorred state control, for he believed it imposed central, bureaucratic restrictions on local initiative. He believed that educational innovation came primarily from local initiative and that state controls usually operated to prevent desirable change. Therefore, Mort's technology for calculating educational need was designed to minimize state control and maximize local control over educational decision making. As has already been pointed out, Mort developed the standardized units, the weighted pupil and the weighted teacher, so that the state could make its appropriation for the foundation program in terms of a uniform amount per weighted teacher or per weighted pupil. By this method, he sought to avoid as much state control as possible and also to eliminate entirely any reward for effort on the part of the local district.

Morphet was director of administration and finance in the Florida State Department of Education from 1936 to 1948, and Johns held the same position in the Alabama State Department of Education from 1936 to 1946. It was natural that they did not have the same fear of state control as Mort, for they were exercising it. Furthermore, since education is legally a state function, they saw no reason why a decision made at the local level should be considered more democratic than a decision made at the state level. In fact, they considered some of the decisions made by local boards of education, such as deliberate discrimination against Negroes in the provision of educational opportunities, as definitely harmful. Therefore, they saw no reason why the state should not use its power and strategic position to prevent undesirable local educational policies as well as to introduce desirable new policies and programs by means of incentive elements incorporated in the foundation program plan for state support. These departures from Mort's original design for state support were originally opposed by Mort, as will be discussed later.

It should not be inferred from the above that Morphet and Johns advocated unwarranted state controls. In fact, they advocated the abolishment of any type of state control which prevented a district from moving forward in developing its educational program. They saw the function of state control as stimulating desirable educational practices and eliminating undesirable practices. They considered the use of average practice in determining educational need in state distribution formulas as a bad state control because it perpetuates the status quo. They also considered any element in a state formula which financially rewarded local inefficiency as a bad control.

Morphet and Johns found it difficult to explain the terms *weighted pupil* or *weighted teacher* to legislative committees. Furthermore, legislatures in the Depression thirties were not usually willing to appropriate a flat amount of money per weighted pupil or per weighted teacher without detailed justification. Therefore, a type of budget system for measuring educational need in the minimum foundation program was developed. Morphet took the lead in developing this methodology. Under this plan, the total school budget was divided into four categories: instruction, transportation, other current expenses, and capital outlay. All costs except transportation were calculated in terms of classroom units or instructional units. These units were calculated in accordance with the concepts developed by Mort, but it was easier to explain to the legislature a classroom unit or instruction unit than a weighted pupil. An instruction unit could readily be explained as a teacher in a classroom with a group of pupils or a person rendering instructional service, such as a librarian, counselor, principal, assistant principal, supervisor, et cetera.

Morphet and Johns considered this system of calculating educational need as a budget system based on educational services provided. That is, if a local school system provided more instructional services than those included in the mandated minimum foundation program, it would receive more state funds. An example of this is the Florida foundation program adopted in 1947, under which basic instruction units were allocated to local systems according to scales similar to those developed by Mort, based on the size of the school. In addition to the basic units, other units were allotted for teachers of vocational education, teachers of exceptional pupils, teachers of adults, supervisors, and certain other administrative and special instructional service personnel, provided qualified personnel were employed and the appropriate services supplied in accordance with the rules and regulations of the State Board of Education. No increase in local effort was required if any of the enumerated services were provided. Therefore, this gave a powerful incentive to offer these additional services throughout the state (42).

In addition, under the Florida law of 1947 a district could include kindergartens in its foundation program. Moreover, a district, or a group of districts, could include junior colleges in the foundation program if an additional local tax effort in proportion to ability was made for each of these additional services.

Some of these provisions of the Florida law might be considered as "reward for effort" by purists in state support theory. However, Morphet and Johns, who drafted the Florida law, considered these provisions as incentives for local initiative, provided by the state and available to all districts establishing different kinds of educational services, regardless of local taxpaying ability.

The total design of the technology developed by Morphet and Johns for determining the cost of the minimum foundation involved—

1. Calculating the cost of instruction by multiplying the number of allotted instruction units by the appropriate amounts provided in a salary allotment scale.
2. Calculating the amounts allotted for transportation by a method developed by Johns in his doctoral study
3. Calculating the amount allotted for other current expenses by multiplying the instruction units by a flat amount per unit determined by the average costs.
4. Calculating the amount allotted for capital outlay and debt service by multiplying the instruction units by a flat amount determined by the average depreciation costs of the school plant.

This method of calculating the cost of the minimum foundation program might be termed program budgeting. A more sophisticated term would be a program planning budgeting system for determining the cost of the foundation program. Variations of this method of calculating the cost of the foundation program are now being used in a great many states.

One other modification in Mort's original design to determine the elements to include in the foundation program and the unit cost of the program was made by these two co-workers. Mort used average practice in the average district. Morphet and Johns did their original work in foundation programs in the late thirties and the forties in the Southern states. They found average practice so low in that section of the nation that a defensible minimum program could not be based on it. Therefore, they encouraged the establishment of state committees to study educational needs and to develop realistic foundation programs based on educational needs rather than average practice. These committees included some professional educators, but the membership was largely comprised of leading lay citizens. Morphet and Johns worked as consultants to a number of these state committees, and they frequently proved effective in developing consensus for legislation implementing improved state support programs (43).

Equalized valuation was used in determining local taxpaying ability in states where state agencies had been established to determine the true value of property in local taxpaying units. However, a number of states, especially in the South, had been reluctant to set up efficient state agencies for determining the level of local assessed valuations of property. It is not possible to establish an equitable minimum foundation program jointly supported by state and local taxes if local ability is calculated simply by multiplying a fixed number of mills times the assessed valuation of a district regardless of the percent of true value at which property is assessed. Such a plan would simply reward a school district for decreasing its assessments. Some plan had to be devised for determining the relative taxpaying ability of school districts regardless of the level at which property was assessed in those districts. It had been hypothesized for some time that economic factors could be used to estimate the relative equalized valuation of school districts. Cornell developed such an index as his doctoral project (44). He developed this index from New York state data, not for the purpose of using it for apportioning state school funds but rather to check on the validity of equalized valuation reported by the state agency. Cornell, first as a research professor at the University of Illinois and later as head of an educational consulting firm, has provided consulting service to a number of states in developing state support plans.

Johns, working independently of Cornell, developed the first economic index of taxpaying ability used in apportioning state funds (45). It was adopted by the Alabama Legislature in 1938. It was a relatively crude index and the technology for developing it was subsequently greatly improved (46). At one time, as many as seven states were using an economic index to estimate equalized valuation. Johns recommended that an economic index be used only when equalized valuations were not available. He accepted Mort's position that the only taxpaying ability possessed by most school districts was the ability to pay property taxes. The economic index was not devised to measure theoretical taxpaying ability, but rather to estimate equalized valuations. Therefore, if actual equalized valuation becomes available in a state, there is no longer any need to use an economic index (47).

Such economic factors as retail sales, automobile licenses, personal income, number of gainfully employed workers, value of agricultural products, and similar factors have been used as independent variables and entered into a regression equation with a dependent variable or criterion related as closely as possible to the true value of property. The method of "least squares" is employed to determine the relative weights of the economic factors used to estimate the true value of property.

Erick Lindman has been both a developer and disseminator of state support plans. In 1945, while a member of the staff of the Washington State Department of Public Instruction, he developed an equalized variable matching formula by which percentage reimbursements of program costs varied from district to district, based upon local taxable resources per unit of load. The formula included a constant which could be changed to effect varying degrees of "equalization." This formula was adopted by the Washington Legislature for making grants for school construction.

Lindman has questioned the validity of the assumption contained in state support formulas that each district had the same proportion of the property tax base available in all school districts to finance schools (48). He argued, in general, that municipal districts had higher nonschool local government costs than unincorporated areas and that municipalities varied among themselves in the ratio of school costs to municipal costs. Under a grant from the U.S. Office of Education, Lindman developed a "correction factor" to be used in state school formulas, which recognized other burdens (besides schools) upon local property taxpayers (49).

He approached this problem by assuming that the cost of municipal services was proportional to total population, while the cost of public schools was proportional to public school enrollment. Although no state has yet enacted a law incorporating Lindman's formula, at least two states—Michigan and New York—have enacted laws using different formulas for recognizing the inequities pointed out by Lindman.

Lindman, while serving first as a professor of educational administration at George Peabody College for Teachers and later at the University of California at Los Angeles, has been a consultant in a number of states for developing state school support legislation. In most of those states, he used adaptations of the technology developed by Morphet and Johns.

William P. McLure, a professor of educational administration, has been both a disseminator and developer of state support programs. He has participated in and also directed a number of state studies in which state support programs were developed. He has largely utilized Mort's conceptual model for state support, but he further developed that model by analyzing the relationship of sparsity to school costs (50). In his original work, McLure developed a sparsity correction in order to adjust measures of educational need for the extra costs of transportation and lower than normal pupil-staff ratios. In later years, he developed a density correction as a means of adjusting the extra costs of deviate characteristics of school population in the large cities and other urban areas.

McLure, like Cubberley, Morrison, and many others, studied the harmful effects of inefficient local school district organization on the equalization of educational opportunity and the difficulty of developing a sound state support program in a state with small, inefficient school districts.

H. Thomas James, a professor of educational administration at Stanford University, should perhaps be classified primarily as a theorist on state school financing rather than as a disseminator and developer, although he has been both. James has not been completely satisfied with the equalization model of state support developed by Strayer, Haig, and Mort. His doctoral dissertation contained the following statement:

> Any observation of the operational aspects of school support programs will indicate that no foundation program is really equalizing either educational burdens or benefits, nor could be made to do so as it is presently defined (51).

James has been greatly concerned with the relationships of state financing to local financing. He considered a state mandated local property tax in support of the foundation program as actually a state tax. On the other hand, he noted that unless the state mandated a reasonable minimum of local property taxes, many local districts would reduce local taxes upon receiving increases in state funds, and no increase in educational opportunity would result.

In addition to equalizing the tax support for and the education services provided by the minimum foundation program, James theorized that it is the state's objective—

> To minimize the power of communities to make decisions about resource allocation to education which would reduce services below the level defined by the state as minimal, and to maximize the power of communities with high values to achieve their aspirations (52).

Cubberley and Morrison considered the granting by the state to local school districts of the power to levy local school taxes an unequal grant of power to discharge a state function. In James's conceptual design for state support, he would reduce this inequality in the grant of power by having the state assume a much larger portion of school costs financed largely by income and sales taxes (53). He has also recommended the levying of state taxes only on corporate, commercial, and business and industrial property, thereby further reducing the per capita differences in equalized valuation.

LeRoy J. Peterson and his associates developed a state support model which incorporated municipal and county costs as well as school costs for a foundation program of governmental services (54). This group of researchers developed an innovative type of mathematical model for state support that attempted to provide for all kinds of local governmental services as well as education. No state has yet adopted this model, but it may have implications for future state policy. It is also interesting to note that Peterson and John Guy Fowlkes, both professors of educational administration at the University of Wisconsin, worked with officials in the Wisconsin State Department of Education in 1949 to formulate the basic features of the present Wisconsin state support plan. The plan that was developed followed the Updegraff model more closely than the Strayer-Haig-Mort model because it was a variable level state support plan. That is, the state continued to support, in relation to the relative taxpaying ability of local school units, programs of education at higher levels than the minimum required, provided the local unit increased its local tax effort and services proportionately.

There have been many other disseminators and developers of state support. Space does not permit the discussion of all of these contributors. Following, however, is a list of persons, not yet mentioned, who either individually or with co-authors have written important books on school finance which dealt in part with state school support: Walter Reusser; Arvid J. Burke; Jesse Burkhead; William E. Rosenstengel; Jefferson E. Eastwood; Eugene S. Lawler; Stephen J. Knezevich; W. Montfort Barr; John E. Corbally, Jr.; Charles E. Benson; A. B. Moehlman; and John K. Norton.

NATIONAL EDUCATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND AGENCIES AND STATE SUPPORT

At the beginning of this chapter, it was stated that space did not permit a review of the activities of the state departments of education, the state education associations, the parent-teacher associations, and the school board associations of the 50 states in relation to school support. Not only does each state (especially the 48 contiguous states) have an important history, but a significant volume could be written on the history of the enactment of every important state law establishing a program of state school support. For example, a book of 198 pages was written on the processes involved in the enactment of the foundation program law of Texas in 1949 (55).

Strangely enough, each major advance in state support has been accomplished only after the winning of a major legislative battle by the forces of lay and professional people working together for the advancement of the educational opportunities available to the children and youth of the land. It seems odd indeed that battles would have to be fought to win an objective so obviously in the interest of both the individual and the nation. The second chapter in Bailey's book, *Schoolmen and Politics,* is called "Schoolmen and Their Friends." Someone should write a book on "Schoolmen and Their Enemies." A history of major battles won and lost in the 50 states and an analysis of the reasons for success and failure would make an exciting and perhaps a useful book. But this is far beyond the scope of this chapter. Therefore, we turn to the more prosaic task of describing briefly the activities of three of the more important national organizations and agencies which have been involved in promoting state support. By far, the two most important of these organizations and agencies have been the National Education Association, with its many departments, commissions, and agencies, and the U.S. Office of Education. Of less importance, because of its shorter history and limited membership, has been the Council of Chief State School Officers. However, it is included for its direct connection with the official state leadership for public education. These three organizations are discussed because they all have served important roles in implementing the concepts produced by the theorists and developers discussed earlier in this chapter.

The National Education Association

The National Education Association has long supported state financial support for the public schools. But the published literature available from the National Education Association does not indicate an aggressive policy in promoting state financial support for the public schools until the beginning of the Depression thirties. Since that time, the Association has continuously and aggressively promoted state support consistent with the concepts of the Strayer-Haig-Mort model. Historically, the National Education Association also has supported federal aid for education generally along the lines of this same model. So voluminous and numerous have been the published reports of the National Education Association on school finance—which frequently include state support—that no attempt is made to review those studies. Only a few of the historically more important activities of the Association will be discussed.

The National Conference on School Finance. In 1933, a national conference on the financing of education was held under the auspices of the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education established by the National Education Association and the Department of Superintendence (56). The Commission, under the able chairmanship of John K. Norton, a professor of educational administration at Teachers College, Columbia University, produced the first comprehensive statement of public school fiscal policy developed by the National Education Association. The Commission presented the essentials of a modern school finance program. At the time the Commission was making its studies, local school financing, which comprised more than 80 percent of school support, had broken down in thousands of school districts throughout the United States. Therefore, the Commission gave major emphasis to state support and recommended that a larger part of school support be transferred from local to state governments (57) and that a comprehensive plan of state support be developed in each state. The plan recommended was, in general, similar to the Strayer-Haig-Mort model. The Commission also recommended increased federal support for education.

Table 2 shows that state support increased from 17.3 percent of the total in 1930 to 39.8 in 1950. State support in relation to total school revenue was increased more in this 20-year period than in any other period. This was due in part to less public resistance to the increase of state taxes than to increases in local property taxes in the Depression thirties and the years immediately following World War II.

Committee on Tax Education and School Finance. This important committee was established in 1938; its name was changed to the Committee on Educational Finance in 1960. For many years this continuing committee has been the principal arm of the National Education Association for promoting state and local school financing, and it has consistently involved representatives of state departments of education and state education associations and also university professors in its studies and conferences. Thus, the Committee has served an important function of developing national consensus on school finance policies, especially state school finance policies, as will be pointed out. The Foreword to *School Finance Goals,* published in 1946, contains the following statement:

> United action, in the interest of the profession and of education, has long been the purpose of the National Education Association and many affiliated organizations of professional educators. Evidence of the profession's desire to make important progress in financing education is contained in the present report. The NEA Committee on Tax Education and School Finance, having a total membership of over 600 representatives from many of the state and local associations of educators, planned this survey of school finance recommendations in cooperation with the NEA Research Division (58).

The report contained a scale by which a state could be rated on 77 school finance goals, including general, state, local, and federal school finance goals. According to the scale, only 17 percent of the desirable school finance goals had been completely achieved in 1946 by the typical state.

In 1949, the Committee produced a publication entitled *Guides to the Development of State School Finance Programs* (59). A statement was made in the Preface of this publication that the Committee had conducted a workshop on school finance attended by 400 people in the summer of 1948 at the Cleveland Convention of the Representative Assembly of the

National Education Association. It was stated further that growing out of the discussion was a conviction that—

> The Committee should call a conference of leaders in the field of school finance for the purpose of clarifying issues on some of the technical approaches to the state financing of public schools (60).

The conference, held in Summer 1949, had the following participants: Arvid J. Burke, Leslie L. Chisholm, R. L. Johns, Eugene S. Lawler, William P. McLure, Edgar L. Morphet, Paul R. Mort, Alfred D. Simpson, Francis G. Cornell, Arnold E. Joyal, Frank W. Hubbard, and Clayton D. Hutchins.

It soon developed that the only issues before the conference were some technical changes that had been made by Morphet and Johns in the original Strayer-Haig-Mort model. Morphet and Johns, in their consulting work and writing, had been recommending—

1. That practically all districts participate in state financial support instead of providing no state support for the richest district or districts.
2. That the level of the foundation program be determined by the educational program needed and the extent of consensus that could be developed instead of average practice.
3. That the educational need for the foundation program be computed in terms of educational services provided in order to provide state incentives for the improvement and extension of the educational program instead of in terms of a flat amount per weighted pupil or per weighted classroom unit.

Mort readily agreed to advocating Morphet and Johns's first two policies, although some of his more orthodox followers were reluctant to do so. Mort, in fact, pointed out that he had already accepted those policies in his recent work. The only real issue was the third one. Mort prized local initiative very highly, and he interpreted any type of state "programing" or "earmarking" for educational services within the foundation program as undesirable state control, for it would interfere with local initiative.

Morphet and Johns, on the other hand, did not believe that state legislatures would give large increases in state funds to local schools unless they received some assurance concerning the improvement or extension of the educational services provided. They further believed that state financial incentives were needed to speed educational improvement and innovation. Consensus could not be reached on this last issue, but the majority of the group supported Mort's point of view. The Committee revised the "Guides" (61) in 1958, even though the revision followed the main concepts presented in the 1949 Guides with minor exceptions. The Committee still supported the Mort point of view in opposing the use of program budgeting for educational services in the foundation program. But the technology advocated by Morphet and Johns was gaining in popularity. The 1958 Guides contained the following rather plaintive statement:

> In the movement for more adequate school aid, there has been a tendency to substitute central authority for local direction. An increasing number of states have tended to develop what amounts to a package of special aids into a foundation program. The effect of such packages is the same as if these were separate special aids. Generally speaking, states should guard against or reverse this trend. The extension of state aid should nourish and strengthen the initiative of people in local school systems (62).

Beginning in 1958, under the aggressive leadership of Arvid J. Burke, the Committee was able to obtain a large increase in financial support from the National Education Association. This enabled the Committee to hold annual conferences and to publish each year an important monograph on school finance. These conferences were attended annually by representatives of state departments of education, state education associations, the

National Education Association, the U.S. Office of Education, university professors, and other educational leaders. The National Education Association, through its Committee on Educational Finance and other means, has furnished valuable services for promoting the total area of school financing, including state school financing.

The U.S. Office of Education

The U. S. Office of Education is sometimes thought of as being primarily concerned with federal aid to education. That may be true at the present time, but it has been far from true in the past. The Office has promoted the development of state and local school financing since before the beginning of this century. Most of this promotion has been in the form of research, collection, and distribution of school statistics, an invaluable aid to those actually engaged in the development of state support programs. The Office has published hundreds of valuable monographs of this kind. It is not possible to do justice to the historical value of those publications in this chapter. It can be said, however, that the Office has not developed any new theories or concepts of state school finance. The Office has seen its function rather as promoting the development of state school finance in accordance with the concepts developed by the leading theorists in the universities. A perusal of the publications of the Office shows that since 1930, in general, it has supported the Strayer-Haig-Mort conceptual design. This is not surprising, as many of the leaders of school finance in the Office have been students of Strayer and Mort or students of their students.

Following are some examples of the dissemination activities of the Office of Education with respect to state financing. In 1928, the Office (at that time the U. S. Bureau of Education) published an important bulletin written by Fletcher Harper Swift and Bruce Lewis Zimmerman entitled *State School Taxes and School Funds and Their Apportionment*. In 1929-30, as a part of National Survey of School Finance (63), assisted by grants provided by the American Council on Education and the General Education Board, the Office published profiles of the financial support provided for the public schools in 33 states. The technique used in developing these profiles made it possible not only to compare the level of financing provided in each state per unit of educational need, but also to appraise the extent of equalization of educational opportunity among the several districts of a state. The Office has continued to publish these valuable profiles by decennial periods since 1930. In addition, the Office publishes and revises regularly a series of leaflets on the public school finance programs of each of the 50 states. These activities do not seem spectacular, but they have all served as valuable "grist for the mill."

Council of Chief State School Officers

The chief state school officer in each state has been in the middle of every battle for state financial support. He is the official head of education in each state, and naturally the legislature looks to him for leadership. However, the man who advocates new or additional taxes usually finds himself in an unpopular role. He is also in a vulnerable position if he has obtained his office by appointment of the governor or by popular vote. Despite these difficulties and dangers, most of the chief state school officers since 1900, and even before, have distinguished themselves in the battles for state support. An interesting history of state support could be developed in each state around the biographies of chief state school officers. Another interesting history of the development of state support could be written with the governors who have been favorable to education as the actors in the center of the stage. It is an axiom with chief state school officers that "if you have the governor with you, the battle is half won; if he is against you, it is half lost." Since space does not permit a discussion of the roles played by the numerous courageous state officials in advancing state support, we will have to be content in this chapter to discuss only briefly some of the activities of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

The Council has a brief history, since it was organized only in 1928. However, since 1948, under the able leadership of its executive secretary, Edgar Fuller, a former commissioner of education of New Hampshire, the Council has followed an aggressive and statesmanlike policy in support of state school finance. Some excerpts from the resolutions and policy statements adopted by the Council will be discussed briefly in the following paragraphs.

In 1949, the Council stated its basic position with respect to school financing as follows:

> Taxes for the support of education should be levied and collected by the units of local, state and federal governments which can perform this function most effectively and equitably. Wealth should be taxed where it exists to the extent necessary to provide every child an opportunity for at least an elementary and secondary education of high quality wherever he may live.
>
> A comprehensive, stable, equitable and fiscally adequate system of state taxation is essential to provide for all state needs, including the funds required for education.
>
> Within limitations fixed only by state law, the local administrative unit should be free to set tax levies in excess of the required local contribution to the state foundation program in order to improve and extend its system of education (64).

One can search the literature on school finance available in 1949 and fail to find a more succinct statement on school finance policy. The Council also in 1949 recommended the adoption by the states of state support programs which in general followed the Strayer-Haig-Mort conceptual design.

In 1959, the Council defined more fully the responsibilities of the state departments of education for planning the program of financial support of the public schools. Following are some selected excerpts from these recommendations:

1. The state department of education should develop and recommend a basic education program to meet the needs of the people. Such a program should be concerned with all essential school services and should be formulated in cooperation with citizen and professional groups and representatives of local administrative units.
2. When the program has been defined, it is the responsibility of the state department of education to determine its cost. In translating the program into financial requirements, every phase as represented by major budget classifications should be considered. The degree of equity achieved in the distribution of funds is an index of the adequacy of the formula used. It is essential that accurate data be utilized.
3. Ability to finance the educational program depends to a large extent on a suitable tax structure. Careful analysis to determine its strengths and weaknesses, desirable changes, and possible new sources of revenue should be made.
4. Equalization of educational opportunity is accepted in principle. Allocation formulas should include recognition of the cost of the basic program, financial ability of local units, reasonable local effort, local tax leeway for enrichment of the program, and the financial ability of the state to support education.
5. The preparation of the budget is a fundamental process and one that should be executed with care in accordance with laws and regulations. The budget must be adequate for anticipated needs and be defensible in terms of widely accepted objectives. It is the responsibility of the state department of education to present and explain the budget to the legislature.
6. The state department of education has the responsibility for developing a program of state-level services in keeping with the needs of local administrative units, in compliance with the law and

the regulations of the state board of education. The department has the further responsibility of preparing a budget for the state department of education adequate to provide these services separate from the budget for state funds to be distributed to local administrative units.

7. Educational needs and objectives are constantly changing. The state department of education should define educational needs and plan for financing them. This entails projections of financial requirements, economic trends, and population growth (65).

SOME HISTORICAL PROBLEMS AND ISSUES IN STATE SCHOOL FINANCE

Many of the basic problems and issues of state school finance cannot be separated from the problems and issues of federal and local public school financing. What should public education cost? What percent of the gross national product should be allocated to the public schools? These questions can never be finally answered because conditions are continually changing and, therefore, the answers are continually changing. It is true that less than 2 percent of the gross national product was allocated to the public schools at the beginning of the century and approximately 3.5 percent in 1965. But no governmental authority at the federal, state, or local level ever made any conscious decision concerning what percent of the gross national product should be allocated to the operation of public schools. The 3.5 percent of the gross national product allocated to the public schools in 1965 was purely the summation of the results of thousands of battles for revenue fought in the 25,000 local school districts of the United States, hundreds of battles in the 50 state legislatures, and dozens of battles in Congress. The percent of the gross national product that has been allocated to public education since the beginning of this century has borne only an accidental relationship to school needs.

Perhaps this unplanned method of allocating the gross national product to different sectors of the economy is the natural condition in a mixed private enterprise-government economy such as we have in the United States. In the private sectors of our economy, the gross national product is allocated in the marketplace; in the government sector, it is allocated through political processes. But as Galbraith has pointed out, the government sector of our economy—other than that part allocated to defense and war—is in a poor competitive position because the advertising and other promotional devices utilized by the private sector are largely denied to the public sector, including education (66).

Political, Economic, and Historical Influences Affecting State Aid from 1900 to 1965

Political and economic factors and historical events, such as wars, depressions, and threats to national security, all have had some effect on the development of state aid. These same factors also have had some effect on federal aid, which actually is easier to trace. But that is not the task of this chapter. Let us examine briefly, then, some of the effects of these factors and events on state aid.

As has already been pointed out, Cubberley noted at the beginning of the twentieth century that the industrialization of the nation had created great inequalities in wealth among school districts. This same fact was noted by every researcher on state aid, and it was used as a powerful argument for state aid. Advocates of state aid have continuously appealed throughout this century for the extension of state aid programs in order to equalize educational opportunity. Why has it taken so long to develop adequate state aid programs throughout the nation? Why did many states still have inadequate state aid programs as late as 1965? The causes of the successes and failures in the development of state aid programs no doubt have varied greatly from state to state, for they vary greatly in their political liberalism versus their political conservatism. The political liberal considers it the responsibility of central government to equalize educational opportunity by means of adequate programs of state or federal aid. The political conservative fears the control of central governments and is willing to sacrifice the ideal of equalization of educational opportunity in order to preserve "home rule" in government. He considers it socialist doctrine to advocate the taxing of wealth in rich school districts or rich states in order to equalize educational opportunities among school districts and among states.

The conservative point of view with respect to state aid prevailed in most states throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century. Liberal arguments, such as those voiced by Cubberley, fell largely on deaf ears. However, this attitude began to change after World War I, a war we fought "to make the world safe for democracy." We may have failed to make the world safe for democracy, but the war undoubtedly caused us to want more democracy in education in the United States. Young men from all over the United States were brought together in the armed services, and great differences were noted in the education of men from different sections of the nation. A national demand developed to make the opportunity for a high school education universal. The demand for the extension of opportunities for high school education in the years immediately following World War I served as a great stimulus to the development of state aid.

World War I also accelerated the rate of change of the United States from an agrarian to an industrial society. A popular song of World War I prophesied that change in these words: "How 'ya gonna keep 'em down on the farm after they've seen Paree?" It was much more than seeing "Paree" or Broadway that was changing the thinking of the rising generation. The war started the breaking up of the parochialism and the isolation of rural America. The automobile industry, led by the Model T, further promoted the mobility of the population. An industrialized, mobile population needed much more education than an isolated rural population. This fact had long been known to the educational leadership of the states. It began to be recognized by the state political leadership in the decade following World War I. State aid for the public schools more than doubled between 1920 and 1930. However, as shown in Table 2, the percent of total school revenue derived from state sources increased only slightly during this period because of large increases in local school revenue.

The Great Depression had a profound effect on school financing. In 1930, about 82 percent of school revenue came from local sources, and practically all local school revenue was derived from property taxes. During the Depression, property taxes became increasingly onerous as thousands of people lost their homes, farms, and businesses. The injustice of being required to pay property taxes when the taxpayer had no income became a political issue in many states. The opposition to property taxes during this period provided an opportunity for the advocates of state aid to advance their programs. Table 2 shows that the school revenue derived from state sources increased from 17.3 percent in 1930 to 29.2 percent in 1940, the greatest increase in any decade between 1900 and 1965.

World War II also had an important effect on school financing, for it accelerated the development of national technology even more than World War I. It became apparent to all informed observers during and immediately after World War II that an education was a necessity not only for the benefit of the individual but also for the welfare of society. The demands for an improved quality of education became insistent throughout the nation. Furthermore, inflation was causing a rapid increase in prices that far exceeded any increase in the property tax income of the schools. The problem was further complicated by a "baby boom" starting in 1946 and continuing throughout the 1950's.

Studies were conducted in many states in order to deal with this situation. There was a great demand to find sources of revenue for the public schools that would correspond more closely with price changes and school enrollment than property taxes. Furthermore, the ownership of property was becoming less related to the sources of the income of the people. For example, 58 percent of the national income was derived from compensation of employees in 1929, but this had increased to 71 percent in 1957. Actually, by 1957 only approximately 10 percent of the national income was derived directly from property. There was a growing demand to find tax sources more directly related to the income of the people. State-administered taxes met these demands. Therefore, the advocates of state aid again had an opportunity to advance it, and they took advantage of that opportunity. State aid more than tripled between 1940 and 1950, and it increased from 29.2 percent of total revenue to 39.8 percent.

It soon became apparent after 1950 that the nation was not to enjoy peace. The Cold War with the Communist bloc was already under way, and we were soon to find ourselves in a "hot" war in Korea. The productive potential of the nation was so great that prosperity continued while prices continued to rise. The consumer price index in terms of 1957-59 dollars increased from 83.8 in 1950 to 103.1 in 1960 and 109.9 in 1965. School enrollment increased from 25,700,000 in 1950 to 37,600,000 in 1960 and more than 42,000,000 in 1965. This twin pressure of increases in prices and increases in enrollment caused significant increases in school revenue from both state and local sources. Although the *percent* of total revenue derived from state sources did not increase between 1950 and 1965, the *amount* of state revenue was considerably more than quadrupled.

Another historical event that had some impact on state school financing was the launching of the first earth satellite in 1957 by the Russians, an event which jarred the people of the United States out of their complacence concerning our educational system. We had taken our supposed superiority in science and technology for granted. The success of Russia was a powerful stimulus for us to improve our schools in order to provide for the national defense. This event no doubt affected federal educational policy far more than state fiscal policy for schools. The federal government increased its contribution to public school revenue from 4 percent of the total in 1957 to about 8 percent of the total in 1965. Nevertheless, state aid comprised as high a percent of total revenue in 1965 as in 1957. Therefore, the technological advances of the Communist nations seem to have had a stimulating effect on state aid as well as federal aid.

However, the influence of the Communist bloc on American education has not been entirely positive. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the arguments for the advancement of education were based primarily on the assumption of the right of each child to educational opportunities equal to those provided other children. The state existed to serve the individual rather than the individual existing in order to serve the state. In the first half of this century, we boasted that this was one of the primary differences between a democracy and an authoritarian form of government. Between the years 1957 and 1965, great emphasis was given, especially by the federal government, to educating the child for "national defense." There seems to be a growing emphasis on educating the child to serve the state rather than educating him because it is his birthright as an American citizen to have the opportunity to develop his total potential. Perhaps the states can serve the desirable function of restoring a proper balance between educating the individual to serve the state and educating the individual to develop all of his potential.

In concluding this section on political and economic factors and historical events affecting state aid between 1900 and 1965, reference must be made to the involvement of the United States in the war in Vietnam. The increase in international tension and this new war started an escalation in federal expenditures for national defense in 1965 which greatly contributed to the rise in the cost of living. This situation, coupled with the continuation of high federal taxes for national defense and domestic programs supported by the federal government, increased the difficulty of obtaining additional state revenue for schools at the close of this period.

Percentage of School Revenue To Be Provided from State Sources

The percent of school revenue provided from state sources bears but little rational relationship to the sources of income of the people or to equity in taxation. The data presented in Table 2 of this chapter show that the percent of revenue provided from state sources ranged from 5.2 percent in one state to 77.3 percent in another state in 1965. All taxes are paid from income—past, present, or future. Therefore, the taxing system supporting a major government function such as public education should bear some rational relationship to the income of the people. As late as 1965, approximately 52 percent of school revenue was provided from local property taxes despite the fact that less than 10 percent of the national income was derived directly from property (67). Property has been declining as a source of national income. By 1965, more than 90 percent of the national income was derived from salaries and wages of employees, corporate profits, profits from unincorporated business, and professional income. All of these sources of income can be taxed more readily and equitably by income and sales taxes than by property taxes.

Whether the federal government or the state governments will take the lead in the future in increasing the use of nonproperty taxes for school support is unclear at this writing. The historical policy of school people has been to get money where it was the easiest to obtain. In the first part of this century, most increases in school revenue were obtained from local sources. During the Depression, state revenue was easier to obtain and that was the point of attack. During the late fifties and early sixties, the federal government finally yielded to pressures to provide federal aid for the public schools.

Inequalities Among School Districts in Wealth and Educational Opportunity

At the beginning of this century, Cubberley noted wide variation among school districts in wealth and educational opportunity. Numerous financial studies have shown that the most important single factor affecting variations in educational expenditures and educational opportunities among school districts is the imbalance in the per capita wealth of those districts. Educational leaders have continuously urged the consolidation of small school districts into more efficient size districts. They have noted that the larger the number of districts within a state, the greater the variations in per capita wealth. Therefore, consolidation was advocated as one method of equalizing wealth and educational opportunity.

This was sound policy, and during the first 65 years of this century the number of school districts was reduced from more than 130,000 to approximately 25,000. But even if the total number of school districts were reduced to 3,000, the problem would be only partially solved. Some states have already organized their schools into relatively large county units, but it is not uncommon to find variations as great as 6 to 1 in per capita wealth in school districts in county-unit states. There are large areas in most states that are economically poor; the consolidation of districts in such areas only consolidates poverty. Therefore, consolidation does not eliminate the necessity of state financial action to equalize educational opportunity—it simply makes state action more effective and simplifies the administration of state school finance programs. Even if it were theoretically possible to organize a state into large districts exactly equal in per capita wealth, a state school finance program would still be necessary in order to give school districts access to nonproperty types of taxes.

There has been an attempt in some states to authorize local school districts to levy local nonproperty taxes in lieu of expanding the state school finance program from such taxes. This policy has proved to be of benefit to only a few districts, most of which have been relatively wealthy municipal districts. Furthermore, it has tended to further increase inequality in educational opportunity because it has benefited only the wealthy districts.

Actually, the allocation of state money between the more wealthy urban and suburban districts and the less wealthy districts has been an issue since the beginning of this century, and it remains so today. Many of the superintendents of schools of the wealthy urban districts opposed the Strayer-Haig-Mort equalization plan for apportioning state funds when it was first introduced. They usually favored flat grants based on some type of a per-pupil measure without reference to variations among the districts in local taxpaying ability. In the first part of this century, some of the superintendents of wealthy districts even favored the apportionment of state school funds on the basis of where collected. Many state superintendents have faced organized opposition from the superintendents of large, wealthy school systems to the inauguration of a foundation program of state school financing that took into account differences in local taxpaying ability. Fortunately, almost all the superintendents of schools of the large urban districts have withdrawn their opposition to state school finance equalization programs. The migration of disadvantaged, uneducated rural people to the core of the great cities has created educational and other social problems of great magnitude. It has become apparent to all knowledgeable, professional leaders, as well as to informed lay leaders, that a large city cannot be insensitive to the quality of education provided in other sections of the state or even of the nation.

With the reapportionment of state legislatures, in accordance with the Supreme Court ruling of "one man, one vote" principle, the representation of urban areas in state legislatures has been greatly increased. Whether those legislators attack the foundation program equalization plan of state support remains to be seen. Much progress has been made since 1900 in improving the methods of distributing state funds. By 1965, more than 40 states had some type of a foundation program. Furthermore, 61.7 percent of all state school funds were distributed on an equalizing basis (68). It is hoped that newly apportioned state legislatures will not attempt to destroy the equalization principle in state support.

The Control of the Public Schools

What controls should be established over the public schools and what level of government should exercise a particular control over education have been important political issues throughout the first 65 years of the twentieth century. The issue of control generally has been that of central versus local control at all levels of government. Somehow a myth has developed in our culture that the more local the government, the more democratic; the more central, the less democratic. But insofar as the provision of educational opportunities for children and youth are concerned, the more central the government, the more democratic has been its policies.

Holmstedt, after making an intensive study of school fiscal controls, concluded that education is a state responsibility, that local school districts have no inherent powers, and that they are agencies of the state created to serve purposes which are the concern of all the people. He stated:

> Fiscal controls must be evaluated primarily in terms of the extent to which they facilitate the attainment of educational objectives and are conducive to efficient management. . . . Controls should be allocated to those agencies which are in the best position to serve the purposes involved. There are no arbitrary bases for dividing control between state and local agencies. Purposes which can best be served by centralized control should be the responsibility of state agencies. Those purposes which are best served through local action should be assigned to local agencies (69).

The rational position taken by Holmstedt on fiscal controls is gradually being accepted in preference to the more extreme position of Mort, which strongly opposes practically any extension of central controls. As pointed out, Mort was greatly interested in initiative, innovation, adaptability, and change. At this writing, there is a widespread national interest in these same concepts. Mort believed that all educational innovations came from local school systems, and he considered the state education agency as a state bureaucracy that inhibited change. That is, using "social systems" terminology, Mort assumed that practically all desirable educational change came from initiative from within the local school social system and that practically no desirable change came from outside sources.

The research of social scientists has indicated that the major impetus for change in organizations is from the outside (70). It is true that a central agency, such as a state department of education, is not likely to develop or invent many educational innovations. Most desirable educational innovations have been developed in local school systems or in experimental schools. But a central agency, such as a state department of education or even the U.S. Office of Education, can provide leadership for disseminating desirable innovations. State leadership and state school finance serve as inputs to the local school system that powerfully influence educational change. The historical record shows that when states have developed comprehensive foundation programs that are reasonably and adequately financed, they have had a powerful influence on educational change. This has been especially true in foundation programs computed on the basis of the educational services provided.

Authorities on educational finance have generally opposed special appropriations for special educational purposes either on the part of state governments or the federal government. These authorities have opposed special aids because they have never added up to a comprehensive foundation program of education in any state. But it cannot be denied that these special aids have served as inputs to local systems that strongly influenced them to achieve the educational purposes for which the special grants were provided. Examples of this can be found in every state. Furthermore, the categorical grants of the federal government for the public schools have had a profound influence on educational change. Examples are the acts of Congress aiding vocational education, the grants and activities of the National Science Foundation affecting curriculums in science and mathematics, the educational programs aided by the appropriations provided under the National Defense Education Act, and the many innovative programs stimulated by the categorical appropriations provided under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

It can well be argued that the tendency of state legislatures to provide categorical grants in one form or the other has been due to the failure of local school districts to make desirable educational changes arising from one or a combination of the following causes: (a) lack of local financial ability, (b) social conservatism, and (c) lack of leadership. These same factors probably have caused the federal government to give major emphasis to categorical grants except that the federal government has been concerned about variations in financial ability, social conservatism, and leadership among the states as well as among local school districts. It is certain that a state can no longer afford to permit a local school district to provide as inferior a program as it chooses. It is equally certain that the federal government can no longer afford to permit a state to provide as inferior a program as it chooses.

Historical trends indicate that in the future the proportion of school revenue derived from both state and federal sources will surely increase. History has shown also that educational controls do not necessarily have to follow the sources of revenue, but they frequently do. Mort was greatly concerned about maintaining the autonomy of local school districts by preventing the establishment of state controls. At this writing, it is strange to note that the principal force protecting local school systems from what many people consider undesirable federal controls over education is the state education agency. But given the assumption that adequate size local school districts are provided throughout the United States, and given the assumption that the public schools will be adequately financed by an equitable combination of local, state, and federal taxes, historical trends indicate that future shifts in the locus of control of the schools will depend largely on the adequacy of leadership at the local, state, and federal levels. As Holmstedt has pointed out, the control will be allocated to the level that most effectively attains educational purposes.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *School Funds and Their Apportionment* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1905).
2. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
4. *Ibid.*, adapted from the summary presented on pp. 250-54.
5. Harlan Updegraff, *Rural School Survey of New York State: Financial Support* (Ithaca: By the author, 1922).
6. *Ibid.*, p. 117.
7. *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-35.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 155.
10. George D. Strayer and Robert Murray Haig, *The Financing of Education in the State of New York*, Report of the Educational Finance Inquiry Commission, Vol. I (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-76. Although this volume was written by both Strayer and Haig, Strayer was directly responsible for writing the section on equalization of educational opportunity.
12. *Ibid.*, p. 173.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 174.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 174-75.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 175.
16. Paul R. Mort, *The Measurement of Educational Need* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1924).
17. See generally Stephen K. Bailey, et al., *Schoolmen and Politics: A Study of State Aid to Education in the Northeast* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962).
18. Mort, *The Measurement of Educational Need*, pp. 6-7.
19. *Ibid.*, p. 7.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 8.
21. In later years, Mort's "typical teacher" came to be known as "weighted teacher" or "weighted instruction" unit in some states.
22. Paul R. Mort, *State Support for Public Schools* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926), pp. 21-22.
23. Today the term *foundation program* is more commonly used than the terms *equalization program* or *minimum program*.
24. Mort, *State Support for Public Schools*, p. 25.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 16.
27. R. L. Johns, *State and Local Administration of School Transportation* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928).
28. D. P. Harry, *Cost of Living of Teachers in New York State* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1928).
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30. Paul R. Mort and Research Staff, *State Support for Public Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1933).
31. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*, pp. 3-10.
34. *Ibid.*
35. See Paul R. Mort and Francis G. Cornell, *American Schools in Transition* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1941).

36. See Hugo E. Beck, "The Contribution of Henry Clinton Morrison" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1962).

37. Henry C. Morrison, *School Revenue* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

38. Bailey, *op. cit.*

39. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 25.

41. Fletcher Harper Swift, *Federal and State Policies in Public School Finance in the United States* (Boston: Ginn and Co., 1931).

42. R. L. Johns and Edgar L. Morphet, *Financing the Public Schools* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960).

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46. See Herbert A. Meyer and R. L. Johns, *A Method for Calculating an Economic Index of Taxpaying Ability of Local School Units* (Gainesville.: College of Education, University of Florida, 1954).

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57. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

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60. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

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62. *Ibid.*, p. 29.

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65. *Ibid.*, pp. 74-75.

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Chapter 5

The School Curriculum in American Education

Helen Heffernan

With assistance from the staff of the Council of Chief State School Officers, John R. Mayor, and Fred T. Wilhelms on the portions relating to secondary education.

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The School Curriculum in American Education

INTRODUCTION

Although it is now a commonly accepted fact that more than one-fourth of this country's population is actively involved in some facet of organized education, it nonetheless remains startling in its implications. The total expenditures for this gigantic enterprise are exceeded only by those for national defense. It is to be hoped that these priorities will be reversed if the twentieth century is to go forward toward any lasting fulfillment of its potential.

What these millions of individuals are learning and teaching on a day-to-day basis—what they are becoming and accomplishing from year to year—is of profound relevance to America today and tomorrow. For it is in our centers of learning—whether they be the smallest country schoolhouse or the largest university—that a persistently important portion of the business of democracy is carried on. In order to perpetuate our nation as an enlightened government based on the consent of the governed, education, of necessity, is committed to helping children and youth to understand and learn to live according to democratic principles and values. There is no question that this monumental task is shared with the family, the home, the church, and a wide variety of other social institutions. But there is also no question that the school offers the longest uninterrupted opportunity to teach the basic values of democracy. At the heart of this opportunity—indeed, its very core—is the curriculum.

For our purposes here, curriculum is given a broad interpretation. Narrowly defined, it is the formal offerings of the school to its pupils. More realistically, it concerns the total impact of the school on these pupils and involves a number of crucial questions: To whom shall we teach what? When? How? Why?

All of the activities, concerns, and operational details requiring finance, personnel, and organization—all the subjects of the other chapters of this volume as well as all those that might have been written—are handmaidens to what occurs in education in the name of curriculum.

EDUCATION AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES

What are values? They are goals, ideals, objectives, guiding principles, the kind of concepts that are subject to approval or condemnation. But in our society, as in others, distinction exists between verbal values and behavioral values. Teaching verbal values is relatively easy. Children and youth can memorize and reproduce on demand a reasonably creditable statement of democratic values. Many citizens are willing to accept such glib rehearsal as evidence of education. But when glaring discrepancies exist between what we say we believe and our overt or covert behavior, then more discerning citizens question the authenticity of our understanding and acceptance of these values. To use only one illustration where many exist, the fundamental law of the land guarantees equal rights to all citizens, but that this guarantee is blatantly abrogated by open and covert behavioral discrimination is reported daily in the various communications media.

Throughout the history of American education, great teachers have endeavored to help learners understand and act in terms of basic American values. Among these, one of the chief values is realism, or the desire and ability to seek the facts and act courageously in accordance with them. Another basic value is respect for human dignity and worth—not just talk about it, but day-to-day behavior that exemplifies it. To mention only one more of these values, teachers have been concerned with helping youth to develop moral integrity, or, in other words, to be willing to live in terms of the values to which they have subscribed verbally.

Democracy, as a way of life and government, can survive only to the degree that a majority of its citizens have a moral commitment to live by these values. Complex, difficult, overwhelming as is the task of teaching these values, they are truly the core of the curriculum, regardless of what the teacher's assignment may be, because they are essential to the continuance of this nation as a democracy.

The twentieth century has witnessed the schools moving forward on this complex task, examining first one facet of the curriculum problem and then another, subjecting every issue to vigorous study and debate. Who shall be educated? What shall we teach? How shall we organize our schools for effective instruction? When shall children enter school? How do children learn? How do children think? To what degree are children inherently different from one another? What kind of learning environment is most effective? How can the teacher release creativity in children? To what extent can the psychological and intellectual successes of elementary education be adapted to increasing maturity of pupils, especially at the level of secondary education?

As these and countless other questions became the objects of intensive study and experimentation, national, state, and local educational agencies, professional associations, and graduate schools of education have carried on extensive publication programs including a creditable number of reports on research. Scholarly yearbooks, bulletins, pamphlets, and periodicals have flowed out over the country in an ever-increasing volume. From all the time and human energy invested by literally thousands of earnest and intelligent people has come a growing body of professional literature of inestimable value to prospective teachers, to teachers in service, to research workers, and to educational and community leaders responsible for making significant decisions on the basis of the best objective evidence available.

More important than the production of a creditable literature, to be sure, has been the degree to which the schools, as a result of all this continuing professional activity, were able to meet the diversity of the needs and the interests of our unique population. Education has become the road to social mobility because the schools have kept the doors of opportunity open. We have learned that individuals and communities differ from one another in every conceivable way.

Through our colleges and universities, our associations, and our publications, we have made it possible for all to share in what has been learned about human growth and development, about how children and youth learn, and about more effective instructional methods and materials. As we moved forward in our practice, in our educational research, and in our experience in working with pupils, we pushed out new frontiers. In the words of Tennyson's *Ulysses*, "*. . . all experience is an arch wherethro/ Gleams that untravelled world, whose margin fades/ For ever and for ever when I move.*" Because Americans are a moving and doing people, the far horizons of educational potential are never completely attained and perhaps are not ever attainable. Education has its own built-in and unfailing dynamism.

The Significance of Purpose

Constantly, through the years, schools have attempted to define their purposes in more precise and lucid terms. But language is such that these statements are more meaningful to those who create them than to those who hear or read them. Frequently, the development of statements of purpose have appeared to be academic busywork, engaged in ritually prior to the development of the actual "content" of the course of study and bearing little discernible relationship to the learnings subsequently prescribed.

Every school must answer these questions: Where are we going? What precisely do we propose to do for these children entrusted to our care? Without these questions, conscientiously asked and intelligently answered, any activity undertaken lacks direction. Too great a gap exists between stated purposes and the means employed to reach them. Likewise, too great a gap exists between our stated goals and the means we have devised to evaluate the degree to which we have been able to attain them.

Because achievements of certain goals were more easily measured than others, measurement emphasized such subjects as spelling, reading, and mathematics. The impressive data expressed in quantitative terms obtained as a result of such objective evaluation led inevitably to teachers' recognizing that their success would be evaluated on the basis of their pupils' achievement. Eventually, greater prestige value was attached by parents and the general public to these more measurable subjects; consequently, teachers devoted more school time to them. Hence, less time and teaching effort have been directed toward social studies, science, and the arts, for which measurement of achievement in quantitative scores could not be so readily obtained.

At the secondary education level, the same general emphasis prevailed, even though the social sciences, the natural sciences, and "English" were heavily stressed. In each case, the ease of measuring factual knowledge led inevitably to emphasis on such knowledge. Thus, civics, normally dedicated to the development of effective citizenship, became in fact a largely inert body of knowledge about the structure of government. And history, despite heroic efforts to turn it toward general understanding of the meaning of the past, remained primarily a chronological survey of the facts of wars and administrations. In the past decade, tremendous effort has been made to shake the sciences and mathematics out of this preoccupation with detailed facts and skills, but progress has been relatively slow.

The problem of determining purpose has troubled mankind for a long time. Aristotle, who lived in the years 384-322 B.C., said this about purpose:

> All people do not agree in those things that a child should be taught, both with respect to improvement in virtue and a happy life; nor is it clear whether the object of it should be to improve the reason or rectify the morals. From the present mode of education, we cannot determine with certainty to which men incline whether to instruct the child in what will be useful to him in life, or what is excellent, for all these things have their separate defenders (1).

In some respects, we seem to be plagued in our day by some of the same uncertainties that disturbed the equanimity of Aristotle.

In a general way, it can be said that the great progressive movement in our whole society during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries produced a swing in the schools toward what Aristotle called "what will be useful . . . in life, or what tends to virtue." By the 1930's, there was a general consensus in the literature of education upon the twin values of promoting the full personal development of the individual and the fulfillment of the great democratic society. However, from about 1945 to the early 1960's, the pendulum swung almost entirely over to emphasis on "excellence," defined primarily in terms of intellectual achievement.

Today we tend to think of the purposes of education as applying to both elementary and secondary education, with no sharp dividing line between. Continuity in the education of children is of the utmost importance and is best achieved in terms of common goals. This is not to say, however, that the emphasis on a particular goal or the method devised to achieve it is the same for all levels of maturity. In our enthusiasm for organizational innovation, we are prone to forget that young children do not learn in the same way as do youth and adults, who have a greater background of experience.

Many state departments of education have made extensive use of the statements of purpose developed by national organizations. One of the earliest of these, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (2), was printed in 1918. The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education was influenced by the earlier formulation of Herbert Spencer (3), whose life not only bridged the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1820-1903) but also bridged one of the most significant transitions in American education. The *Cardinal Principles,* which have greatly influenced both elementary and secondary education, were a revolutionary departure from the old knowledge conception of education.

The importance of this statement can hardly be overemphasized. Practically all of the previous major statements on secondary education especially had been couched in terms of subjects to be "taken" and subject matter to be learned. But the *Cardinal Principles* broke new ground by emphasizing the need of children and youth to learn what society would require of them rather than to acquire a body of subject matter set out to be learned and considered valuable because it was a part of the cultural heritage.

The soundness of the purposes—health, worthy home membership, command of the fundamental processes, vocation, civic education, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character—assured the *Cardinal Principles* a position of prestige as a guide to educational thinking. For decades, state departments of education worked to interpret these principles to teachers and to the public. The *Cardinal Principles* proved to be a unifying influence throughout the nation in developing educational programs.

What the Elementary School Tries To Do for Children

Into the elementary school come the raw materials of our democracy. Here these children—the bright, the dull, the timid, the forward, every kind, from every manner of home and background—meet as members of a distinct social group. Their experiences in this group will influence, for better or worse, their lifelong attitudes and ideas regarding ways of living and working together. From their experiences here, they also are to acquire the skills, the knowledge, the loyalties, and common understandings which are essential for the unity and stability of society and the self-respecting competence and responsibility of individual citizens. Out of the needs of children and out of the needs of society, schools develop their guiding principles, aims, or purposes.

The elementary school is concerned primarily with those outcomes of learning which should be the common possession and attainment of all citizens. The transmittal of language, customs and manners, common loyalties and cherished values, history and traditions, and the commonly used practices of community life needed by all for the unity, cooperation, and smooth operation of society are the foremost responsibility of the elementary school. Some of these can be learned as facts. Many of them must be learned through experiences in willingly shared responsibilities and must be vitalized by giving children opportunity to respond in challenging situations. The purposes of elementary education can be achieved only in a school where willing participation and self-direction can be achieved.

The broad purposes growing out of fundamental needs may be summarized as follows:

1. To develop the basic skills and understandings essential to the effective use and comprehension of the arts of communication
2. To promote the development of character and right social conduct through activities that give satisfying experiences in cooperation, self-control, and fair play
3. To provide instruction and practice leading to the building of habits that are conducive to health, safety, and physical well-being

4. To develop the skills and understandings necessary for effective measurement computation, and problem solving
5. To help children learn how basic human needs for food, clothing, shelter, safety, protection, and comfort are met in their community and in other regions throughout the world, and thus to lead them to an understanding of the relationships and interdependence of the agricultural, industrial, governmental, and other essential services in civilized society
6. To help children understand how man has used science and invention to meet his needs and to improve his living, and how the scientist uses certain methods to unlock the secrets of nature
7. To develop a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the movements, struggles, and ideals interwoven with the building of our nation, and the responsibilities resting upon its citizens
8. To provide, through classroom organization and activities, the firsthand experiences of working in a democratic environment in which participants learn the satisfaction of growth in self-direction and personal responsibility
9. To promote wholesome cultural, recreational, and creative interests through experiences with music, art, bodily rhythmical activities, literature, and similar forms of enjoyable expression that brighten life and give it greater depth and richer meaning
10. To build understanding of and friendliness for the people of the world and respect for the belief that man can find ways to settle conflicts of interest through discussion and conciliation.

Throughout the century, state departments of education and school systems nationwide have zealously sought to translate the philosophy of educational leaders into the specific goals toward which all educational activity should be directed. This is not a task that can be done "once and for all," because society changes under the impact of new knowledge and new needs. Schools are good or poor to the extent that they are able to meet the social needs of their times. Therefore, no educator can become complacent about the purposes he has endeavored to express. In every decade, men must look at society, assess its needs, and devise new ways by which education can help to meet them. As Frederic Mayer has said:

> A lasting cuture demands more than academic ornamentation. It demands more than orthodox, scholastic ritual. It certainly demands more than efficiency. A great culture demands boldness of insight, a dedicated leadership, and above all, a cordial hospitality to new ideas (4).

EARLY EDUCATIONAL INFLUENCES

To assess curriculum development as it took place in each of the states during the twentieth century is an overwhelming undertaking. The history of the United States is the story of the meeting and mingling of cultures. The European influence in the East, the westward movement across the continent, the Spanish-Mexican influence in the West and Southwest contributed a multiplicity of complex cross-cultural strands. These must be understood, and each state must be put in its true geographic and historic setting to understand the status of education at the beginning of the century and its rate of progress since that time. Probably the two factors that made the greatest difference were (1) the length of time the area had an established colonial, territorial, or state government and (2) the varying vicissitudes suffered by the individual states in the War Between the States.

The regions we now think of as states were settled during a span of nearly 300 years. The Puritans in New England, driven by the conviction that knowledge of the

Bible was essential to personal salvation, immediately set about the establishment of schools and in so doing laid down the principles which have been adopted generally by the different states. As early as 1634, Massachusetts established the principle of taxation for the support of schools; and as early as 1647, it laid the legal basis for compulsory school attendance (5).

The areas which later became the states of the United States were settled by widely dissimilar groups with different customs, value systems, and attitudes toward education. In New England, the Puritan-Calvinists, dissenters from the Church of England, were in the majority, and a single school system seemed to meet their needs adequately. The Middle Colonies represented a variety of faiths, and although all believed their children should learn to read the Bible, they looked at the school as an adjunct of the church, and so in this area the parochial school attitude prevailed. The Lutherans and the Quakers made great contributions to the development of the schools, particularly in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The settlers in Virginia and the Southern Colonies were members of the established Church of England and naturally followed the educational precedents they had known at home. Because the climate made possible the raising of certain crops in the South, plantation life developed. The children of the rich were educated by a tutor at home or in select private schools. For the poorer classes, apprenticeship training and pauper schools sufficed. Although these were the schools of Colonial days, they influenced the educational systems as the Colonies organized themselves into states and later moved westward to conquer the continent.

In Massachusetts, schools were based on the strong conviction that universal education was essential to the welfare of the state. Although the obligations to furnish education rested primarily on the parents, the state had the right to enforce this obligation. Since education was compulsory, the state, therefore, had to provide the facilities and set the standards for the kind and amount of education. The reader will find documented information on the development of education in each of the states in a companion volume entitled *Education in the States: Historical Development and Outlook* (6).

Probably no greater contrast to Massachusetts could be found in the history of American education than that provided by New Mexico. Half a century before the Pilgrims landed in Plymouth, this land was explored by the Spanish, who came not in search of religious freedom but gold. We find that Spanish villages, interspersed along the Rio Grande or hidden in deep mountain canyons, lived under Spanish and Mexican flags for almost three times as long as they have been under the flag of the United States. Indian villages not greatly changed over the past 500 years basked in the sun.

Following the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which ended the Mexican War, migrations from the East brought settlers with widely different customs, different backgrounds of experience, and especially different educational principles and expectations. The power structure was controlled by families of wealth who fought against taxation for public education. The new settlers wanted public schools; the Spanish-Americans were loyal to the parochial schools of the midnineteenth century. Fifty years or more of controversy on these issues did not come to an end until New Mexico drafted a state constitution and was admitted to statehood in 1912.

Here we have two states characterized by totally different cultural backgrounds, products of widely divergent religious beliefs, heirs to totally antithetical concepts about the taxation of private property for public purposes. In one instance, we have the stability of at least 200 years of an organized educational system contrasted with chaotic changes brought about by wars and allegiance to three different governments. And yet, certain influences were operative in American society which made it possible for both of these states to make significant contributions to curriculum progress in the twentieth century.

The early settlers truly had a headstart on the newcomers and had already solved some of their most serious educational problems while the younger states still grappled with them. The application of generalizations to describe schools in the United States at the beginning of the century would produce only distortion. Such an authority on the history of education in the United States as Ellwood P. Cubberley, a long-time dean of the School of Education at Stanford University, could only say of the period prior to the Civil War:

> The general character of the schools in the Southern States was not particularly different from that of schools of the same type in the North except that the Northern schools as a rule got well started toward better educational conditions, teachers, and instruction, from one to two or three decades earlier varying in different States, than did those of the South. In the Northern States, too, there was the early uplifting influence of a large number of developing city public school systems—force largely lacking in the South. Taxation for education evolved in the North also, a generation before it became general in the South (7).

The War Between the States left the South culturally and socially devastated and economically bankrupt. Although the war was a tragic obstacle to educational progress throughout the nation, it left the South, in particular, pitifully short of material resources and lacking in the quality of leadership necessary to the gargantuan task of reconstruction.

The Georgia history reports that—

> The Grange and Farmer's Alliance displayed an interest in promoting public education in 1890-1900. They found an ally in the Georgia Teachers Association. Together they promoted a campaign to improve educational support in the state. In 1903, a tax bill was passed. . . . This was the first legislation to provide local taxation throughout the state for school purposes (8).

The Louisiana history describes the period from 1860 to 1900 as—

> . . . four of the darkest decades in public education. There was little sentiment for public education both in Louisiana and the South before the war. The war lessened this sentiment and practically wiped out the financial resources of the section (9).

The Mississippi history reports that schools were closed and industry and agriculture paralyzed at the end of the war:

> When the outcome was determined, the South defeated and Mississippi broken, bankrupt, and overcome, interest in education, submerged for the time being, came to life, but its revival was slow and hampered by many impediments (10).

How slow the revival really was is candidly reported by the Mississippi state superintendent in his biennial report of 1896-98; he said that teacher training, teacher pay, and schoolhouses were "as a rule a disgrace to the State" (11). The rural white teacher received $33.85 a month, on which, the superintendent commented, she could not maintain herself and make any professional improvement.

Other histories reveal similar heartbreaking stories of the Southern states so preoccupied with the restoration of agriculture, industry, business, and government that only the slightest margin of energy and resources was available for the building of the school systems so essential to progress in every field of human activity. The loss to the states, the nation, and the world as a result of this deprivation of educational opportunity for children and youth during these "dark decades" is incalculable.

At the beginning of the century, tremendous inequalities existed among the states. The range in ability to support schools was great, and this inequality has continued since, although it has lessened somewhat in recent years. Many citizens who had lacked opportunity for a good education often did not value it for their children and were reluctant to support it. Leaders who might have spent time profit-ably on improving the educational program were involved in persuading the people of the value of education and the importance of supporting schools.

New hope came to the South in this period of deep discouragement through the generosity of George Peabody. Born in Boston, but actually a resident of London at the time, he established the Peabody Education Fund in 1867 to produce education in the Southern states or, as he expressed it, in "those portions of our beloved and common country which have suffered from the destructive ravages, and not less disastrous consequences of civil war" (12).

The fund was widely administered. Public school systems were established in larger towns and maintained until the local community could support them. The fund was used to organize state departments of education until state legislatures could find the resources to maintain and expand them. Rural school consolidation was promoted, and rural school supervisors were paid to provide the leadership and professional assistance to improve the quality of teaching. Model demonstration schools were established so that teachers could observe a modern curriculum and the use of better methods of instruction.

Recognizing that the most crucial components in a sound educational program are the quality of teaching and the quality of curriculum, the trustees established a normal school at Nashville, Tennessee. In 1903, the trustees gave nearly all of the remaining funds to endow the George Peabody College for Teachers, which exercised forward-looking leadership and exerted profound influence during the twentieth century in curriculum making, supervision of instruction, rural education, and, more recently, in the extension of educational opportunity to young disadvantaged children (13). Thus, the work originally made possible by one man of social vision had tremendous impact not only in the South but nationally and internationally.

Inspired by George Peabody, John F. Slater, a textile manufacturer in Connecticut and Rhode Island, created a somewhat similar fund. After the founding of the college at Nashville, the residual moneys of the George Peabody Fund were transferred to the Slater Fund. This Fund, also, was wisely administered for the support of normal schools and for industrial education for Negroes. It would be difficult to assess the improvements made in education and the changes in attitude toward it resulting from the gestures of reconciliation made by these men of wealth from the North toward fellow countrymen in a critical period dominated by feelings of alienation. These wise investments of private capital in human welfare, of helping people to help themselves, were not limited to the period of deep emotional involvement following the cessation of hostilities but set a pattern that future funds followed in assisting the South to make educational progress.

In 1903, John D. Rockefeller incorporated the General Education Board, whose function was "to promote education within the United States of America without distinction of race, sex, or creed." These funds were used primarily to advance secondary education, then almost nonexistent in the South. State supervisors of rural education working in state departments of education were also financed and contributed immeasurably to furthering good education.

The Anna T. Jeanes Fund, established in 1908, made "Jeanes teachers" available to improve rural elementary schools for Negro children. The Phelps-Stokes Fund, established in 1911, devoted itself to fact-finding about the needs of Negro education. The Julius Rosenwald Fund, established in 1915, continued the work launched by the Slater Fund in supporting several normal schools and industrial schools. With its large resources, it set up a plan for matching local effort, and thousands of "Rosenwald schools" were built throughout the South.

The Influence of Organizations

Important and necessary as all the individual and cooperative local and regional efforts were to the advancement of education in the difficult years that bridged the centuries, another development was rapidly making the education of children and youth a concern as wide as the nation itself.

The American penchant for organization has made the twentieth century one of spectacular growth of associations at every level of the education enterprise. Associations were developed representing professional interests from nursery schools through college, representing every content field in the curriculum, and representing every administrative, supervisory, or teacher education service essential to maintain and to operate what has become our nation's greatest governmental enterprise. In addition, organizations representing citizens' interest in education and others inclusive of both concerned citizens and professional educators have provided the avenues of communication essential to progress.

Because of this entirely voluntary organizational structure, continuous discussion and debate concerning education have gone on in local communities, in states, and at regional and national conferences. "What are the knowledges, the skills, the understandings, the insights essential to produce an educated man?" was the basic question with which professional groups wrestled again and again. But these groups were equally concerned about the components in an education designed to produce intelligent, responsible, participating membership in a democratic society. For in any final analysis, one must concur with Emerson's basic assertion that "The true test of civilization is, not the census, nor the size of cities, nor the crops—no, but the kind of man the country turns out."

DECADES OF REVOLT AGAINST FORMALISM: 1900 to 1920

The social milieu at the end of the nineteenth century was ripe for the emergence of a new philosophy of education. Many factors created a national climate that was conducive to experimentation and that held the promise of unprecedented progress: the diversity in the population resulting from the influx of immigrants from many nations which represented the entire spectrum of educational needs; the opening of vast, new frontiers; the growth of the cities; the impact of science on technology; the transition from an agriculturally to an industrially oriented society. Education was no exception to the spirit of experimentation that was characteristic of the times. In various parts of the country, many schools developed which attempted to implement the philosophy of creative and productive educational leaders.

The American teacher of 1900 faced a short school term and had little professional preparation, no professional consultants to whom he could turn for counsel, inadequate equipment and materials of instruction, and an overwhelming pupil-teacher ratio. The teacher of this day must have experienced unplumbed depths of frustration and despair.

The simple curriculum of Colonial days, which consisted of reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic, and the Bible, had expanded prior to 1900 to include literature, language, geography, history, nature study, drawing, music, play and physical education, sewing, cooking, and manual training. For the few who attended secondary schools, the curriculum was coldly academic and formal. Some poorly financed and remote schools, to be sure, had added little to the Colonial school curriculum; but in many of the cities, new content was in the process of being incorporated into the educational program.

Nevertheless, everywhere there was general ferment in education, and the beginnings of experimentation and scientific method were being introduced by a series of daring philosophers and teachers. No adequate treatment of the ideas of the great educational leaders of the period can be incorporated into a single chapter. Many commentaries on their contributions have appeared, and their original writings are available and are read perhaps more widely today than when they were first published. Many of their ideas are being restated in contemporary nomenclature and supported as containing the solution to present-day educational problems. The reasons for the greatness of these leaders is partially stated in the comments that follow.

Colonel Francis W. Parker said that the motivation behind his activities in education was an intense desire to see the mind and soul of the child grow. Parker was influenced by European educational theorists, particularly Rousseau, Pestalozzi, and Froebel. After a year of study and observation in schools abroad, he found the opportunity to translate some of these theories into practice in Quincy, Massachusetts. In his report to his board of education in 1879, he described his method simply as an effort to apply established principles of teaching (14). Cremin quotes Parker's description of his school in Chicago as "a model home, a complete community and embryonic democracy" (15). Parker worked with his faculty and inspired them to move the child to the center of the educative process. With them, he strove to interrelate the subjects of the curriculum in such a way as to enhance their meaning for the children and help them to see relationships. Adolph E. Meyer says that Parker inveighed "against the stuffing of the memory with multitudinous, meaningless facts" (16). His goal was to educate children to live cooperative and mutually helpful lives. On one occasion, John Dewey called Parker "the father of progressive education." The fact that John Dewey sent his son and daughter to Parker's school indicates that the objectives of the program and the methods in use were in accord with his own philosophy.

John Dewey was greatly impressed by the quality of Colonel Parker's work. In 1896, he established his own school at the University of Chicago. While guiding the program of this unique school, Dewey published *My Pedagogic Creed* in 1897 (17). This document of 14 printed pages cannot be summarized, for it is a distillation of what a profound philosopher had come to believe education should be. In it, he attempts to answer these questions: What is education? What is the school? What is the subject matter of education? What is the nature of method? What is the relation of the school to social progress? The study of this brief document and its elaboration in many of Dewey's books by the teachers of America have created a pervasive philosophical foundation for education in a democratic society.

In introducing the writings of John Dewey, Frederic Mayer says:

> John Dewey (1859-1952), in such works as *Democracy and Education,* left a lasting imprint upon American civilization. To Dewey, education is a continuous process without frontiers and *a priori* concepts. He believes in a new approach to logic, so that it can become a genuine tool of discovery. He favors the scientific method as the model for all investigators. As an instrumentalist, Dewey is the inveterate foe of all absolutism (18).

Adolph E. Meyer says that *Democracy and Education* (19) "served as a prime mover in the remaking of America's educational theory" (20). Dewey's theory of education is based on the idea that we learn best by doing and that arbitrary external standards are harmful to growth. He believed that education must begin with psychological insight into the child's capacities, interests, and habits. He believed that schools are most effective when they help the child to share in the inherited resources of the race and to use his powers for social ends. He believed that the child's own social activities should be the starting point in his education rather than the organized subjects in which content has been categorized for adult convenience. He believed that children should have literate hands as well as literate minds, developed through direct experiences in the industrial arts. He believed that interest stimulates effort. He believed that education is the fundamental method of social progress and reform.

Cremin says of the Laboratory School at the University of Chicago:

> By the time Dewey left Chicago for Columbia in 1904, the school had become the most interesting experimental venture in American education, indeed, there are those who insist that there has been nothing to match it in excitement, quality, and contribution (21).

Although John Dewey never again was responsible for the operation of a school during his long and productive life, it would be difficult to find a school in America today on which his long shadow has not rested and that has not been directly or indirectly influenced by his ideas.

The Child-Study Movement

The late nineteenth century also witnessed the emergence of psychology as a distinct social science. The pioneering work of G. Stanley Hall (1846-1924) at Clark University bridged the centuries (22). In 1881, Hall published a syllabus for the study of children and encouraged his students to make significant and systematic studies of children's interests and activities. Stimulated by Hall, his students made studies of deaf children, of the ways children's personalities develop, of subject matter and methods suitable at various maturity levels. Questionnaires were widely used to collect all sorts of data about the nature and the needs of children. Hall had the courage to draw conclusions on the basis of this data even when they conflicted with traditional thought and practice. These early scholarly efforts were later assimilated into educational psychology and contributed importantly to the foundation of a science of education.

New concepts of education were emerging. Child study became increasingly important in the education of teachers. School people were beginning to accept the idea that it is important for the teacher to know as much about the individual child as possible. They were beginning to realize that the more a teacher can know about a child—his home background, his previous experiences, his inherent capacity and interests—the better the teacher can serve him. School people were beginning to recognize the wide range of individual differences in children and that effective education must be adjusted to these differences. Finally, school people were beginning to understand that the child's school experiences profoundly influence his personality development and that how the teacher treats the child was probably far more important than the specific subject matter the teacher provides for the child to learn. Even as early as 1920, informed teachers were aware of concomitant learning: If a child were taught anything by a method which made him abhor the subject and avoid it whenever possible, then little has been gained through the teacher's effort.

At the University of Missouri, Junius L. Meriam (23) founded a laboratory school in 1904 and carried on extensive experimentation in curriculum development for the next 20 years. Many private schools and certain public schools developed educational programs designed to enlarge the lives of their pupils. They came to be spoken of as "progressive schools" and were visited by teachers from all parts of the country who were seeking a more meaningful education for all children.

In 1897, James Earl Russell became the dean of Teachers College, which had received a charter from New York in 1889 and had entered into an alliance with Columbia University in 1893. To Dean Russell, Cremin ascribes "an uncanny ability to find talent, attract it, and encourage it to fruition" (24). Soon Teachers College became the mecca for educators who sought to improve their professional knowledge and competence. The great men and women who constituted the faculty of Teachers College during these early decades and in subsequent years covered a wide scope of educational interests. They continue to illumine educational thought and practice today. Dewey, himself, was a lodestar on the Teachers College faculty for many years.

Edward Lee Thorndike exerted a tremendous influence on American education because of his studies in psychology. The curriculums of the schools were affected for a very long time by connectionistic psychology. William Bagley supported Thorndike's position. Thomas Briggs, another member of the same faculty who was primarily concerned with the field of secondary education, subscribed to the philosophy that the school should teach the pupil to do better what life will require him to do anyway, while at the same time raising his vision to higher possibilities. Vigorous debates between the progressives and the traditionalists enlivened professional conferences.

The ideas discussed and taught chiefly at Teachers College were by no means the exclusive possession of one institution. Other colleges and universities made substantial contributions to a more lifelike education for children. The work of Boyd Bode at the Ohio State University produced an army of zealous workers committed to the philosophy of John Dewey enhanced with overtones of the original, philosophical thought of Bode. From this institution came another group of workers who believed that education is actual living, not just preparation for eventual living; that education is a process of growth, a never-ending reconstruction of experience; that education is a social process, and that to further it the school must itself be a democratic society.

The Measurement Movement and Its Impact on the Curriculum

Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon, working with mentally deficient children in France, were the first to develop instruments for the measurement of intelligence. When these tests were published in 1905, H. H. Goddard of the Vineland, New Jersey, institution for the feeble minded translated and used them. In 1914, Lewis M. Terman of Stanford University revised the scale for use with normal children. This testing device became known as the Stanford Revision of the Binet-Simon Tests for Intelligence.

Since each test required that it be given by a trained person and since a test required an hour or more to administer to each child, Terman, Arthur S. Otis, and many others turned their attention to the development of group tests of mental ability. These tests were administered to classes throughout the country.

Although the reliability of intelligence tests has been seriously questioned over the years, they were widely used, and many children were classified and grouped for instruction on the basis of their intelligence quotients. The studies of George D. Stoddard and Beth Wellman of the State University of Iowa at an early date challenged the permanence of the ratings secured.

The development of tests of school achievement occurred about the same time. A study by Joseph M. Rice on spelling achievement aroused a furor (25). The study revealed that children who spent 30 minutes a day on spelling for 8 years did not spell any better than those who spent only half the time. In 1912, the Department of Superintendence, now the American Association of School Administrators, received a report of Rice's findings in spelling and other studies and voted against endorsement of the measurement movement. But 2 years later, it reversed itself after receiving a favorable report from its committee on tests and standards.

The experimentation of Edward L. Thorndike at Teachers College, Columbia University, was largely responsible for the subsequent development of the measurement movement. Although Thorndike was interested in curriculum, his influence in American education was confined primarily to psychology, research methods, and measurement (26). Stone's Reasoning Test in Arithmetic appeared in 1908, and Thorndike's Scale for Measuring Handwriting in 1910.

By 1920, the measurement movement was firmly established in the American schools. Thorndike convinced the profession that anything that existed at all existed in some quantity and could be measured. Standardized tests seemed to provide factual, objective evidence in mathematical terms. It was a backward school system, indeed, that did not have a "testing program" and did not administer "batteries" of tests annually or semiannually. The apparent objectivity of the test results had a fascination for school administrators and teachers. Certainty seemed somehow to attach to these mathematically expressed comparisons of pupil achievement.

Frequently, the results of tests were wisely used to diagnose learning difficulties of individual children. Teachers came to see the need to individualize instruction to meet these differences and that group instruction was frequently wasteful. Sometimes test results were recognized as an indication of the need to modify curriculum requirements that were too difficult for the maturity of some pupils or not sufficiently challenging for others.

Unfortunately, test results were often improperly used. Schools and classes were compared with one another without taking into consideration differences in school populations within a community. The quality of teaching was judged on the basis of pupils' achievement, again without due regard for differences in the composition of classes. Since the "batteries" did not encompass all the subjects in the curriculum, teachers skipped subjects in which no measurement instruments were available or used, and so children were denied important developmental learning experiences. Art, music, literature, science, and social studies were the casualties because their outcomes were more intangible and less easily measured. When a teacher knew a child's IQ and his scores on an achievement test battery, it was a temptation to lower or raise expectancies for the child and "teach to the IQ." The child's self-concept was largely influenced by his teacher's judgment of his ability.

In any event, 1920 saw the schools of the country intrigued by scientific measurement. Subjects which could not be measured lost prestige in the curriculum. Schools set up research divisions to give, score, and interpret results. Tests and test makers increased phenomenally. Teachers scored tests endlessly and were required to take courses in tests and measurement. Tests became a part of the course of study in many school systems. A new vocabulary was zealously used by the "in" group. The teacher or supervisor was old fashioned who did not have conversational facility with "means," "medians," "modes," "probable errors," "standard deviations." Even the pupils knew about IQ's and were fully aware of the effect of their individual IQ on teacher and parent acceptance.

Trends in Curriculum

The National Society for the Study of Education is a professional organization of teachers and officers in school systems and universities which promotes the investigation and discussion of educational problems. Founded in 1895 as the National Herbart Society and later called the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education, the Society publishes annual yearbooks on given subjects.

An examination of the yearbooks of the National Society for the Study of Education from 1902 to 1920 reveals interesting curriculum trends. Many cross-currents of theory and practice were evident. During this period, the Society published its annual yearbook in two parts, with the exception of 1916 when the fifteenth yearbook was printed in three separate parts. In all, 39 volumes were published, 14 of which were concerned with the curriculum of the elementary school. These include four volumes on minimum essentials and economy of time in elementary school; two each were devoted to history and to the kindergarten; and one each to the subjects of geography, nature study, English (including secondary school curriculum), health, agriculture, and the gifted child.

The two volumes on minimum essentials (27) and the two volumes on economy of time in education (28) had their genesis in the work of the National Department of Superintendence's Committee on Economy of Time in Elementary and Secondary Education. The various yearbook committees found the selection of minimum essentials a complex problem beset with theoretical and practical difficulties. Representative curriculums the country over were examined to determine the consensus of experience and practice concerning the topics to be included and the time to be allotted to each. The first yearbook in this series treated reading, handwriting, spelling, composition and grammar, arithmetic, geography and history, and literature. Each subject was prepared by an eminent contemporary authority in the field.

That the schools of the country were eager for guidance in determining what the school should teach was manifested by the great interest in the first report on minimum essentials. Used in classes for prospective teachers, as a guide to curriculum development in local school systems, and by many state departments of education, its influence persisted for many decades.

By 1917, the second report on minimum essentials appeared (29). The subjects treated were essentially the same as the previous volume. A chapter had been added on the library, with a list of graded supplementary reading books and readers recommended for elementary schools. A minimal spelling list had been included. A subject not included in the first yearbook on minimum essentials had been added and titled "Minimum Essentials of Physical Education and A Scale for Measuring Results of Physical Education."

Mention should be made of other trends in the National Society for the Study of Education yearbooks that were significantly related to elementary and secondary school curricula of the 1900-20 period. Educators were thinking about the role of the schools as community centers in urban and rural areas (30). One yearbook indicated that the gap between theory and practice was already a concern early in the century (31). Three yearbooks attested to the fact that scientific measurement was strongly in the focus of attention in the twenties (32). John Dewey was chairman of the committee that prepared, as early as 1904, a yearbook on the relation of theory to teacher education (33). The importance of professional supervisory direction in the guidance of teachers and in the improvement of instruction was emphasized in two volumes in 1913 (34).

The Schools and World War I. Toward the end of these decades of ferment in educational thinking, the nation was engaged in World War I. Philander P. Claxton, who served as commissioner of education from July 8, 1911, to June 1, 1921, provided an excellent report of the effect of the war on the schools. His 1918 report states that immediately after our entrance into the war on April 6, 1917, young men and women in colleges and universities entered the services and war industries in great numbers; by the end of the year enrollment at these institutions had been reduced by more than 25 percent. Commissioner Claxton stated further that—

> Both students and teachers in schools of all kinds and grades have responded with the finest spirit of loyalty and patriotism to all the demands of the Government and have volunteered their services and hearty cooperation in every movement for the good of the country, for the comfort and welfare of the soldiers and sailors, and for the relief of suffering caused by the war both at home and abroad. No other class of our people have shown a finer spirit. In this service the schools of all grades have justified themselves as democratic institutions and have won still more fully the confidence and support of the people (35).

An effort was made, however, to interfere as little as possible with regular schoolwork. The aim of the government was that "no boy or girl should have less opportunity for education because of the war" (36). Willing to make all necessary sacrifices for the winning of the war, the people were not willing to sacrifice the education of their children.

Schools were used for wartime activities having educational values. Pupils enlisted in drives for liberty loans, thrift stamp sales, and Red Cross aid. Children and youth participated in the production of food and in harvesting crops when the labor supply was inadequate. School-directed home gardening enriched the lives of pupils of all ages through direct experiences which many had not had before.

The modifications in the school curriculum were inevitable. The work in the schools was vitalized and became more meaningful, particularly in history, geography, civics, language arts, and the sciences. Children and youth approaching military age alike experienced a close relationship with other parts of the world usually remote. International concerns became live materials of class discussion.

Commissioner Claxton recognized that war times seem always to generate interest in education of young children and that World War I was no exception (37). Congress made an appropriation at this time for the investigation of kindergarten education. The Office of Education prepared articles on the training of young children that were distributed through 2,000 newspapers and magazines whose aggregate circulation was 33 million. A publication was sent to 10,000 kindergarten teachers containing suggestions for the social guardianship of young children.

During the war, kindergarten teachers participated in a vast array of activities: weighing and measuring of babies; maintaining fresh-air funds, programs of nurses in congested city districts, and the services of ice and milk stations; supervising summer kindergartens, playgrounds, and war gardens; organizing neighborhood circles and doorstep meetings for mothers in cooperation with agencies for Americanization in neighborhoods of recent immigrants.

The Office of Education recognized that more and better kindergartens in the United States was one means of protecting the second line of defense. Kindergarten training schools were established. Reading courses were organized for kindergarten teachers in service. These included readings on educational classics, appreciation of child life, principles and methods of education, kindergarten education, sociological aspects of education, appreciation of nature and hygiene, religious and moral education (38). Campaigns were planned for extension of kindergarten education in Texas, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and other states where laws favorable to the establishment of public kindergartens were in operation. The International Kindergarten Union was recognized as a great force in the extension of kindergarten education. Members participated in the preparation of a publication which presented the recommended curriculum for kindergarten education.

The work of the kindergarten was already affecting the first grade. The National Council of Primary Education advocated the need for movable furniture, a space for games and free dramatization, and the kind of materials that would carry on the processes already begun in the kindergarten. The Council further recommended an increasing emphasis upon activities in which the children exercise their own initiative instead of having the work of all class periods prescribed by the teacher (39).

The war provided an impetus to the states to improve their schools. Commissioner Claxton's report for 1918 indicates that in the period from 1915 to 1918, eight states enacted laws providing for statewide physical education instruction: Illinois in 1915; New York in 1916; New Jersey, Nevada, Rhode Island, and California in 1917; Delaware and Maryland in 1918.

Rural youth were recruited into war industries throughout the nation, and there was great emphasis on skilled and semiskilled occupations that could be learned in a few weeks or months. It was clear to all that the rural schools had been offering a meager education; this was confirmed by the number of men who were rejected by the armed services for physical and mental deficiences. Secondary education was found wanting in vocational training, and Congress responded by passing the Smith-Hughes Vocational Education Act of 1917.

Much attention was focused on rural education. States such as Colorado and Oklahoma began to add rural supervisors to state department staffs (40). This action constituted the greatest promise for improvement of the curriculum of rural schools. The value of rural supervision had already been demonstrated by such state programs as New Jersey's notable work in directing and enriching the curriculum through the "helping teacher" program (41).

States worked for increased support of rural schools, broader programs of instruction and better administration through consolidation of local school districts, higher qualifications for teachers, provision for rural school supervision, and better measures for enforcing compulsory school attendance. Forty-three state legislatures were in session during 1919, and nearly all of them, according to the commissioner, considered some legislation concerning rural education.

> Alabama, Delaware, Georgia, and West Virginia made sweeping changes in their laws to insure more effective school administration as a result of the efforts of their state departments of education. Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Delaware placed the appointment of their chief state school officer in the control of a lay state board of education (42).

The people were challenging their state departments to provide more effective services for rural education.

DECADES OF PHILOSOPHICAL CONFLICT: 1920 to 1940

Conflicting philosophies of education occupied the spotlight from 1920 to 1940. At least three distinct trends vied with each other for attention: continuing emphasis on curriculum based on specific subject matter and a connectionistic psychology; the scientific movement; and the activity curriculum. The result was that contradictory practices were frequently followed simultaneously in the same school system as school people attempted to follow the guidance of leaders who were viewing education from widely different points of view.

G. Robert Koopman, director of curriculum in the Michigan State Department of Education from 1947 to 1961, attributes the tremendous educational vitality of this period to "the professionalization of teaching and the elevation of education to the graduate level occurring at about the same time." These factors contributed to "the emergence of strong personalities in all fields of education" (43).

Enough progress had been made in previous decades to stimulate a flood of new professional publications on curriculum. Books by Franklin Bobbitt, Boyd H. Bode, Frederick G. Bonser, Hollis Caswell, W. W. Charters, Ellsworth Collings, Fannie W. Dunn, Paul R. Hanna, Gertrude Hartman, L. Thomas Hopkins, William Heard Kilpatrick, Mary H. Lewis, Charles McMurray, Annie Moore, Lois Coffey Mossman, Caroline Pratt, Harold O. Rugg, and many others were widely distributed, read, and discussed. They also provided the foundation for curriculum development in the states and in local school districts.

Charters said only 56 curriculum studies had appeared in the 10 years prior to 1923. In succeeding decades, literally thousands of studies were published as a result of extensive research which pushed out new boundaries in curriculum content and in techniques of curriculum construction. These had been clearly foreshadowed in 1900, but their innovations in theory were now reflected in action in the schools; theories were translated into practices. The philosophical conflicts of the period from 1920 to 1940 deepened those of previous decades in that their uses and misuses in the schools became known to millions of citizens.

Tendencies in Nursery and Kindergarten Education

The doctrines of Dewey were generally acceptable to educators, particularly as they applied to young children. They fitted so well the accepted philosophies of Pestalozzi, Froebel, and Herbart that no great reversal in thinking was demanded of teachers who had been imbued with the work of these earlier philosophers as a part of their professional education.

The reports of the commissioner of education for 1918 and 1919 expressing great interest in the education of young children became more specific in the 1920 Report. A section devoted to "Tendencies in Primary Education" presented basic considerations with implications for the curriculum for young children that continue today as lively subjects for discussion and study. The 1920 Report pointed out that—

> Heretofore the child's accomplishment in the subject of reading for the first year of his school life has been the unit of measurement in most schools in the United States. If he could read a page of the first reader at the end of the first year he was promoted. If he stumbled through the reading exercises . . . he was accounted a failure and was required to take the work over. He reentered the school the second year . . . and dragged his weary spirit through a repetition of the successes and failures of his first year's experience (44).

The Report recognized that "retardation never yet brightened a child's intellect." About one pupil in four failed at the end of the first year. The lack of efficiency in this method of early education was recognized. The proposal was made to take "a simple measure of his mental ability," using the Binet scale and then adapt the course of study and methods of teaching to his degree of competency. The Report told of the methods by which two cities had grouped children homogeneously, a solution to the problem which appeared to be unquestioningly accepted. However, homogeneous grouping has been the subject of debate through succeeding decades, particularly as the profession came to understand the effect of the child's self-image on his learning.

With regard to the primary program, the Report stated that although "much is said regarding the child's experience as a potent factor in the primary curriculum," it is "ignored in the primary courses of study." The average primary classroom is a place where—

> The formal subjects of study still occupy the primary teacher's program, and drills and mechanical exercises receive most of her attention. A certain number of pages of the reading book, of combinations in numbers, of families in phonic drills are still the level for accomplishment (45).

Tribute was paid to the Nineteenth Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, for which Charles H. Judd of the University of Chicago served as chairman. It presented a series of reading lessons based on the actual experiences of the children. These illustrations drawn from schools in Wisconsin, Missouri, Ohio, and New York indicated that an experience approach to reading was already widely used in schools where teachers were aware of the problem of motivation in a child's learning to read.

School systems in many states were organizing the curriculum for young children into larger units of study and drawing materials from many subject matter fields. The interest of the children was challenged in these integrated units of life experience because these units were related to the young child's immediate environment and helped him to understand relationships within it. The 1920 Report gave recognition to school systems in Michigan, Maryland, Ohio, Nebraska, Illinois, and Wisconsin for pioneer innovations in organizing curriculum into larger units. In fact, "from the West, the East, the North, and South reports are coming . . . of studies made in many localities which indicate a decided tendency in this direction" (46).

In the 1927 Report of the commissioner of education is the earliest reference to the interest of the Office of Education in nursery school education:

> One city has added a nursery school as a laboratory for its department of research in which the school workers in psychology, educational theories, and home economics cooperate. Another has two nursery schools as laboratories for its high school students registered in home economics courses, and still another had made the nursery school a

part of its department of kindergarten-primary education (47).

Although the contemporary nursery school educator would deplore the use of young children as means to other ends, however worthy, it is regrettable that these early evidences of recognition of the importance of child development laboratories in public schools did not receive immediate approval and support by school administrators and the public.

Five years later, in the 1932 Report, further evidence appeared to indicate how slowly change is accepted:

> Among the newer movements in education is the organization of nursery schools. In 1920 there were about three such schools, now there are more than 300. In order to furnish information regarding this field, which seems to have so much promise, not only for the education of very young children but the education of parents in child care, a bulletin has been prepared on nursery schools (48).

Again, the 1937 Report of the commissioner of education lists "nursery school" and "parent education" as among "the newer fields," salutes the "pioneers" in these programs, and expresses approval of the expansion of these services (49).

In 1938, the Pennsylvania Department of Public Instruction established a parent education program, following the lead of New York and California, where such programs were already in successful operation under the guidance of thoroughly qualified staff members (50).

The first kindergarten in the United States was established in 1855 in Watertown, Wisconsin, and the second shortly thereafter in Columbus, Ohio, both by students of Froebel and both taught in German. In 1860, Elizabeth Peabody, a sister-in-law of Horace Mann and Nathaniel Hawthorne, opened the first English-speaking kindergarten in Boston. The early history of kindergarten in the United States is a fascinating one, involving such names as the Alcotts, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William T. Harris, and Kate Douglas Wiggins. These leaders, far ahead of their times, recognized the strategic importance of the early years of life (51).

Legislation making kindergarten an integral part of the New Jersey public school system was passed in March of 1900. Even though only a few municipalities took advantage of the law at once, there was in 1900-1901 a reported enrollment of 15,066. The state superintendent endorsed the kindergarten because, as he said, in it "the spontaneity and joy of play is gradually and skillfully brought to bear upon work and the child thus early and unconsciously is made aware that enthusiasm lightens labor" (52).

During the 1920's, the impetus to extend kindergarten education continued. The General Federation of Women's Clubs began a campaign which had as its object kindergarten education in every elementary school in the United States. State kindergarten chairmen carried on surveys and stimulated local interest through programs and publicity. Effort on the part of many professional organizations was described in the 1920 Report of the commissioner of education. As a result of this effective work in many communities, lay and professional groups established kindergartens. Pennsylvania appointed a kindergarten supervisor who functioned to extend kindergarten and primary school in those cities where kindergartens were already established (53).

In 1921, the commissioner of education again emphasized the efforts of the states and local school systems to extend kindergarten education. In cooperation with the pioneer professional organization, the International Kindergarten Union, bulletins were developed on housing and equipment, the health of the kindergarten child, programs for mothers' meetings, and a curriculum for primary grades based on a previous Office of Education bulletin on kindergarten curriculum. Present-day educators will note that as early as 1921 Mary Dabney Davis, a specialist in the Office of Education, was aware of the importance of providing "proper coordination with the remainder of the public school system" (54).

Under the leadership of Dr. Davis,

the Office of Education continued to promote kindergarten education. In 1923, a motion picture was made, and sets of slides were made available on loan. In 1924, publications were issued with increased emphasis on music and art in the kindergarten program.

In 1926, the commissioner of education reported the 1923-24 statistics on pupils enrolled in public and private schools. At that time 564,363 of the 20,898,930 pupils enrolled in public elementary schools were enrolled in public kindergartens, while the 1,473,145 pupils enrolled in private elementary schools included 54,465 pupils enrolled in private kindergartens. Comparing these kindergarten enrollments with public and private elementary school enrollments indicates the relative progress made in the approximately 70 years since the establishment of the first kindergarten in 1855 (55).

Most of the kindergartens were located in cities, although a majority of the people still lived in rural areas. If kindergarten education had been accessible to all young children in the nation, at least four times as many might have been enrolled in kindergarten by 1923-24. But kindergarten was slowly coming to be recognized as an integral part of the school system, and it emphasized growth and development much more than disciplinary training.

In 1930, the Curriculum Commission of the State of California granted the Office of Education permission to publish a state course of study for kindergarten-primary grades entitled *Teachers' Guide to Child Development,* to replace a 1919 Office of Education publication, *The Kindergarten Curriculum* (56). This publication presented a program providing continuity between the kindergarten and the three primary grades of the elementary school.

Five years later, in 1935, the New York State Education Department published a bulletin entitled *Curriculum Guide for Teachers of Five Year Olds.* Four fundamental principles formed the basis for the guide:

1. Since education is a living thing, experiences which are real to the child should provide the content to be studied.
2. These experiences to be real should be suited to the age-level development of the children in the group and should be near to the children both in time and place.
3. Not only individual differences among children should receive consideration, but also individual differences among groups and in environmental opportunity.
4. The total growth needs of children should be met; that is, the health and emotional-social needs of children as well as their mental development should be considered (57).

The firm position taken by the New York State Education Department in this publication is as educationally sound today as when it was written. The guide defined *curriculum* as the "sum total of experiences provided by the school." The New York State Education Department emphasized that growth is a continuous process, with great variations among children at any one maturity level, and with individual differences in the rate of maturation for many children in their physical, mental, social, and emotional development. It pointed out that variations are due not only to constitutional differences but also to opportunity or environmental differences, even though certain behavior is characteristic of any one age level. It also stated that children use the same material at different age levels to express increasingly complex concepts.

These beliefs have continued to loom large in curriculum development not only for 5-year-olds but for all children, and they are increasingly considered applicable to pupils of secondary school age as well. They foreshadowed our present recognition that education must be adapted to individual children and youth whatever their needs, and further adapted to the needs of groups of pupils of all ages.

Progress in Rural and Urban Education

Perhaps because educational problems were thought to be less acute in the cities than in the open country, the commissioner of education's reports throughout the 1920's included a variety of activities designed to promote improvement in rural education. In 1922, the commissioner reported visits by staff members to 22 states where meetings were held on the problems of the rural school (58). Three current movements in rural education were considered of fundamental importance: (1) consolidation of small, inefficient schools into larger ones offering increased facilities; (2) employment of professionally trained supervisors to aid in improving the work of teachers in service; (3) improvement of one-teacher schools where consolidation is not practical.

By 1927, the commissioner noted that "the nationwide interest in the improvement of school curricula has extended to the field of rural education" (59). Most of the attention to rural education had been centered on better teachers, facilities, and administration of rural education, but now the state departments of education were said to be following modern practices in curriculum making. The trend was to devise an intelligent distribution of the teacher's time among groups of children and among subjects, to balance individual instruction and the socializing values of group instruction.

The following year, the commissioner again recommended statewide study of the educational situation in rural schools and commented favorably on the increase in supervisory personnel and improved library services in many of the states (60). These were the most useful aids available to rural schools at the time.

In 1929, the commissioner again recorded satisfaction with the steadily increasing provision for rural supervision and the spread of library services to rural schools. After mentioning the appointment of a curriculum commission in California, the 1929 Report comments, "It is expected that textbook adoptions will be preceded by programs for curriculum revision" (61). Sufficient time has now elapsed to justify a study concerning the extent to which the commissioner's expectations have been realized. All too frequently the reverse of what the commissioner anticipated has been true: textbooks have been adopted and courses of study then built to conform to them.

The commissioner reported in 1938 that one-teacher schools were being reduced by about 4,000 each year, attributing this to "a clearer realization of the needs of rural people for educational opportunities equal to those provided in cities" (62). Financial aid given by the Public Works Administration to creating employment during the Depression in the form of the construction of new school buildings was probably an even greater inducement to give up the cherished "little red schoolhouse."

Urban schools were fortunately situated, comparatively well financed, and often leaders in curriculum development. The following statement appeared in the 1926 Report of the commissioner:

> The elementary school curriculum in the cities of the country has been reorganized so as to give more time to play, physical training, drawing, music, and the industrial arts, and to the content subjects so as to meet modern city conditions. The relative amount of time given to the 3 R's has diminished from 57.55 percent of the total weekly time allotment in 1904 to 50.50 percent, while the content subjects such as history and geography have increased from 14.42 to 15.53 percent and the special subjects have increased from 27.97 to 33.89 percent. If, however, the increased school year is taken into account, the 3 R's receive practically as much time as they ever did (63).

Although the 1926 Report actually devoted four pages to problems of curriculum, especially as the educational program affects city children (64), it left the reader with many unanswered questions. The ambivalence of educators on how curriculum should be organized may be one reason why so much time is spent on the mechanics of organization for instruction and so little on the genuine content of the curriculum. School people seem to have an unshakable faith that somehow administrative tinkering with organization of classes or curriculum will solve instructional problems.

The 1927 Report stayed on safer ground and approved the efforts in cities to revise arithmetic courses of study to eliminate obsolete topics. It further suggested that curriculum should be in a constant process of revision since conditions are continually changing and our knowledge of child life is being continually modified by new discoveries about the child's nature and his individual and social needs (65).

The 1928 Report enthusiastically stated that the platoon plan, supported by the federal office since 1920, had been adopted by 146 cities in 38 states. It noted, also, that cities were increasing their emphasis on civics instruction, character education, child study, and coordination of the work of the kindergarten with the elementary schools (66).

The 1929 Report again approved the platoon organization (67). The work in cities in safety education and visual instruction and the widespread use of films was approved, as was the work of the Ohio State Department of Education in initiating instruction by radio. If the Office of Education reports for this decade accurately reflect the elementary curriculum situation throughout the rural and urban areas of the country, confusion growing out of conflicting philosophies had preserved the 1920 models practically intact.

Subjects Taught in the Elementary School. According to a study made in 1926 by Carleton H. Mann, schools throughout the United States were spending 51.7 percent of their time on reading, writing, spelling, language, and arithmetic; 11.8 percent of their time on science and social studies; and the rest, or 36.5 percent, on art, music, physical education, and other special subjects (68).

Ten years later, George C. Kyte and Robert H. Lewis conducted a parallel study in 63 cities scattered throughout the country. Their results closely resemble those of Mann's earlier study. Nearly half the time in elementary schools of eight grades was spent on reading, writing, spelling, language, and arithmetic; 16.6 percent of the time was used for science and social studies; and the rest, 34.7 percent, was spent on art, music, physical education, and other so-called special subjects (69).

These studies probably indicate the high value our society placed on literacy, the low value it placed on the arts, and its failure to recognize the importance of civic and scientific knowledge, attitudes, and competencies.

Two notable contributions were made during the 1930's in the field of science education. Cornell University produced a series of useful and inspiring nature study leaflets under the direction of E. Laurence Palmer which were made available to the schools. From 1934 to 1941, the California State Department of Education produced a monthly publication entitled *Science Guide for Elementary Schools.* In the preparation of this series, members of the science departments in all the state colleges participated.

Both of these pioneering efforts in science curriculum were factors in motivating a nationwide effort. Many publishers produced series of textbooks in science for elementary schools. The volume of trade books in the field of science grew in spectacular fashion. Science kits and mobile science laboratories were developed. Models, pictures, slides, films, filmstrips, motion pictures, and recordings were produced to make science experiences as realistic as possible for children. Outdoor science and conservation education were discussed in many professional meetings, and some preliminary experiments were undertaken

In the 1928-30 Biennial Survey of Education in the United States (70), Bess Goodykoontz, Mary Dabney Davis, and Mina M. Langvick noted that several state departments of education had recently issued courses of study or outlines for activity programs in the elementary schools. They reported that the 1930 *Alabama*

Course of Study for Elementary Schools listed many types of activities in each subject of study. In the same year the *California Teachers Guide to Child Development* described in 656 pages an activity program for kindergarten-primary grades, and a similar volume for intermediate grades followed in 1936. In 1929, the North Carolina state superintendent of public instruction issued a report on activity programs, projects, and research studies, and New York published descriptions of classroom activities selected because they indicated the newer philosophy of work.

At the end of the 1920's, however, the conflicting philosophies of the times were still evident in the practices of various schools. Lynd and Lynd observed in their famous Middletown study that—

> The school like the factory is a thoroughly regimented world. Immovable seats in orderly rows fix the sphere of activity of each child. For all, from the timid six year old entering for the first time . . . the general routine is much the same (71).

A sharp contrast to this bleak picture was published at about the same time by Rugg and Shumaker:

> Here is a group of six and seven year olds. They dance; they sing; they play house and build villages; they keep store and take care of pets; they model in clay and sand; they draw and paint, read and write, make up stories and dramatize them; they work in the garden; they churn, and weave, and cook (72).

Everywhere these contrasts were apparent. Elementary schools quite generally were attempting to modernize their instructional practices in harmony with the belief that learning is an active process and that effective instruction consists in creating an environment for children in which many different kinds of desirable learning will take place. Common practice through the country probably fell somewhere between the two descriptions given. Efforts to vitalize learning were complicated by entrenched adherence to traditional grade-level subject matter placement and by attempts to have all children "measure up to national norms" on standardized tests. Tradition and innovation were persistent antagonists.

Growth of State Department of Education Leadership

In all the states, the decades immediately following World War I were years of concern with problems of curriculum revision and development. Prior to this time, the limited staff of state departments of education had been engaged in the difficult task of establishing schools and school systems, developing a legal structure for education, improving existing curriculum, developing teacher education institutions, providing professional direction for teachers, and convincing the public of the importance of making financial provision for free, universal, public education.

Although these tasks were still unfinished at the end of World War I and would continue to occupy the attention of educational leaders, legislative bodies, and the public generally throughout the century, new educational research and the vigorous, new educational philosophy challenged society to establish a more dynamic educational program.

In a study made for the Advisory Committee on Education appointed on September 19, 1936, Katherine A. Frederic analyzed the functions and classifications of state department personnel (73). At no place in this study does she specifically list curriculum development as a function assigned to any staff person. Certain activities reported impinged upon the educational program, including "textbook selection," "school library activities," "school inspection and supervision of the various levels of instruction."

The study reports that in a number of states legislation had been passed providing for the appointment of commissions to select textbooks for use in the schools. The administrative duties involved in the purchase and distribution of approved textbooks were performed by full-time directors or supervisors of free textbooks in these states: Arizona, Arkansas, California, Florida, Illinois, Kentucky, North Carolina, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

The study reports that departments of education in 11 states employed school library advisers, consultants, or supervisors who were responsible for rendering services, including the preparation of book lists, correspondence, meetings, and visits to schools. These states were Alabama, Connecticut, Louisiana, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin. In Louisiana, for example, the supervisor set up library standards, selected and purchased library books, advised on library rooms and equipment, and maintained a placement service for school librarians. Similar duties were performed by the officers in Minnesota, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

All state departments of education maintained contact with the officials of local school systems through the use of such officers as school inspectors, field agents, or supervisors of elementary, rural, and secondary education.

According to this study, a total of 200 professional staff members in 44 states devoted their full time to general supervision and school inspection or to supervision at the elementary and secondary levels. This number seemed very small in view of the size of the task confronting them. In many states, the total number of administrative and professional employees engaged in inspection and supervision of the elementary and secondary schools was smaller than the number of supervisors of vocational education. Federal subsidies for vocational education but not for general elementary and secondary education doubtless accounted for these differences.

Miss Frederic found further that 18 states employed full-time directors for health and physical education and in the related fields of recreation and safety education. In 10 states, professional staff members supervised the educational program for handicapped children. A few departments had supervisors in other fields, such as art, music, and visual education.

Handicapped by a lack of personnel, state departments of education were able to give far less attention to curriculum development than was desirable. Many state supervisors involved qualified persons from city and county school organizations and from teacher education institutions in the production of curriculum material for state use. The quality of these materials was surprisingly good, considering the fact that much of the work involved was done in addition to full-time responsibilities in local school systems, colleges, and universities.

Reviewing conditions in the elementary schools of 1934-36, Bess Goodykoontz said:

> The inadequate training of teachers . . . , the rapid turn-over of teaching staff, the remoteness of many elementary school positions, point emphatically to the importance of inservice training programs. Other things heighten this impression. The typically large classes, the frequently inadequate equipment and the present day conflicts in philosophy, which cannot help but concern teachers, all show the need for wise, constructive, thoughtful plans for helping teachers on the job (74).

State departments of education were well aware of the magnitude and severity of these problems. The entire country was in the process of constructing a new educational program designed to provide more meaningful, more valuable learning experiences for boys and girls.

Publications and limited staff services from state departments were of increasing assistance. The Michigan State Department of Education, for instance, issued publications to describe superior classroom practices. The California State Department of Education, under the leadership of the chief of the Division of Elementary Education, issued the *California Journal of Elementary Education,* a quarterly published from 1932 to 1963, which reported outstanding teaching activities of the entire state. Many state departments, such as those in Tennessee, Alabama, Virginia, California, and New Jersey, made encouraging gains in supervisory services in the difficult Depression years.

Education and the Depression Years. The 1920's were years of economic well-being and business expansion. In education, too, the twenties reflected the optimism of the general society. School people were in pursuit of exciting ideas. These were years of intensive study, vigorous discussion of controversial issues, and vital conferences in which experiences were shared. They were years of experimentation in schools and of research in the colleges and universities.

The stock market crash in October of 1929 brought on devastating economic conditions which affected every aspect of American life, including education. George S. Counts saw in the tragic suffering caused by the Depression a new responsibility for the school (75). Many leaders of the 1920's had centered education on the individual, but their ideas had not become established in practice in more than a minority of schools and were not well understood by the general public. Counts saw education as an important instrumentality of social change, functioning in the redefinition of social goals and in the guidance of needed social action to meet the needs of all the people. He suggested that such was what democracy required, but the business community believed that the time had not come to reappraise the economic structure. Counts continued his efforts along different lines. He and his associates were largely responsible for the founding of the Educational Policies Commission, which was formed in 1935 to provide a means of unifying the profession on educational issues which would confront the nation.

In any event, the problem of the disadvantaged who have been poorly educated remains with us. Some Rooseveltian programs of the Depression years, such as the National Youth Administration, alleviated much suffering among young people out of school and out of work. However, it was not until the passage of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 that the schools played a leading part in governmentally organized efforts to release large numbers of disadvantaged children and youth from the burdens of poverty.

At any time of crisis, progress in curriculum development is impeded because of curtailment of staff, new responsibilities created by the critical situation, and uncertainty about the direction change should take and what priorities should be recognized. The Depression era was no exception, but in quiet and persistent ways the 1930 Report of the commissioner of education indicated broad changes in educational viewpoints.

A new reorganization of the Office of Education had made kindergarten, elementary, and secondary education a part of the Division of American School Systems. Studies were made by the kindergarten and elementary staffs on nursery schools in the United States, the organization of supervisory units for kindergarten-elementary grades, kindergarten-primary education, and current practices in the construction of state courses of study. The Office of Education staff endeavored to analyze current state courses of study and to secure statements from state education officials to discover what policies were prevailing in the determination of the elementary school curriculum.

The Office of Education participated in the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection and presented the section on health education curriculum. The Office of Education specialist in kindergarten-primary education worked with the Department of Kindergarten-Primary Education of NEA to prepare a national conference program on the practicability of activity curriculums. The results of the conference were published in 1929 as a bulletin of the National Education Association under the title *Activity Curriculums at Work*.

In 1931, studies were carried on by the Office of Education concerning children's interests, how to make a course of study in science, and on the out-of-school activities of fourth-, fifth-, and sixth-grade children (76). Similar studies continued in succeeding years.

The Depression years were critical for schools of all types. In 1933, the commissioner of education reported 1-year budget reductions averaging about 7 percent in city school systems and 5.5 percent in rural schools (77). Such financial retrenchments became cumulative year after year and led to shortened school terms, the closing of many schools, larger classes, the employment of thousands fewer teachers each year, and the elimination of many school departments and services. Major reductions were made in the already meager salaries of teachers. A widespread spirit of criticism of the schools continued to be expressed in demands for further restrictions.

The staffs of teacher training institutions were also reduced; while their teaching loads increased, their incomes were seriously curtailed—all of which had a deteriorating effect on staff morale. Prospective teachers who could afford to remain in college received poorer instruction and little inspiration from harassed and demoralized instructors. Upon graduation, young teachers were unable to find the positions for which they had prepared and were forced to turn to Works Project Administration projects, to relief, or to whatever form of employment they could find. The effect on these young people was that many never entered the profession of their choice. Morale in secondary schools suffered because the relevance of the studies to their future lives was seriously doubted by many students.

Brave efforts at curriculum improvement to meet the needs of all children and youth suffered in the Depression, but the crisis may have generated a willingness to accept some changes. With local financing of schools often failing, a trend toward increased state responsibility for the financial maintenance of public education slowly gained momentum after 1920, thereby reversing the decline that had been apparent since 1900. In the 1930's, this trend accelerated greatly to make public education more nearly a state responsibility in fact as well as in legal and educational theory. The proportion of total current costs of public education paid through state taxes almost doubled during the 1920-40 period, reaching nearly 30 percent, and then continuing to increase until in 1950 they supplied 40 percent of these costs. State financing remained at or near that percentage up to 1968, when the greatly increased costs of education made state aid for elementary and secondary public schools approach $12 billion, or several billions more than the entire budget of the federal government for all purposes in 1932 (78).

The principle that the entire wealth of the state should be taxed to support public education for all the children of the state accords with the principle enunciated by Horace Mann. Taxing property, retail sales, and income on the state level and using the funds for education wherever the children and youth live thus became an effective factor in equalization of educational opportunities in our system of educational finance.

Commissioner John W. Studebaker also noted in 1936 that the curriculum was beginning to reflect increased emphasis on social change (79). Objectives were being stated in terms of increased opportunity for social well-being and the maximum development of each child and youth rather than curriculum goals confined to the learning of textbook subjects.

Emergency nursery schools established with federal funds were giving the country experience in the value of educative experiences for very young children, but as operated by the Works Progress Administration they were under attack. They were about to be disbanded when World War II darkened the horizon and another emergency replaced that caused by the Depression. Almost without a break in their operation, the WPA nursery schools became child care centers under the Lanham Act, established primarily so that mothers could work in war jobs.

In 1938, the commissioner of education noted widespread recognition of the needs of the elementary schools (80). The report enumerated these needs as follows: increased individual guidance, health and recreational services, closer cooperation between home and school, a school organization and curriculum adjustable to individual abilities and interests, and school buildings and equipment adequate to serve the community in its present-day, wide range of activities. The report also noted, as a comparatively recent development, the importance of the development of curriculum laboratories in states and in local school systems. At the end of the 1930's, school systems had recognized the need for such resource centers for curriculum development; these later became an important part of the federal program for educational improvement in 1965.

The following year the commissioner reported that state programs were giving attention to guaranteed minimum school terms; the raising of certification requirements; use of radio and visual aids; extension of library service; increased emphasis upon health, safety, speech, conservation, and character education; and the inclusion of parents and other citizens of the community in the planning of education programs (81).

Conflict and Progress in Secondary Education

At the secondary level, the decade of the 1930's and the first 2 years of the 1940's were especially rich in large, systematic inquiries into purposes of education. Under the sponsorship of the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the chairmanship of Thomas H. Briggs, the Committee on the Orientation of Secondary Education published two major statements (82). The first, in 1936, dealt with 10 fundamental "issues" needing resolution; the second, in 1937, presented a list of 10 fundamental "functions."

Two of the issues discussed in the 1936 report were particularly significant. The first was "Shall secondary education be provided at public expense for all normal individuals or for only a limited number" (83)? This was a major question because the nation's high schools had grown rapidly from an enrollment of fewer than 700,000 in 1900 to more than 6.5 million in 1939, with about two-thirds of all the population between the ages of 14 and 17 in school by 1940.

The secondary schools were under pressure from parents to prepare a larger proportion of their pupils for admission to highly selective and academic colleges. The "name" colleges turned away thousands of applicants each year. With education in the elementary school centering almost universally on individual development as opposed to academic learning, secondary schools were having problems maintaining their academic standards. Throughout the 1930's, they were overburdened by large enrollments of nonacademically minded youths, many of whom were unemployed because of the Depression. By 1940, these schools were forced to reconsider their emphasis on the academic subjects offered to enable a minority of their students to attend selective and subject-centered colleges. The majority of high school students were either uninterested or unqualified to succeed in academic studies as they were taught to satisfy admission requirements set by institutions of higher education.

The Briggs Committee favored admitting "all normal individuals" to high school, including all pupils promoted from the elementary school and dropouts of any age. It also recommended variations of educational offerings to guarantee "legitimate" benefits to pupils and a "social return" proportionate to the tax funds involved in carrying out the more liberal high school admission and retention policies. It urged an increased use of community facilities to assist in the instruction of pupils.

The second issue of special interest in the 1936 report was phrased as follows:

> Granting that education is a "gradual, continuous, unitary process," shall secondary education be presented merely as a phase of such process, or shall it be organized as a distinct but closely articu-

lating part of the entire educational program with peculiarly emphasized functions of its own (84)?

The Committee deplored the disconnected school experiences that many pupils found so difficult "to assimilate and to convert into personal growth," but it said that nowhere had there been a fusion of the pupil's total educational experience in an administrative unit, "nor is it likely that there shall be" (85).

Faced with this dilemma, the Briggs Committee favored unity in the educational process in theory, while concluding that separate secondary schools were necessary to perform effectively all the peculiar functions of secondary education. To bolster as much unity as possible through piecemeal coordination, the Committee suggested such actions as special attention to articulation of separate units by principals and the superintendent; simplification of pupil transfers among school units; elimination of graduation exercises in school units below the senior high school that might imply to the graduating pupils that their school days have ended; better understanding of the full scope of public education by school personnel; unified financial and legal control, and so forth. Perhaps the most important suggestion was that supervision should be vertical from the kindergarten through the junior college (86).

Conditions caused by the Depression hung heavily over the work of the Committee. Leading newspapers were opposing educational appropriations and blaming the schools for the Depression. High schools were called the luxury branch of the public school system. Free high schools and bus transportation for pupils were said to be without foundation in principle and preposterously extravagant. Proposals to close the public schools were not uncommon (87). Some of the conclusions of the Committee seemed to be based more upon lack of funds and failure of public support of education than upon the educational desirability of the changes under consideration.

The American Youth Commission—a committee of the American Council on Education—launched a series of extensive studies in 1935, among which was a survey of education in Maryland entitled *Youth Tell Their Story* (88). The facts it reported made it emphatically clear that the high school curriculum was not meeting the needs of a majority of high school students, especially those with nonacademic interests or who came from disadvantaged educational, cultural, or economic backgrounds.

At about the same time, the State Education Department of New York organized a large-scale study of the "Character and Cost of Public Education," commonly known as the Regents' Inquiry. The director of the study, Luther H. Gulick, summarized the findings and recommendations in a general report, *Education for American Life*, in 1938 (89). Together with nine major supporting studies headed by Leo J. Brueckner, Harold W. Dodds, Edward C. Elliott, Alonzo G. Grace, Charles H. Judd, A. B. Meredith, Gustave A. Moe, Floyd W. Reeves, and Francis T. Spaulding, the Regents' Inquiry recommended substantially a new educational program for New York state (90).

For secondary education, the Inquiry recommended "in addition to the college preparatory program, which has been so much overemphasized, more specific courses and work to fit boys and girls for useful citizenship, for self-support, and for a growing individual life." Specifically, all secondary education should begin at the seventh grade, devote most of its time through the twelfth grade to the study of general science, human relations, community life, world history, general mathematics, and the arts (and a "review" of reading and writing), and present these broad fields of knowledge "in the ways in which they are generally encountered in life and work, and not as semester hours for college entrance" (91).

Francis T. Spaulding, who had been active in many secondary curriculum studies and who later became New York state commissioner of education, wrote the major study report of the Regents' Inquiry on secondary education, which was entitled *High School and Life* (92). This book provides the detailed reasons for the recommendations made by the Inquiry on secondary education, points out that the State Education Department "as a whole has had no coordinated program for the development of secondary education" (93), and links the improved high school programs that were recommended by the Inquiry with suggested plans for reorganization and new policies in the State Education Department in order to make the recommendations effective (94).

Taken together with such of the dramatic early reports of the Educational Policies Commission as those on the "unique function" of education and on the purposes of education in a democracy, these inquiries and reports had a cumulative and powerful effect. With minor variations, they all evinced a deep sense of responsibility for self-realization by all students and for the further flowering of the American democracy. They were not anti-intellectual or anti-subject matter; but they *were* willing to subordinate subject matter and its organization to the two great commitments.

The year 1942 saw the publication of Wilford M. Aiken's *The Story of the Eight Year Study* (95) in Volume I of the general report on the massive effort sponsored by the Progressive Education Association. Its Commission on the Relation of School and College conducted the study with financial support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York from 1932 to 1936, and thereafter from the General Education Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. The project involved 30 secondary schools, and Volumes II, III, IV, and V of the report dealt, respectively, with the topics: *Exploring the Curriculum, Appraising and Recording Student Progress, Did They Succeed in College?* and *Thirty Schools Tell Their Story.*

The chief focus of the study had been on the question of whether success in college depends upon the study of certain subjects for a certain length of time. The answer was in the negative, but the project report dug far deeper into philosophical questions and purposes and called for major changes in secondary education.

Early in 1940, the American Council on Education asked the American Youth Commission, of which Professor Floyd W. Reeves of the University of Chicago was director, to arrange for a special committee to present major changes needed in the secondary school curriculum. The goal was to make specific suggestions of changes that might gain enough support to be practicable for adoption in the schools. The special committee was composed of 10 prominent professionals representing a number of different viewpoints: Thomas H. Briggs, Will French, Charles A. Prosser, Francis T. Spaulding, Ralph W. Tyler, George D. Strayer, Oscar Granger, Willis A. Sutton, Alexander J. Stoddard, and Ben G. Graham, chairman. Their unanimously adopted report was published under the title *What the High Schools Ought To Teach* (96). This influential publication recommended not only that both personal development of pupils and social values should be directly taught and sought by the schools, but also that much reorganized academic subject matter should continue to be taught to explain the past, cultivate the intellect, and prepare for higher education.

The special committee favored reading as a subject of instruction in high schools, outside work by students as a part of the curriculum, and increased emphasis on the social studies. It approved a course of instruction or private reading on personal problems of pupils, including the maintenance of physical and mental health and the study of problems of family life. It suggested that educational experience should be unified for elementary and secondary school pupils by involving more new ideas and new content, and it recommended creative expression through other media in addition to the common reliance upon verbal expression in high schools.

The conventional methods of teaching academic subjects in secondary schools were criticized: English as "formal exercises"; mathematics courses as "stumbling blocks for many pupils"; foreign languages for taking too much time; history for failing to emphasize "achievements of civilization in inventions and the spread of democratic ideals"; and the natural sciences for efforts to "fill the memory with facts rather than stimulate pupils to scientific thinking" (97). The "vicious aspects of the ninth grade" were deplored, with this explanation:

> Pupils in this grade come from the general curriculum of the elementary schools or from the liberal curriculum of the junior high school where exploratory courses have opened up many avenues of interest. The ninth grade puts an end to all general studies. It is essentially a period in which every course is designed as preparation for what is to come later, [in which every course is] seriously lacking in direct appeal to public interests (98).

The special committee's report was for many reasons an excellent mediating influence. It was timely. There was urgency in the committee's deliberations and in the preparation of the report. Three prominent superintendents of local school systems, a private secondary school principal, and the father of the "life adjustment" approach from vocational education, together with five university curriculum experts balanced theory and practice. The resulting report provided a reasonable format which for nearly two decades was of great assistance in moving toward a broad consensus that included much of the best from both the elementary and the higher education approaches to curriculum.

Summary of Trends in Curriculum Development: 1920 to 1940. The 38 publications of the National Society for the Study of Education in the decades between 1920 and 1940 show that curriculum revision and reorganization were practically continuous. These volumes clearly show three educational trends that dominated this period:

First, educators continued to be deeply concerned about subject matter and methods of teaching in the content fields. Eleven volumes covered a variety of subject areas, including English composition, social studies, safety education, arithmetic, science, geography, and music. One volume was devoted to materials of instruction and one to the textbook. Three volumes dealt with reading, probably because of the continuing leadership of William S. Gray, professor of education, University of Chicago.

Second, the scientific movement in education became firmly established and has continued as an enduring force in subsequent decades. The Society devoted 12 volumes to a variety of topics which interpreted the scientific movement to the profession—topics such as intelligence tests, individual differences, educational diagnosis, and the grouping of pupils. Again, certain names and personalities emerged—Frank Freeman, Lois H. Meek, George Stoddard, Lewis Terman, Edward Lee Thorndike.

Third, the activity curriculum established a firm hold on the schools of the nation. The nature and needs of children, personality development, creative expression, and the learning process became the concern of many illustrious educators. The Society devoted five volumes to such trends as child development and the curriculum, the activity movement, and the foundations of curriculum making.

Finally, the Society gave evidence of continued interest in the education of the gifted and in the problems confronting the rural schools of the nation. The appearance of a volume on guidance in 1938 marks the beginning of this significant movement as a firmly established facet in American education.

TURBULENCE AND GROWTH: 1940 to 1958

As war supplanted depression in 1940, the status of the public schools was poor and their prospects were discouraging. While more than 30 million children and youth were enrolled in schools and colleges, the economic crisis had left serious deficits in qualified teachers, operating funds, and physical facilities. World War II preempted teachers for national defense, caused diversion of considerable amounts of financial support from education to other purposes, and ended almost all construction of school facilities. The dilemma posed by this situation left no respite for the public schools.

Public education remained in a position of low status and low priority for the duration of the war. The wartime victories of public school administrators and boards of education often consisted of getting gasoline and tires for school buses, fuel for the school furnaces, supplies and limited equipment for teaching, housewives and retired teachers to replace teachers in industry and the armed services, and professional assistance from a few leaders who held travel priorities.

National priorities for economic survival had superseded state and local priorities for schools during the 1930's. For a decade, federal emergency needs had taken precedence over state and local needs, with federal tax requirements stripping state and local tax resources to poverty levels. The public schools received 97 percent of all of their financial support from local and state sources in 1930, with only about 3 percent coming from the federal government. Local taxes on real estate supplied most of the local share, which was nearly 80 percent of the total cost of public education. The state's share in 1930 was only 17.3 percent of the total. During that decade of economic emergency, local taxes had been first to fail the schools, and this meant that the source from which they received 80 percent of their funds was inadequate to maintain even previous standards of financial support. Local school districts often paid teachers in script, while the teachers struggled under heavier teaching loads and decreased salaries in an economy inflated by war.

Local schools often were kept open by large infusions of state funds, which increased the state share from 17.3 percent of the total operating cost of public schools in 1930 to 29.2 percent of those costs in 1940. This trend continued to 39.8 percent of much larger total costs in 1950. This period, however, ended with the Korean War. Once again, there was federal preemption of tax resources without substantial federal assistance to public elementary and secondary education. This situation prevailed until 1958.

These two decades of depression, war, and educational crisis enlisted the state education agencies and the U.S. Office of Education in efforts to maintain educational services and, at the same time, to bring about some constructive changes in educational services. Curriculum offerings were expanded. Techniques for curriculum development were greatly improved. Larger and more varied resources of personnel and financing were only gradually devoted to curriculum reconstruction until after 1958.

Description of the continuing role of the state education agencies is a major purpose of this section. This calls for an evaluation of their status, some discussion of their role and their capacities, and a number of specific illustrations of their relationships to curriculum development during these years of neglect.

State education agencies necessarily are influenced by their operating possibilities and must be evaluated in that context. In each state, such an agency, operating within the state government with special reference to its legislature and governor, deals with elementary and secondary education on behalf of the state. It has direct relationships with institutions of higher education, the organized educational profession, the local legal agencies for education both individually and collectively, and with private associations of citizens organized for special purposes covering all major viewpoints on educational issues. It is at the center of counterbalancing pressures on these issues and operates within an environment that in practice makes it subject to influences from large segments of the public and the public generally, as well as responsible to the state government of which it is an important part.

It seems natural that John Dewey and other educational innovators and philosophers chose employment by privately controlled higher institutions, quite removed from the local superintendent and local public school boards and their constituencies. Freedom to be radically different in schools usually comes slowly when based initially on popular consent. In evaluating even the largest and perhaps the most effectively free state education department in the country in 1961, Brickell concluded that the New York State Education Department had only limited roles in inducing educational change in the schools of the state (99). This large state department has sought vigorously to implement innovations of the kind Brickell and others suggested and to set up state mechanisms that would stimulate such implementation in local schools, but the obstacles have proved to be great. A concurrent and parallel role that seems better to fit the capacities of state education agencies emphasizes stimulation and coordination of activities of others who are seeking constructive change. The official state agency can facilitate local action through professional leadership and financial assistance, perhaps in ways somewhat analogous to its role in the statewide reorganization of local school districts. The sensitive public character of state education departments seems to indicate emphasis on a coordinating and supporting role.

State education departments probably have served at their best in rather unobtrusive ways. State leadership often has created a favorable attitude for change by giving continuous attention and encouragement to promising innovations suggested from any source. The fact is, however, that whatever criteria for evaluation used, local schools vary widely in quality in most states. State agencies have exercised leadership and provided assistance to bring the less effective school programs up to the level of the more effective ones in the state, and they have sought also to raise the quality of all. Improvements in current teaching that are soundly based in theory but ineffective in practice always exist as a major field for constructive change. Directly and indirectly, and almost anonymously until recently, state education departments have maintained support of the schools and have worked for their improvement. They have seldom, if ever, worked with more quiet effectiveness than during several of the various recurring national emergencies of recent decades.

The U.S. Office of Education has been another source of great assistance to local school systems and to state education agencies during periods of educational emergency. From 1934 to 1948, for instance, Commissioner John W. Studebaker and his staff constituted a leading force for improvement of education at all levels of educational government. Especially proud of his bricklayer's union card and his record in adult and vocational education as superintendent of schools in Des Moines, this vigorous leader worked as though the problems of the local schools and the state education agencies were his own and gave unlimited cooperation in efforts to solve them. His innovative programs drew broad support. His efforts to coordinate local, state, and federal activities in education led to widespread cooperation in programs and in policy development.

Earlier commissioners of education had discovered ways of working with the chief state school officers by bringing them together in annual meetings with the top staff of the U.S. Office of Education and encouraging the organization of the National Council of Chief State School Officers in 1928. The spirit of service and assistance translated into action paralleled and sustained similar practices in state departments of education. Official emphasis on regulation and control gradually gave way to increased services and participation in policy development at all levels of educational responsibility. The work of the Office of Education and its top staff was directed toward the discovery and solution of educational problems in schools throughout the nation. The Office of Education sponsored and conducted cooperative efforts in the state and local education agencies in times of crisis, and in unspectacular fashion it offered leadership in morale building as well as in professional education.

Illustrations of Cooperative Leadership

One of the principal gains before 1958 was widespread emphasis on the cooperative development of elementary and secondary curriculums at the local level and on a statewide basis. Working together with such outside consultants as were available, the teachers and administrators developed school programs and applied them concurrently as they learned in the participatory process. As a result of the policy of conserving and improving without fanfare, the public accepted the results at the local level and, in most instances, appeared to understand them. Decades of neglect and more or less isolation from the educational impacts of fast-moving national and international developments, however, tended to prevent the schools from adapting their programs as rapidly as their problems overwhelmed them. Critics increased after 1950 and in their frustration sometimes attacked the schools more than the problems. In retrospect, it seems to have been an inevitable phase, but until 1958 it surely added to the problems of maintaining and financing the schools.

An example of broad participation in curriculum development was reported in the National Society for the Study of Education's Forty-Fourth Yearbook, *American Education in the Postwar Period*: Part I, "Curriculum Reconstruction," and Part II, "Structural Reorganization" (100). Ralph W. Tyler, then chairman of the Department of Education at the University of Chicago, served as chairman for Part I, and Bess Goodykoontz, then assistant commissioner of education, U.S. Office of Education, served as chairman for Part II.

Part I of the Yearbook, "Curriculum Reconstruction," urged liberalizing the program for preschool children; provided guidance in general techniques of curriculum planning; advocated broadening the objectives of health education; emphasized consumer education, conservation education, and international education; and redefined the relationship of the school to the community it serves.

With regard to the characteristics of a good curriculum program, the authors recommended that all thorough and comprehensive programs of curriculum development—

1. Draw on all available sources of knowledge regarding social values, needs, and problems; the nature of the learner; and the best subject matter or content.
2. Provide for wide participation on the part of teachers.
3. Make in-service training an integral part of the curriculum development program.
4. Secure the cooperation of parents and other lay citizens.
5. Provide leadership for the work of revision (101).

These characteristics continue as essential parts of a good curriculum program. The years since this statement was made have been devoted largely to extending professional knowledge of how to carry on these activities more effectively for children and youth at each maturity level.

In 1955, the Study Commission of the Council of Chief State School Officers requested the Division of State and Local School Systems of the U.S. Office of Education to undertake a study of the curriculum responsibilities of state departments of education. A report by Howard H. Cummings and Helen K. Mackintosh covered the 1950-55 period and was published in 1958. It was a status report on current practices in 48 states and territories and was the first cooperative and coordinated effort to describe individual and group problems in state curriculum development (102).

Cummings and Mackintosh found

that in 1950 about one-half of the state departments had curriculum directors and that elementary and secondary and vocational supervisors were the personnel typically engaged in curriculum work. All state departments engaged in the activity, and there was considerable similarity in the state organizational patterns employed. Among 43 states and territories reporting on the method of financing state curriculum development, 14 had special state appropriations, 6 used both state and local funds, and 9 received grants from foundations and other nonschool sources. There was widespread cooperation with colleges and universities, regional accrediting groups, citizens groups, other departments of state governments, educational associations, and especially with local school systems. The status of curriculum development activities in state departments of education in 1950 was summarized as follows:

> State departments of education are assuming leadership for developing curriculum guides rather than requiring schools to adopt courses of study prepared by a few people or a single specialist.
>
> In exercising leadership State departments work in a cooperative relationship with teachers, supervisors, administrators, parents, civic groups, and other departments of State government.
>
> Some curriculum growth is in response to public demand sometimes expressed through State legislative requirement rather than the result of decisions made by educators. The rapid growth of driver education is probably the best recent example of this trend.
>
> Textbook selection in the individual States shows wide variation. The traditional system of local adoption is still practiced in a large number of States. Many States which make state-wide adoptions provide for multiple lists.
>
> There are far more special supervisors in areas such as vocational education, art, music, health and physical education, and special education than there are general supervisors for the total education program.
>
> Lack of funds has limited many State departments in making studies involving factfinding, research, and evaluation. Such studies are necessary to provide the information essential to a sound curriculum program.
>
> State departments of education are interested in improving the quality of educational programs. However, they rely upon leadership and encouragement rather than imposed arbitrary standards with punitive provisions if such standards are not met.
>
> As a means for an effective partnership between State departments and administrators and teachers in local communities, workshops and work conferences involving hundreds of persons are held each year in the majority of the States (103).

Impacts on the Secondary School Curriculum

In 1944, the Educational Policies Commission, having already published a number of general statements on the nature and purposes of education, turned to questions of implementation. In its massive report, *Education for ALL American Youth* (104), the Commission projected an imaginative and visionary portrait of what secondary schools could become. Immediately, the National Education Association commissioned J. Paul Leonard to do a summary and in that same year brought out his *Planning for American Youth* (105), which had exceptional influence. Perhaps its force derived largely from Leonard's statement of "ten imperative needs of youth." This succinct and compelling statement of purposes, coupled with the parent volume's daring description of organization, captured the imaginations of many schoolmen.

The next major influence in the sense of purposes in secondary education came from a very different source: the faculty of a great university. Under the leadership of President Conant, the Harvard faculty issued its report on *General Education in a Free Society* (106). Although it differed from the others in a somewhat greater reliance on standard school subjects, it was still fairly close to much of the thinking of the period. Its major emphasis was on the development of each young person as a whole, and for this the Harvard faculty prescribed essentially a liberal arts program. Almost surprisingly, it faced up willingly to the needs for specialization, vocational and otherwise, but it worried about potential devisiveness and sought a maximum of common ground.

At about the same time, another committee was approaching the curriculum of the secondary schools from a rather different direction. In a paper on "Vocational Education in the Years Ahead," sponsored by the Vocational Education Division of the U.S. Office of Education, Charles A. Prosser offered what came to be known as the "Prosser Resolution." It pointed out that while the traditional academic program might prepare 20 percent of the youth for college entrance and the vocational program might prepare another 20 percent for desirable skilled occupations, some 60 percent of youth remained who were not likely to receive "the life-adjustment training they need." The resolution called upon the U.S. Office of Education to take the lead in alerting the nation to the problem.

The result was advocacy of a program described in *Life Adjustment Education for Every Youth,* which was circulated in mimeographed form beginning in 1947 and published as a USOE bulletin in 1951 (107). Although the program was originally developed for the 60 percent, it was soon advocated—as the title indicates—for every youth.

The distinguishing characteristic of the Life Adjustment proposal was its emphasis on the "practical," as shown by the major subheads of the booklet's section on "Common Understandings":

Guidance and Pupil Personnel Services
Ethical and Moral Living
Citizenship Education
Self-Realization and Use for Leisure
Health and Safety
Consumer Education
Tools of Learning (Number Arts, Language Arts)
Work Experience, Occupational Adjustment, and Competencies

The Harvard committee would have had little objection to these emphases, at least for the less able students, for they, too, were concerned with that part of a student's education which looks first of all to his life as a responsible human being and citizen, and they were not at all averse to vocational preparation. But there the resemblance ended. For the Harvard group saw the traditional liberal disciplines—adopted as necessary to differences in intelligence and background—as the basic media of the education that was needed. By contrast, the Life Adjustment group, in effect, declared such an approach hopeless for most students and advocated a direct approach to life as these students would live it. Thus, they preferred to talk about reading a newspaper as opposed to reading the classics, and they concerned themselves with the everyday skills of the worker and consumer.

The issue was soon to explode into major debate. In fact, the Life Adjustment group might well have written, "After us the deluge," for they were writing at the end of an era—an era in educational thought which had its roots deep in nineteenth century American progressive thinking. It had its first clear exposition in the *Cardinal Principles.* It rose to a crescendo in the 1930's and early 1940's. It was given its most radical expression by the Progressive Education Association. Despite considerable differences in operational details, it represented a major emphasis on two basic commitments as the purposes of education:

1. A determination to serve the developmental needs of the learner as a whole person

2. A dedication to the development and welfare of the great democratic society.

And, along with these two commitments, there was a considerable willingness to subordinate the selection of subject matter to personal and societal purposes, to jettison whatever was irrelevant to those purposes, and to rearrange the rest into whatever organization might serve best to go straight to the heart of personal and social life.

Knowing how to teach in the "progressive" way was doubtless too much to expect from many teachers in the weakened schools of 1950. Much more was required—more initiative, inventiveness, and vigor—than to teach the content of well organized textbooks in academic subjects and to grade the students on the basis of their recall of the facts and the principles involved.

Suddenly, beginning somewhere around 1950, this whole conceptualization of the purposes of education came into serious question. The Life Adjustment education program was attacked vigorously. There was a generalized charge that the schools had fallen into the hands of anti-intellectuals. Such expressions as "the whole child" became the basis for sneers. And there was increasing insistence on a single-minded attention to intellectual excellence.

An Era of Critical Reappraisal

The spirit of the times lent itself to a barrage of criticism. Energies of school people were diverted from their major responsibilities in meeting postwar educational problems to defending the schools and answering the attackers. Schools can never be perfect, and parents and citizens expect different and irreconcilable purposes and results. To this extent, criticism is always expected. But during the postwar period faultfinding without any evidence derived from study of what was happening in the schools seemed to be the order of the day. The teachers and administrators fought back at critics who attacked them more than the program of the schools. The attackers often had few constructive proposals for improvement other than to return to traditional preparation of a limited number of academically adept students.

The conflict was as much about which and how many youths should be educated as about teaching content and methods. There was some extremism on both sides, and neither gave ground easily or quickly. Adaptations of subject matter in terms of learning levels and relevance to the purposes of education, on the one hand, and more organized and vigorous intellectual activity, on the other, were not brought together in a viable combination for more than a decade.

In spite of the conflict of the 1950's, there was much activity in curriculum development. Much of the groundwork for future developments was laid. For instance, the circumstances that finally brought the "war on poverty" of the 1960's were described fully in 1950 in the findings of the Report of the Sub-Committee on Low-Income Families of the Joint Committee on Economics, under the chairmanship of Senator John J. Sparkman of Alabama. These findings showed a close relationship between low income and sickness and disease, lack of educational opportunity, and lack of any base sense of security. Poverty breeds ignorance and disease, which in turn breed poverty. Individuals, families, and important sections of our population are caught in this vicious circle. Those states which had the poorest schools and the fewest hospitals, doctors, and public health services had also the lowest per-capita income (108). The Sub-Committee's recommendation in 1950 was comprehensive and emphasized education in ways that made it one of the greatest arguments ever advanced for federal aid to education:

> We recommend that local communities, private business and professional groups, and Federal, State, and local governments take all appropriate action to provide opportunities for low-income families to become full partners in prosperous American communities. Concert-

> ed action is required . . . to provide opportunities for the children of low-income families to develop their capacities by suitable education (109).

In 1951, the Educational Policies Commission focused the attention of the profession on responsibility for moral and spiritual values in education (110). In many school systems and in state programs the importance of character education had long been recognized. Directly and indirectly teachers were encouraged to help children really understand, believe, and care about such qualities as honesty, honor, loyalty, duty, justice, cooperation, and compassion, upon which good human relations depend.

Religious history was studied in some schools as a part of the study of cultures, because religion is a significant motivator and determiner of behavior in every culture. Although public schools cannot teach or practice religion under the First Amendment to the Constitution, it is entirely permissible to teach and practice in public schools the ethics which are inherent in all religions.

As intemperate criticism persisted, strong citizen agencies came to the defense of the schools. The National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers proved staunch supporters of the belief that the needs the schools were not meeting could be met through increased interest and cooperative efforts on the part of local school boards, educators, and citizens. The 1952 Report of the commissioner of education pointed out that schools were becoming child-centered and community-centered, that teaching was becoming less a matter of drill and more one of personal experience. Emphasis was on the ability to think, growth of personality, and acquisition of skills.

Most of the critics were not against education. Few really wanted a return to the "Three R's." Evidence existed that the traditional subjects—reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic—were being taught better to a greater percent of the nation's children than ever before. Many of the critics really wanted the schools to do more in physical education, social studies, science, and the arts. The "Three R's" was an unfortunate shorthand slogan for the view that schools should do more for children than they were doing. But less perceptive citizens took the "Three R's" literally, and "Back to the Three R's" became a rallying cry for uninformed citizens and career critics and publicists.

The Role of State Departments in Curriculum Development and Services

The primary business of each state's educational enterprise is that of providing first-quality education to the children and youth of the state. In 1952, the Council of Chief State School Officers recognized the leadership function of state departments of education. With regard to curriculum, the Council said:

> Curriculum service embraces that wide range of materials, activities, and professional leadership designed to improve the efficiency of classroom instruction in all schools of the state. The state department of education should provide leadership to a continuing program of curriculum development. Activity in this field may include stimulation of curriculum study groups; preparation of guides, bulletins and journals; sponsorship of group meetings, workshops and institutes; and furnishing consultative services to encourage leadership on county and local levels (111).

Supervisory service cannot be separated from this concept of curriculum development as a major service area. From whatever governmental level they may be administered, supervisory services to administrators and teachers are essential. They bring about implementation of the curriculum by means of the planning of programs, organization of materials for effective instruction, utilization of modern methods of guiding learning, and evaluation of the outcomes of educational experiences. Many services considered supervisory in nature are essential to the development of curriculum, as in testing with pupils proposed innovations in content and method under carefully controlled guidance. The supervisor uses study groups, workshops, conferences, and demonstrations followed by discussion sessions for in-service education designed to improve the quality of educational experiences of children and youth. Thus, supervision is inextricably related to curriculum development.

In the same way, the quality of the educational experiences depends upon the availability and use of the facilities and materials of instruction. The best materials of instruction available in the 1950's included textbooks, library books, globes, maps, radio and television, reference materials, pictures, films, recordings, and community resources and the wider school environment. The computerized and individualized curriculums were yet to be developed.

Many states, including Michigan, California, and New York, had evolved curriculum development procedures which were later described by Lee M. Thurston and William H. Roe in their *State School Administration* as follows:

> Major curriculum efforts are increasingly directed to a five-pronged approach: (1) to establish state-wide curriculum and coordination through the organized involvement of citizens and educators throughout the state, and thus to encourage the use of local community study improvement, (2) to exercise the accreditation function in such a way as to promote sound educational planning and practice at the local level, (3) to encourage or engage in research which will be useful to state and local groups concerned with curriculum improvement, (4) to give impetus to the development and use of adequate and appropriate materials of instruction, (5) to provide, where appropriate, somewhat intensified assistance in the area of "special services" (112).

The output of state departments of education in curriculum publications during the 1940-65 period shows that these techniques were widely used. The important role of the state department of education in curriculum and other services to local schools was clearly established and recognized locally. This included comparison of sources of influence on curriculum change reported by school principals in 1962 (113). No longer was such leadership limited to giving assistance to disadvantaged rural schools. Methods of cooperation and participation were successfully used to extend leadership to city schools and to coordinate statewide programs of education.

An examination of hundreds of curriculum publications of state departments of education during this period reveals an interesting variety of means used to promote more effective education and a wide range of concerns about the curriculum. Among these were (a) the utilization of new media; (b) the utilization of available resources; (c) kindergarten curriculum materials; (d) areas of special concern, such as health and physical education and art education; (e) comprehensive state curriculum guides; and (f) curriculum problems in the less populous states. Although these categories by no means include all the topics of publications or even all of those subjected to careful examination, they reveal the range of state department curriculum materials.

Utilization of New Media. The 1950's marked nationwide interest in the use of educational television. On March 22, 1951, the Federal Communications Commission reserved 209 channels for educational broadcasting. Much experimentation was launched by school districts and states to develop programs for direct instruction to children and youth. The theory was that the services of highly qualified teachers would become available to large numbers of pupils at all levels of education. Many problems arose in elementary and secondary schools concerning scheduling, provision of suitable equipment for reception, and, above all, the inescapable fact that all pupils in a school system are not ready to make use of the same instruction at the same time.

Other uses for instructional television are being fruitfully explored. Nationwide and statewide broadcasts of complete courses have been successful, especially for high school, college, and adult students. New avenues are opening to the use of ETV by persons of varying ages: broadening children's acquaintances with other parts of the world; following medical and dental procedures in professional schools; learning the steps in an industrial process; acquaintance with poets, painters, singers, scientists, public political figures; and newscasts.

In-service education of teachers has been provided through television series in state history, children's literature, mathematics, foreign language, and many other fields. Colleges and universities have cooperated in such programs and have made it possible for teachers to take examinations and receive college credit for successful completion of television courses. Many of these courses were recorded on video tape or motion picture film for later use with other groups.

Utilization of Available Resources. One means state departments of education found effective was cooperation with colleges, universities, government agencies, and professional associations in the production of curriculum material. Among the many illustrations of such rewarding collaborative efforts that merit special attention, a few will be mentioned here.

The Nambé Community School Project (1939-42) was stimulated by George I. Sanchez, who secured a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to provide a demonstration center. Louis S. Tireman of the University of New Mexico carried on a pioneer project in the development of the community school idea, with emphasis on the teaching of English as a second language. Teachers from New Mexico and the entire Southwest were welcome to visit the Nambé demonstration. Its influence was spread to comparable communities by means of in-service programs sponsored by the New Mexico State Department of Education.

Through the 1950's, the New Hampshire State Department of Education displayed a persistent concern about the preservation of its natural resources. The U.S. Conservation Service, the State Fish and Game Department, the Water Resources Department, Sportsmen's Club, Society for the Protection of New Hampshire Forests, and appropriate faculty members from the University of New Hampshire worked with the State Department of Education in preparation of a publication, *The Wise Use of Natural Resources in New Hampshire: 1954.*

The success of this project influenced further cooperative effort. Paul E. Blackwood and Harold E. Tannenbaum of the U.S. Office of Education, together with members of the faculty of the College of Education, New Paltz State College, New York, worked with a committee in which elementary teachers participated to develop in 1961 an *Elementary School Science Guide, Grades 1-6.*

One innovation from Alaska has been the preparation of a series of small booklets for children in the primary grades, written by primary children from a wide variety of Alaska communities. Each title begins "Let's Read About . . ." and the subject is Gakona, Hughes, Netlakatha, Nome, Perryville, St. George, or some other community. In the booklet *Let's Read About Nome,* the following story on ivory carving appears:

> Many Nome Eskimos carve ivory. They use the tusks of walruses which have been killed when they went hunting.
>
> In the summer the men often work under their overturned boats. This keeps the sun out of their eyes. The things they carve are very beautiful. Sometimes they make little figures crabbing or hunting for seals.

Thus, Alaskan children gain knowledge

about their culture and learn to appreciate their unique environment and the many interesting ways Alaskans have used their resources to meet their basic needs and express their creative ideas. The material has meaning to the children because they have experienced it and have written about it. They are motivated to tell their story well because it will be shared with children in other Alaskan schools.

In Louisiana, the State Department of Education published in 1950 a bulletin entitled *Behind the Curtain of Green,* an enticing invitation to stimulate teaching of forestry in Louisiana in all levels of the public school system.

During a whole decade, the Maryland State Department of Education has been preoccupied with the need to supply children with material descriptive of Maryland and each citizen's stewardship in conserving the state's resources. Among these publications for children are *Maryland's Sunken Treasure* (1953), *Our Underwater Farm* (1953), *This Is Our Wealth* (1957), and *Maryland's Rocks and Minerals* (1962).

The New York State Education Department produced a publication entitled *Field Identification of Rocks of New York State* (1963) to make more meaningful the experiences of children as they explored their geological environment.

Connecticut followed an earlier publication on *Education for Gifted Children and Youth* (1956) with a 1961 publication on *Standards for Programs for Mentally Retarded Children*. Every state is confronted with comparable diversity of needs among the children it serves.

The Colorado State Department of Education, building on the studies of the 1950's dealing with the relation of mental health to education, published *Mental Health in the Classroom.*

In 1954, the Nebraska State Department of Education published a bulletin, *Gaining an Understanding of Education in American Democracy,* based on the conclusion that the great institution of public education should have a place in the social studies curriculum so that young people and the public generally would understand the function, the problems, the strengths, and weaknesses of our educational system. Why such a curriculum had not appeared in the public school program of every state long before the 1950's is inexplicable.

The 1960's were a particularly productive period in curriculum development in Arizona. *A Ten Point Positive Program for Teaching Americanism in Our Elementary School—Grades 1-8* (1961) by Everett E. Crooke, Papago Elementary School principal, was published and eventually went through three editions.

The general nationwide trend to develop programs with vertical continuity from kindergarten through grade 12 has involved many states. In Georgia, a three-volume program devoted to K-6, grades 7-9, and grades 10-12 respectively and entitled *Mathematics for Georgia Schools* is illustrative of this trend. Comprehensive mathematic programs covering entire school systems without defining grade levels may be on the way to making this field one of increased instruction on an individualized basis.

Kindergarten Curriculum Materials. Only about half of the children eligible for kindergarten education have yet had public kindergartens made available to them on a statewide basis. Excellent guides have been developed in cities supporting kindergarten education locally, and these are available to smaller school districts. Many state departments have promoted legislation essential to establish and support kindergartens, but during the 1940-65 period only a few had reached the point of producing curriculum materials pertinent to their needs.

In 1947, Ohio published a bulletin entitled *Working with Children from Two to Six.* Wisconsin published *Guide to Curriculum Building—Kindergarten Level* in the same year. *Kindergarten for Nebraska Boys and Girls* was published in 1954. North Carolina published an undated bulletin, *Schools for Young Children: Nursery Schools and Kindergartens.* California published a research study entitled *Kindergarten Education in California* in 1960 to provide basic data on the organization of the program which had been state supported on the same basis as other elementary school grades since 1946. In 1963, the Minnesota State Department of Education utilized the services of Neith Headley of the University of Minnesota in the development of a modern *Guide for Teachers in the Kindergarten*. The 1964 *Curriculum Guide for Montana Kindergartens* was similarly produced, using college and university staff members in cooperation with a committee of kindergarten teachers.

Areas of Special Concern: Health, Physical Education, Art. Health and physical education were among the earliest areas of curriculum interest manifested by the states. Many of the programs published for teachers were cooperative enterprises involving state departments of health and various other governmental agencies.

Recognition that the health of American children and youth continues to be one of our most important unsolved problems has caused state departments to give continued leadership to those aspects of the problem within the domain of the schools. In the period from 1940 to 1965, the following states published works on the topic: Arizona (n.d.), Arkansas (n.d.), California (1963), Delaware (1960), Florida (1964), Hawaii (1960), Indiana (1942, 1944, 1958, 1962), Kansas (1962), Kentucky (1950), Louisiana (1952), Missouri (1951), New York (1940), Oklahoma (1965), Pennsylvania (1960), South Carolina (1959), Tennessee (1952, 1962), and Wisconsin (1960, 1963).

Special health problems received consideration in publications directed to their amelioration. In cooperation with the Missouri Dental Health Association and the Division of Public Health, Missouri published a bulletin in 1959 entitled *A Guide for Dental Health Education—Grades 1-12*. In 1963, Florida published a similar program, *Design for Teaching Dental Health in Florida Schools*. Oklahoma published *Teachers' Guide for Dental Health* in 1965.

Numerous states have published bulletins on the effects of alcohol, tobacco, and narcotics on the human organism, with suggestions for teaching at various age levels.

A publication of particular interest is the *Health Guide for Elementary Schools of Arizona* because it represents the product of a cooperative committee representing Arizona State University, the Arizona State Health Department, and the Arizona State Department of Public Instruction. By working with other agencies of government, the state department was able to secure expert technical help and make superior material available to the teachers of the state.

Another field of special concern for the state was matching the accomplishments of cities in art education. Many cities have long had well qualified art specialists on their curriculum staffs, as well as valuable local resources in museums and art galleries—advantages ordinarily not enjoyed in school systems served by state curriculum materials. The states have been aware of this lack in their curriculum offerings and have provided some guidance through state publications. The establishment of field trips and services from supplementary service centers under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 will become of increasing assistance in bringing art education to urban, suburban, and rural school systems as needed.

In the period from 1940 to 1965, publications in the field of art education have been issued by Connecticut (1962), Delaware (1963), Hawaii (1960), Illinois (1958), Iowa (1962), Kentucky (1959), Louisiana (1950, 1952), Maryland (1954), Missouri (1956), Montana (1953), North Carolina (1963), Oklahoma (1965), and Tennessee (1958). The Connecticut publication, *Art—Kindergarten to Grade 12*, represents a reaffirmation of the importance of art in the educational experiences of children and youth and the need to plan programs which have inherent continuity throughout the entire school program.

The increased leisure caused by the automation of our technological civilization and our need for producing more creative human beings focuses the attention of educators on the importance of the arts in the curriculum (114).

Comprehensive State Curriculum Guides. State departments of education often are required by law to prepare courses of study or curriculum guides. Various organizations of curriculum are followed according to the educational philosophy of the leadership in a state and the resources available for publication.

The more active role of the state department of education in educational leadership was well illustrated by the publication by New York in 1954 of *Charting the Curriculum in New York State Schools* (115). This publication provided a framework for curriculum development but left its specific implementation to be worked out by local school systems, which were thus free to utilize concepts representing the work of many highly trained specialists not otherwise available to each locality.

In general, the published material may be in the nature of a comprehensive guide to all the experiences recommended for children or youth at a given maturity level or a series of guides devoted to one subject matter field in the curriculum. The advantage of the former type of organization seems to be the opportunity it affords to emphasize the relationships between the various subject matter fields in integrated experiences for children and youth. In the latter organization, curriculum makers seem convinced that clarifying the vertical continuity of experiences provided in social studies, science, language arts, music, or any of the other discreet fields is more desirable.

Among the states that seem to have followed the first organization are Arkansas, California, Connecticut, Colorado, Maine, Missouri, Rhode Island, and Wisconsin. To illustrate, California has followed the policy of publishing comprehensive volumes descriptive of the total program. During the 1950's, the following were made available to the teachers of the state: *Teachers Guide to Education in Early Childhood* (1956) and *Teachers Guide to Education in Later Childhood* (1958). These were also widely used as basic texts or references in the education of elementary teachers.

In 1962, Connecticut produced an excellent publication titled *Elementary Education—A Guide to Curriculum Development—Kindergarten-Grade Six* which states the principles underlying sound curriculum development but leaves a teacher much latitude in adapting instruction to the particular group of children to be taught. It should be noted that this organization is divided between elementary groupings as illustrated here and similar secondary groupings that are less frequent. Organization by subjects from kindergarten through the secondary school are found in only a few states in a few areas of the curriculum.

The following states seem to follow the second plan of organization: Arizona, which published a three-volume *Language Arts* guide in 1962; Arkansas, *Language Arts* (1962), *Mathematics* (1965); Delaware, *Music* (1961); Florida, *English Language Arts* and *Social Studies in Florida Elementary Schools,* both in 1965; Georgia, *Science* (1960), *Mathematics* (1962); Hawaii; Idaho; Illinois, *English Language Communication* (1961), *Social Studies* (1962); Indiana, *Music* (1963), *Science* (1965), *Reading* (1965); Iowa; Kansas; Kentucky, *Science* (1961); Louisiana; Maryland; Michigan; Minnesota, *Modern Foreign Languages* (1965); Montana, *Language Arts* (1963), *Science* (1963), *Social Sciences* (1963), *Reading* (1963); Nebraska, *Language Arts* (1965); New Hampshire, *Science* (1961); New York, *Reading* (1963), *Social Studies* (1965); North Carolina, *Music* (1961), *Art* (1963); Ohio; Oklahoma, *Science* (1960), *Physical Education* (1965), *Art* (1965); Oregon; Pennsylvania; South Carolina, *Science* (1962); South Dakota; Tennessee; Texas; West Virginia; Wisconsin, *Physical Education* (1963).

The foregoing listing shows recent publications available in the National Education Association and Council of Chief State School Officers headquarters and does not claim to represent an analysis of all publications with which state departments of education are implementing their educational programs. Although a state may have been placed in one of the categories, many states issued publications which filled an immediate need rather than adhering consistently to any single plan of organization. Many of these bulletins were particularly interesting as indicating possible trends in curriculum development.

Problems of Less Populous States. The problem confronted by understaffed state departments of education in the less populous states makes comparisons almost unfair. In spite of staff limitations, however, Idaho, for example, prepared its *Social Studies Program for Idaho Public Schools, Grades One to Twelve* in 1953. In 1962, Idaho published *Standards and Recommendations for Elementary Schools.* It published a *Curriculum Guide for English* in 1965.

Conditions in sparsely populated states may constitute an argument for a national curriculum, but a curriculum which might meet the needs of Hawaii, for example, would not necessarily meet those of Idaho. It seems more promising to develop the equalization principle of financial support so that each state will be able to develop the kind of program which most effectively meets its own needs.

The tendency in a number of less populous states is to seek improvement of educational programs through systems of school accreditation. Standards may be advantageously used in limited ways, but curriculum improvement depends primarily on changes in teacher behavior. Such changes do not lend themselves to measurement in the same way that the number of books in the school library can be counted. Basic improvement in teaching is more the result of continuous in-service education directed by supervisors and directors of instruction and properly trained curriculum workers. Here again, these financially disadvantaged states suffer most in terms of lack of adequate staff to perform essential functions.

Available recent curriculum materials were examined particularly for publications that departed from the usual themes and might, therefore, represent a policy statement; a local, state, or national problem of special importance; or an unusual curriculum innovation. Among these, the following are illustrative: *Family Life Education Resource Guide, Grades 1-6,* Delaware (1961); *Summer Reading Program—Research Report,* Georgia (1964); *The Curriculum Division—An Emerging Role,* Indiana (1965); *A Policy Statement—Future Goals for Public Schools in Iowa,* Iowa (1961); *Five Years of Change in the Public Elementary and Secondary Schools of Michigan,* Michigan (1964); *A Position Paper on the Teaching of Reading,* Nebraska (1965); *A Study of New Hampshire Elementary Schools,* New Hampshire (1962); *A Study of Practices in the Elementary Schools of New Jersey,* New Jersey (1963); *Intergroup Relations,* New York (1963); *Learning Through Play,* Oklahoma (1962); *The Oregon Program—A Design for the Improvement of Education,* Oregon (1965); *India Today—A Resource Unit in World Cultures,* Pennsylvania (1962); and *Time Utilization in the Elementary School,* Rhode Island (1963).

Each of these publications is indicative of significant concern as the people of our country look ahead to schools designed to serve children's needs more effectively. In recent years, most state departments of education have made internal evaluations and studies of educational situations throughout their respective states.

SPUTNIK AND AFTER: 1958 to 1968

In October of 1957, the Soviet Union launched a new satellite that was of more than passing interest to the rest of the world. The eyes of America shifted from a quick and rather futile survey of the heavens to an intense and highly motivated focus on our schools. Congress and the Administration were moved to "do something" to counteract Soviet science.

During 1958, James Bryant Conant was preparing a small but highly influential book entitled *The American High School Today* (116). It made 21 recommendations on improving secondary education and emphasized mathematics, the sciences, English, and modern foreign languages. If it is not clear whether what Congress did was directly influenced by these recommendations, it is at least clear that its response to Sputnik was in line with the recommendations.

The National Defense Education Act

Congress passed the National Defense Education Act in 1958, which amounted to a mandate to promote instruction in the sciences, mathematics, and modern foreign languages. University scholars in considerable numbers began working on the elementary and secondary curriculum. Their initial stress was on the "pure" disciplines, and they worked for a new level of intellectual rigor. When the schools turned to the implementation of the law, a more constructive attitude on the part of the public began to manifest itself.

The National Defense Education Act was tangible evidence of the federal government's entrance into the curriculum planning of the common schools. Not only did this legislation specifically designate science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages as curriculum areas of specific concern, but it gave great impetus to expansion in the use of educational media as well. In subsequent years, the subject areas were extended to include other fields, and massive commitments were made by the Congress to further the program.

In fact, if we take a few of the enactments of Congress as indications of the state of public opinion, it is evident that opinion was shifting very rapidly. The 1958 version of the National Defense Education Act was concerned with only a few disciplines and betrayed a preoccupation with only the ablest students in the schools; the 1964 version not only supported more subject fields but also included special funds for the training of teachers of the disadvantaged. Rarely does one see within a single program so great a shift of opinion in so short a time.

The particular action was part of a much broader phenomenon: a swiftly rising concern for the high school dropout, the culturally deprived, and the non-college-bound student in general. Thus, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 multiplied several times over the federal funds available for a part of the curriculum which, in 1958, was very much "in the doghouse." The American people, one might say, had tried briefly to forget the less able students and the more mundane concerns of life in favor of single-minded devotion to the intellectual excellence of the gifted few—but the effort had quickly collapsed.

General education throughout our nation's history had been a state *responsibility* but a local *function*; now the centralization characteristic of the times was being felt in curriculum. States were encouraged to focus attention on mathematics, science, and modern foreign languages as promoted by the National Defense Education Act and the stimulation of matching federal funds. It should be noted that this was a complete reversal of political policy. It represented the first breakthrough in using the nation as a whole as the taxing unit for general elementary and secondary educational purposes throughout the nation. The effect on curriculum, of course, was a redirection of attention to subject matter fields.

When the Council of Chief State

School Officers met in 1958 for its Annual Conference, it was clear that, although the state agencies were supporting the NDEA special aids and administering them throughout the country, none of the principal trends in curriculum had been abandoned. At that time, the members committed themselves to (a) promotion of special programs for the identification and education of exceptional children and youth; (b) mental health education; (c) outdoor science and conservation education; (d) studies leading to necessary reorganization of the curriculum in terms of changing societal needs; (e) the extensions of the educational program to include nursery school, kindergarten, and the thirteenth and fourteenth years; (f) education for children of migratory workers; (g) driver and traffic safety education. To the critics the chief state school officers were saying that they were unwilling to retreat to the academic curriculum of 1900 or even 1920.

Scientists, Teachers, Scholars, Administrators, and Citizens in Cooperation. Early in 1959, the Council of Chief State School Officers inaugurated an extensive project to provide a nationwide guide to assist in the wise and economical purchase of materials, apparatus, and equipment for improving instruction in the sciences, mathematics, and modern foreign languages in the elementary and secondary schools under the National Defense Education Act of 1958. The alternative at the time appeared to be prescription by the U.S. Office of Education of required standards for apparatus and equipment to be purchased with NDEA funds—a form of federal influence over local curriculums that the chief state school officers determined to avoid. The project director was Edgar Fuller of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

The *Purchase Guide for Programs in Science, Mathematics and Modern Foreign Languages* (117) was prepared in record time as an emergency project, with the cooperation of all the principal national organizations representing the several fields of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages affected and the National Bureau of Standards, the U.S. Office of Education, and the Scientific Apparatus Makers Association. The principal financial support came from the Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc. All items of apparatus and equipment needed in elementary and secondary schools for use in the courses were listed and described in terms of their recommended teaching purposes, intended uses, number, dimensions, desired durability, and other criteria. The general purposes of the guide were to discourage routine purchase and use of educationally obsolete or obsolescent, shoddy, uneconomical, or inappropriate items and to encourage the manufacture, purchase, and use of more modern teaching aids.

The Purchase Guide was distributed to substantially all large schools and school systems in the country. It has been kept up to date through publication of a supplement in 1961, a completely revised edition in 1964, and year-by-year changes through 1967. The National Science Foundation supplied the principal financial support for the revision; the project director was Leo M. Schubert, head of the department of chemistry of the American University.

If there had been differences of opinion on course content and methods among the 130 scientists, teachers, educational administrators, and scholars who worked together on the guide in 1959, they were effectively eliminated by the experience of reaching conclusions on apparatus and materials for instruction in these fields at all levels of elementary and secondary education. Vigorous discussions on critical decisions frequently found scientists and scholars arguing for methods while teachers and administrators argued for emphasis on content as often as otherwise. They were attacking the problem rather than each other. Such also was the case in the comprehensive team approach to curriculum development that produced new courses following 1959. In all instances, members of the participating groups began their common efforts at the same time. Philosophical and educational arguments at long range and pitting scholars and scientists against teachers gave way to fruitful and constructive action.

Influence of the National Defense Education Act on Instruction. The National Defense Education Act quickly directed attention to instruction in the sciences. The Act became a major source of funds for equipping secondary school science laboratories, but elementary schools were also eligible under its provisions. Although many states had encouraged introduction of science experiences in the elementary schools prior to 1958, the Act gave principal support for needed materials and equipment for young pupils. It also gave great impetus to publications descriptive of science education in the various states. Among the states in which a program of science education had been described in state publications and in some instances implemented by books and laboratory equipment prior to 1958 were California, Florida, Kentucky, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, and Ohio.

Science instruction in elementary schools improved in quality and gained almost universal acceptance. Many state departments of education worked to give guidance to effective local science programs in one or more publications. Among these states were Arizona (1962), California (1959, 1960, 1962), Georgia (3 volumes, 1960), Hawaii (1962), Illinois (1960), Iowa (1961), Kentucky (1961), New Hampshire (1961), New Jersey (1961), New York (1963), Oklahoma (1960), Pennsylvania (1961, 1963), South Carolina (1962), and Wyoming (1961). Many other states that were in the process of revising or preparing new courses of study or general curriculum guides included science as an integral part of these publications.

The National Defense Education Act also gave great impetus to the development of new mathematics programs of instruction and to publications on mathematics. Among the states providing specific materials for guidance in mathematics were California (1961), Georgia (1962), Montana (1959), New Hampshire (1962), Oklahoma (1962), and Wisconsin (n.d.).

The Arkansas State Department of Education devoted its energy in the 1960's to work on *Contemporary Mathematics Guidelines for Arkansas Elementary Schools,* which was published in 1965. The involvement and participation of the Arkansas Council of Teachers of Mathematics and the Arkansas Elementary School Council with the State Department of Education in this project provide the best guarantee that the new mathematics program will have ready acceptance and intelligent use by teachers in the schools of the state.

Instruction in modern foreign languages was also greatly affected by the National Defense Education Act. Commissioner Earl J. McGrath had become a crusading spokesman for the expansion of modern foreign language teaching in the schools during his term from 1949 to 1953. His advocacy was strongly supported by the Modern Foreign Language Association, which had become concerned because of the decreasing enrollments in modern foreign language classes in secondary schools. Because trained foreign language teachers were in short supply, use of educational television was encouraged. Experiments were carried on throughout the country. French seemed to capture the enthusiasm of the East and South; Spanish was predominantly emphasized in the West and Southeast. Occasional programs in German and Russian were attempted by interested school systems. Many parents demanded foreign language instruction and enthusiastically anticipated having their children become bilingual. Some state and local school systems required specific foreign language instruction. Programs were initiated at various levels of the elementary and secondary schools. Extension courses were provided for teachers in the target language and in giving guidance preceding and following television instruction.

Foreign language instruction thus had a running start when it was greatly stimulated by the passage of the National Defense Education Act. Electronic language laboratories were installed with NDEA funds, and the latest methods of teaching foreign languages were utilized in them. Courses of study were provided for the guidance of teachers in teaching the target language.

The ultimate outcome of these efforts cannot yet be evaluated. The problems of untrained teachers, the added financial burden entailed in employing trained language teachers, the lack of instructional materials, the low motivation of pupils to learn a subject for which they could see no immediate need and in which they had no opportunity for out-of-school practice were real and persistent.

Among the state departments of education that gave encouragement and direction through publications, conferences, instructional television programs, extension courses, and so forth were California *(Looking Ahead in Foreign Language,* 1960; *Guide to the Teaching of Spanish,* 1964); Iowa (1963); and Texas *(Foreign Language Instruction,* 1962).

One of the most comprehensive programs was sponsored by the Minnesota State Department of Education which published in 1965 *A Guide for Instruction in Modern Foreign Language, Grades 4-12.* Emma Berkmaier, professor of foreign language instruction, University of Minnesota, served as chairman of a committee consisting of elementary, high school, and college teachers, with consultation service from the U.S. Office of Education. The committee agreed that the general objectives of the program of foreign language in the schools were to develop positive attitudes toward foreign language learning and toward people who speak a foreign language, to begin worthwhile linguistic learnings for use as a base for further work in a long sequence, and to begin the long process of learning a foreign culture through the foreign language.

This Minnesota program illustrated several basic principles in curriculum construction. Continuity was secured by the involvement and participation of teachers at all levels of the educational system. Cooperation was developed among the State Department of Education, the university, and the school systems. Finally, expert opinion was received from specialists who were viewing the subject with nationwide perspective.

New Courses in the Sciences and Mathematics. In the decade from 1958 to 1968, a major nationwide effort by teams of scientists and teachers produced new courses in the sciences and in mathematics for elementary and secondary schools (118). It is impossible to list here all the leaders in this movement, but among them have been such scientists, mathematicians, and educators as Jerrold R. Zacharias, John R. Mayor, Arnold B. Grobman, Bentley Glass, Glenn Seaborg, Arthur Campbell, Laurence Strong, Max Beberman, E. G. Begle, Paul Rosenbloom, Arthur H. Livermore, Darrell Barnard, Robert Karplus, Robert Davis, James H. Werntz, Philip Morrison, and Gerald Holton.

Most of these efforts were financed by the federal government through the National Science Foundation, but some of the early work was supported by private foundations. More recently, the Office of Education has authorized a few course content development projects in science and mathematics, as well as in social studies and the humanities (119).

The use of the term *nationwide effort* requires explanation. All working teams and supporting agencies have emphasized that they are *not* engaged in the production of a national curriculum. These curriculum projects have involved persons selected on a nationwide basis, and they have prepared materials that are made available for optional use anywhere. In the tryout of materials, as a part of the developmental phase of the work, all of the course content groups have deliberately utilized schools in all parts of the country.

In many ways, the course content projects have operated on a nationwide basis similar to operations of statewide curriculum committees sponsored by state departments of education. Perhaps the principle difference has been that the nationwide projects have had larger financial support. They have been able to attract more full-time participation of selected teachers and scientists, and they have had enough funds to produce their own courses, equipment, films, and in-science programs for teachers. Initially, the working groups on nationwide projects tended to work alone, only to discover later that state department curriculum leaders could have helped them from the beginning. Currently, the course content groups rely more heavily on state department personnel for assistance in introducing new courses, for guidance in development of needed in-service programs, and for ensuring proper use of the courses in the schools.

The new science and mathematics courses are intended to present up-to-date science and mathematics content; all of them emphasize the laboratory method of teaching and provide the student with experiences in the scientific approach to knowledge (120). They emphasize the spirit as well as the content of modern science and mathematics. They also utilize significant development in precollege education—the involvement of scientific scholars with precollege-level teachers. In the more recently developed projects, state department of education personnel are also participating in these team efforts. University and industrial scientists work increasingly with schools, teachers, and state departments of education.

The materials produced by the course content development projects have contributed to the improvement of science teaching in schools by making up-to-date text materials available, by bringing about increased use of the laboratory in teaching science, and by influencing the content and production of all commercial texts in these fields. They also have persuaded teachers to keep abreast of new developments in the sciences and in mathematics, and they have encouraged schools and colleges to provide more stimulating and rewarding in-service courses for teachers. Because of the challenges the new courses present, evaluation of course materials and teaching itself takes on a new importance. Many teachers of the new courses have come to expect summer study support by government, private foundations, or school systems. That this support is often provided is another effect of the new courses.

The new courses originally were planned for all secondary schools, but it has become apparent after a decade of experience that they are usually most appropriate for the 25 percent or so of academically talented students. Scientists are becoming concerned that the current evidence of decreasing enrollments in high school science and mathematics may very well be caused by the high expectations of the new courses. Nevertheless, the claims made above are still valid. It now remains for ways to be found to provide more realistically for the study of modern science and mathematics by the other 75 percent of the student population. Attempts to meet this need are already manifest in experimentation with integrated subject matter sequences and, especially, the provision of second-level courses in each of the disciplines.

More by accident than design, the course content development efforts were first initiated for grades 10-12. The modernization of high school science and mathematics soon made it necessary and desirable for teams of scientists and teachers to turn their attention to the elementary and junior high schools, on the one hand, and to the college, on the other. At the college level, work on new courses has resulted in the preparation of more outlines and sequences than complete courses. Some attribute this to the well-known independence of the college professor, who insists on designing his own course, or to the lack of any regional or state agency to provide leadership among the colleges comparable to that which the state departments of education have provided for elementary and secondary schools.

The development of new science materials for the elementary schools has proceeded in the pattern of the secondary school work, except that all of the new elementary school science materials are interdisciplinary. Some groups have prepared sequential materials for kindergarten through grade 6, and others have prepared sets of units that can be taught in different orders and at different levels. All of the groups emphasize the laboratory method and open-ended experiments for pupil investigation. As a result, there is an increased demand for science equipment in the elementary school at costs which are more than have traditionally been allotted for elementary school science. The elementary school programs have been notably successful in meeting the needs of pupils of varying abilities.

Serious attempts, with some degree of success, have also been made in the elementary school programs to relate the experiences in science to other school studies. Units in the social sciences appear along with units in the natural sciences (121). Accurate communication is emphasized. The new materials are often quantitative where before they were largely descriptive. This makes necessary a closer relationship between elementary school science and mathematics, even while the new elementary school mathematics is often quite abstract. At least two of the national elementary school science projects have attempted to correlate, if not integrate, mathematics and science. Schools will see more of these efforts in the immediate future.

In 1968, a large number of new courses in high school physics, biology, and chemistry were available. At the junior high school level, there are new earth-science-based courses and one called "Introductory Physical Science." Instructional materials for all of these courses, originally developed with National Science Foundation (NSF) support, are now available from commercial publishers. A new 3-year integrated sequence in junior high school science is in the process of development with Office of Education support. Other NSF-supported projects have also produced a high school course in geography (122) and one in anthropology (123), both with laboratory orientation. At least six federally supported projects are producing materials in science for elementary schools.

An NSF-supported project has developed mathematics courses for kindergarten through grade 12 and has now started work on a second generation of these courses. Simultaneously it is conducting a longitudinal study to determine the effects of these materials over a 5- to 10-year span. One of the pioneer course content activities has devoted its attention to mathematics in grades 7-12. Quite a number of other groups have produced materials for one or more grades or levels, and more recently a national conference on mathematics outlined goals in precollege mathematics education to be achieved in the next quarter-century.

All of these course materials, produced by teams involving hundreds of scientists and teachers and supported by millions of dollars of federal funds, are sample materials for guidance to schools and textbook publishers. They also can be of great value to state department of education curriculum planners. They have already made a significant impact on schools and teachers, but another decade must pass before their true significance can be assessed.

Some continuing issues and problems have been pinpointed by John I. Goodlad to give a sense of direction to the future. Referring primarily to the projects of curriculum reform in recent years, he recognizes reestablishment of subject matter but calls for more experimentation and testing of the new courses in practice, more alternative courses, and better teaching and teacher training using subject matter in the process. He regards prepackaged complete courses as inadequate for the diverse needs of pupils and teachers and suggests materials centers and computer-based information libraries to make them more adaptable. He calls for a colloquy on the aims of American education, to be initiated at the national level and to be continued at state and local levels; for state and local educational agencies to commit themselves to priority educational goals; for development of techniques of assessing results of schooling to achieve these goals; and for "vigorous trial and experimental comparison of alternative ways of achieving these goals" (124). Many of these suggestions and others have been incorporated into a new cooperative curriculum program called Educational System for the Seventies (125). It involves the U.S. Office of Education and 17 local school districts in 14 states.

John I. Goodlad has recognized that the updating of content, reorganization of subject matter, and new teaching methods are—

> . . . not simply a return to the Three R's. Nor is it a rejection of John Dewey and progressive education. Quite the contrary, on both counts. . . . Many of the central concerns of progressive education—emphasis on principles rather than facts, on learning through problem solving rather than by precept, and on individual differences . . . are stressed and extended by some of today's curriculum builders" (126).

Federal Commitments After 1964

The Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 signalled still another federal offensive: the beginning of a deliberate "war on poverty." At the level of the adolescent, it launched both the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps. These were modernized versions of the Civilian Conservation Corps and National Youth Administration Programs of the depressed 1930's, serving underprivileged youths of secondary school and college age. But perhaps even more significant was the program it launched for an extension downward of early childhood education.

The Beginning of Head Start Programs. Although a considerable body of research concerning very young children had accumulated during the century due to work going forward in graduate schools of colleges and universities, public action to extend educational opportunity to the very young was triggered by a most significant conference on Preschool Enrichment of Socially Disadvantaged Children, held at Arden House, Harriman, New York, on December 17-19, 1962. This conference was sponsored by the Institute for Developmental Studies, Department of Psychiatry, New York Medical College, and it was supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation (127).

The reports at this conference indicated that, compared with children from more privileged environments, children from lower class, socially impoverished circumstances tend to enter school with a qualitatively different preparation for the demands of the learning process and behavioral requirements of the classroom. Among these children there is a high proportion of school failure, school dropouts, reading and learning disabilities, as well as life adjustment problems. In order to counteract the effects on school performance of an improverished environment, it is necessary to enrich not only the first-grade experience but also to provide enrichment or training in the skills underlying success in schools—skills which children from these backgrounds have apparently developed insufficiently.

The Conference on Preschool Enrichment of Socially Disadvantaged Children indubitably had great influence on the inclusion in the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 (Public Law 88-452) of provisions for using these funds for the establishment of nursery schools with appropriate child development classes for parents. A number of the terms listed, such as "home management" and "special remedial and other noncurricular educational assistance," were interpreted to mean service to the preschool children of impoverished families. If the program included training to become assistants in nursery schools or child care centers, justification could also be found in the "job training and counseling" item appearing in the law. Since no funds under Title II of this law could be used for general aid to elementary and secondary schools, use of the funds for nursery schools, or for kindergartens where they were not already available, seemed to be clearly indicated as part of community action programs authorized by the law.

Although the Head Start Program initiated in the summer of 1965 is often referred to as a "crash program," previous frontier experiences throughout the nation stood certain communities in good stead. States with continuous experience in operating child care centers or parent cooperative nursery schools and with properly licensed and supervised private nursery school services for young children were able to be of great assistance in extending the program to half a million young children during the summer of 1965. The California State Department of Education had established such child care centers under the Lanham Act at the beginning of World War II and had continued them without interruption following the cessation of hostilities.

Standards carefully prepared by state departments of social welfare, health, and education; defensible goals for the education of nursery school personnel; nationally recognized publications on parent education; and a substantial collection of professional books on nursery school and kindergarten education put expert study, research, and experience at the disposal of persons seeking to capitalize on the important growth opportunities inherent in the early years of life (128). The country had no dearth of expertise upon which to rely. The success of the Head Start Program testifies to this fact.

Although the Head Start Program, which made 1965 memorable in the history of education in the United States, was a part of the national resolve to mobilize the human and financial resources of the nation to combat poverty in the United States, the wider implications have not escaped the attention of socially concerned citizens. To compensate for early deprivation, socially and economically impoverished children should have all of the help available in this resourceful country. But, in addition, the studies of Benjamin S. Bloom and others suggest that the early years of life are tremendously significant in the intellectual development of all children. There is general agreement that the most rapid period of development appears to take place during the first 5 years of life.

In an address to the American Association of School Administrators, Dr. Bloom said:

> We may conclude from our results on general achievement and vocabulary development that by age 9 (grade 3) at least 50 percent of the general achievement pattern at age 18 (grade 12) has been developed, whereas at least 75 percent of the pattern has been developed by about age 13 (grade 7). . . . Studies of vocabulary development suggest that about one-third has been developed by the time the individual has entered school (129).

As these vital facts become more widely shared by the people of the United States, it is inescapable that all parents, regardless of economic status, will wish to assure their children the experiences afforded in a good nursery school and kindergarten. These experiences provide an opportunity for a child to develop good social relationships with other children and with adults outside of his family circle. Good nursery schools and kindergartens provide the equipment, materials, and, above all, the expert guidance the young child needs to express himself through painting, modeling, rhythms, dramatization, and music. They acquaint him with a wealth of poetry and stories suited to his maturity level. They provide him unlimited opportunity to share his ideas and feelings through talking. The quality of firsthand and vicarious experiences motivate him to want to communicate with others. Good nursery schools and kindergartens help a child to relate to the complex social and scientific environment into which he was born.

A good nursery school and kindergarten provide parents constant contact with professional persons who understand the problems encountered by nearly all children in the process of growing up. Regardless of the quality of the child's home environment and his relationships with his parents and other members of his family, a good nursery school and kindergarten provide a plus factor which even the best home cannot supply and which greatly benefits nearly every child.

Occasionally, state-supported kindergartens were threatened by adverse administrative decisions which assigned two classes of 30 or more children each to one teacher. The half-day sessions were so short that tensions mounted and teachers could not provide many important experiences of a good kindergarten program. No teacher could know 60 or more 5-year-olds well enough as persons to give individual children the guidance so important at this age. Much of the parent education program which is an integral part of helping young children adjust to the school program was lost because no teacher could maintain effective contact with 60 or more homes and 120 or more parents.

Many conscientious kindergarten teachers recognized how far this program fell short of the kind of education they had been professionally prepared to teach. Qualified kindergarten teachers asked to be assigned to regular primary grades; others left the profession, and few prospective teachers were attracted by these frustrating conditions.

With the advent of Head Start in 1965 and its established ratio of one adult to five children, kindergarten teachers were seriously demoralized. Society was operating under the Economic Opportunity Act on the basis of a 5 to 1 ratio for 4-year-old children, with opportunity for the teacher to maintain close contact with the home, while kindergarten teachers were asked to operate on a 60 to 1 basis, with neither time nor energy remaining to them at the end of the working day to make home and parental contacts.

The plight of kindergarten education at present threatens the success of perhaps the most significant year in a child's school life, and its correction constitutes a most serious societal and professional challenge.

Parents able to pay the tuition costs of private education were historically responsible for spectacular growth of private nursery school and kindergarten education, particularly in urban areas. But the overwhelming scientific and empirical evidence of the value of early education in human development has come since 1964. This evidence makes it likely that before the end of the twentieth century early childhood education will be widely accessible and generously shared by all young children whose parents wish them to benefit from this developmental experience.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (130) was adopted by the Eighty-Ninth Congress as a part of a federal-state-local "war on poverty" and has contributed much to education. It recognized the needs of children from low-income families and provided the means whereby the schools could compensate for at least some of the developmental experiences they have missed. It typifies the major legislative goals and proliferating categorical federal aids and federal influences in education that prevailed in the 1960's.

Title I of the Act established a program for financial assistance to local educational agencies for the education of children in low-income families. This was the largest of the several programs and received about 80 percent of the funds appropriated under the Act. It required innovation at the local level, but innovation necessarily has been defined as whatever is new and different in the local school concerned. Services to both public and private schools and to their pupils and teachers have made a major policy change in the clientele served by or through public schools.

Title II authorized federal grants for the acquisition of school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials for the use of children and teachers in public and private elementary and secondary schools. The state agencies administer state plans which must take relative need into account in distributing the funds for these instructional materials. The program has stimulated much progress in state standards for selection of the eligible instructional materials and in model public school libraries. In the first year of the program, 93.4 percent of eligible children and youths in public schools and 97.2 percent of eligible children and youths in private schools participated (131).

Title III authorized federal grants for supplementary educational centers and services to stimulate and assist in the provision of vitally needed educational services not available in sufficient quantity or quality, and to stimulate and assist in the development and establishment of exemplary elementary and secondary school educational programs to serve as models for regular school programs. Projects in local educational agencies administered primarily for their own benefit were strongly emphasized in the first 3 years of operation, at which time supplementary service centers began to receive more attention. The state education agencies assumed major administrative responsibilities under amendments to the Act that became effective July 1, 1968, thus bringing the state agencies into a responsible relationship with their respective local educational agencies in regard to local curriculum innovations. In stimulating and assisting in the provision of model elementary and secondary programs, this Title brings federal support to a range of new and different curricular offerings limited to the greatest extent only by lack of imagination.

The law requires participation in the planning and application of Title III programs by persons broadly representative of the cultural and educational resources of the area to be served. Included among agencies specifically named are state educational agencies; institutions of higher education; nonprofit private schools; public and nonprofit agencies such as libraries, museums, musical and artistic organizations; and educational radio and television. Private school children in the area are eligible for participation in Title III programs and projects.

Title IV amended and extended the Cooperative Research Act, which had been in effect since 1954. State departments are far more involved than before, and curriculum research and necessary evaluation studies are more often undertaken.

Title V provided a program of grants to stimulate and assist states in strengthening the leadership resources of their state educational agencies and to assist them in identifying and meeting the educational needs of the state. Projects from state educational agencies for their individual needs were supplemented by projects to improve the operations of the state agencies in all or several states. These interstate projects on common problems have dealt with such important curricular concerns as designing education for the future, the role of the state departments of education in facilitating desirable change in educational programs, educational assessment, educational opportunities for children of migrant farm workers, instructional materials, and improving teacher preparation.

Title VI authorized financial assistance to the states for the education of handicapped children and for those programs for handicapped children served by the Bureau of Indian Affairs schools and by independent schools operated abroad by the Department of Defense.

Title VII authorized financial assistance to local educational agencies to develop and carry out new and imaginative elementary and secondary school programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children of limited English-speaking ability in the United States. Titles VI and VII were added to the original law in 1966 and 1967, respectively.

These illustrations of federal activities in education indicate clearly that the federal government now plays a leading role in determining instruction in schools. From experimental projects and programs to determine the learning capacity of infants and young children, through Head Start, prekindergarten, kindergarten, elementary and secondary education, and adult education, the federal government is having an increasing influence on what happens in the schools.

The federal curricular thrust since 1963 has been on educating the socially and educationally disadvantaged, the retarded and the handicapped, and the economically deprived persons of all ages in our society. The strongest emphasis has been on the early years of childhood, and the clientele has necessarily brought attention to their personal needs. Within a decade, the great concerns about gifted children and youth and more effective academic teaching that immediately followed the launching of Sputnik have faded into the background of public attention. Far from lost, the practicable aspects of the curricular reforms since 1958 thrive quietly in regular school programs. Nevertheless, and however they may be labeled, since 1963 the expansion of education to those who need it most has brought modern versions of the curriculum, philosophy, and methods of John Dewey and his colleagues back into practice on the growing edges of education.

A LOOK AHEAD

Education is an on-going, dynamic process. Just as no specific date satisfactorily marks the beginning of an educational theory or practice, so any attempt to set a terminal date for this continuous process produces feelings of incompleteness and dissatisfaction. The human mind must project into the future in order to assail present problems constructively.

What promising pathways lie ahead, then, for providing the best possible educational opportunities and services to children and youth? Where can educational effort, energy, and resources be invested to make the greatest gains at all age levels? What decisions and implementing activities will bring the scope and quality of educational programs to the level of excellence the twenty-first century will demand?

The effectiveness of curriculum progress in the last third of the twentieth century will depend upon a wide variety of activities. Some promising directions are listed here, implying no priority by the order of their listing. Priorities must be the responsibility of the local school system or the state as educational needs are assessed and individual choices among educational offerings are made with freedom and confidence.

Such directions and goals include (a) maximum development of the human potential; (b) developing curriculum in a philosophical continuum that is realistic in terms of the maturity and needs of each person from the age of 3 years through the secondary school; (c) utilizing cooperative participation in curriculum planning at all levels of education; (d) providing educational opportunities of the scope and content needed, with continuous and flexible evaluations and constructive adaptations, such as increased emphasis on social studies and the arts to meet current needs; (e) improving preservice and in-service education of teachers, and making suitable education and training available to all adults; (f) extending educational opportunity through more effective local and state educational agencies and service units, including a properly equipped library-instructional materials center with a librarian-audiovisual consultant in charge in every school; (g) using wisely the products of technology and other community resources in education; and (h) developing cooperative and understanding relationships among home, school, and community, including local, state, and national populations and their governments.

Educational offerings must be accommodated to a population characterized by great diversity of needs and interests. Consistent with the variation in individuals and communities, the curriculum of the school must be broad and flexible. Historically, the public school has been the avenue of social mobility in our country. It has valued the uniqueness of the individual. It has kept the doors of opportunity open for the young. It has honored all labor well performed. It has sought to help pupils experience success and has hesitated to attach the brand of failure to any child or youth.

Educational leadership must seriously question any proposals or activities seeking uniformity in curriculum content. Such leadership should reject uniform federal or state prescriptions directly by law or indirectly through categorical financial incentives to schools for offering any specific course of sudy that may make the money, rather than the quality of the course, the principal reason for offering it.

Those who call for conformity of all schools to a fixed state or national pattern, those who want to separate the "sheep from the goats" on the basis of present inadequate testing instruments, those who classify subject offerings in first class or "academic" and second class or "nonacademic" categories—all give evidence of a lack of comprehension of the function of the school in meeting all needs and in maintaining the fluidity of social structure essential for a democracy.

Curriculum means the experiences children have in school or under its jurisdiction and management. It does not mean that all children and youth must have identical experiences or have them in a prescribed sequence or at a given age. It means only that the experiences must be developmental for the individual who is having them. These should stimulate freedom, initiative, and personal responsibility.

Many people—school people as well as the general population—have become intrigued by the products of technology—the machines, the electronics, the computers. No doubt, the schools will make wider and wider use of the inventions of technology in the future because many of these devices are useful in extending experience. But in their use, the educator faces two serious questions. First, how to select, evaluate, and use these products wisely. Second, how to help human beings to control the inventions, in school and out of school, and not be controlled by them.

Forces all about us press toward conformity. Television entertainers select legendary figures of pioneer days or modern spy, detective, and crime characters—the good guys and the bad guys—and serve them up to the viewing public with aggression, blood, and brutality. This has become so commonplace that a child watching TV doesn't turn a hair when a man is shot down in cold blood, and he may actually applaud when a "redskin bites the dust." The child may not distinguish between reality and fantasy and may well arrive at the conclusion that this is not only appropriate treatment for the "bad guys" but a sure fire method of handling a problem.

Newscasts report the fatalities suffered in battle by our soldiers and their adversaries. This tragic evidence of man's failure to achieve decent human relations may be followed by the vapid chatter of an advertiser who extols the number of additional puffs in an extra-long cigarette. What happens to the sense of proportion of people who are exposed to this kaleidoscope of tragedy and trivia day after day? How can we help children to know what is important and what is unimportant?

Human values in our schools and in our lives must take precedence over all others. We are far from certain about the extent of individual differences in the sequence of learning but suspect that it may vary as much as the rate of learning, about which we *do* know. The machine cannot vary the sequence because it cannot possibly know the learner as a distinct human being. We are not at all certain that some learnings should be programed. The programer may be only too eager to supply "the answers" in the social studies, in literature, in the arts, where much more than facts is involved. Machines that displace people dealing with pupils may increase the possibility of thought control, brainwashing, and propaganda under circumstances in which needed discussion is likely to be delayed or forgotten.

People care too much about how their sons and daughters are educated ever to regard their schools either with indifference or with complete satisfaction. No subject is more productive of argument. No greater stimulus to improvement can be devised than opportunity for parents and teachers to meet in individual, face-to-face conferences to discuss the educational progress of the parents' son or daughter or in larger group conferences to discuss problems affecting the progress of education in the particular school, community, state, or nation.

Certain parents are alarmed by change in the educational program. Others are certain that the needs of individual pupils will be unmet unless the schools do change. One thing can be predicted with certainty. The schools of tomorrow will not be exactly like the schools of today. They will change in the future, as they have in the past, in response to the discovery of new knowledge, to changing social conditions, and to emerging human needs.

Perspective

Universal education available to all children and youth is inherently controversial in almost all important aspects, from basic philosophy to methodology of teaching and responsibility for financing schools. This chapter has reflected the ebb and flow of changes since 1900, and some historical generalizations can be made.

One is that the focal points of most large differences of opinion lie in the philosophy and purposes of education, and that in this regard dominant viewpoints have reflected societal changes of the frontier, depression, wars, technology, and urbanism. The concerns reflected in today's federal, state, and local programs of education are the result of large gains, offset by only temporary setbacks, of the past 65 years.

At present, there seems to be a general acceptance of the major purposes and curriculum approaches that have been under attack sporadically from the time of John Dewey. Beginning in 1958, there was much emphasis on gifted pupils, some of which survives. The "average" students have always remained in the background, somewhat taken for granted. Since 1964, the spotlight has been focused on educationally, culturally, and economically disadvantaged children, youth, and adults, with children of preschool age particularly singled out. These are often new programs and emphasize personality development rather more than academic studies.

At the same time, there is substantial harmony between emphasis on personal development and emphasis on knowledge. Professor Edgar Dale has pointed out that subject matter supplies an excellent learning pattern, that no such pattern is without some element of discovery, and that creativity does not come out of thin air. Factual knowledge can be oriented in terms of principles and applications and provide an excellent pattern for relevant learning in context with problem solving. There may well be fewer impediments now to the eventual attainment of universal education of high quality tailored for each individual than at any time since 1900.

In recent decades, some of the most controversial issues have been reasonably well moved toward solution through adaptations made in the schools. At the secondary level, for instance, improvements in the scope and quality of subject matter have occurred concomitantly with the effort to serve each individual youth whether or not academically inclined. Vocational training and general education have discovered a common meeting ground in mergers of both in all conceivable proportions to serve individual needs. The democratization of educational management is on the increase. Thus, there has been and is tortuously gained educational progress; practice in most schools falls far short of the ideal, but there are reasons to believe in the likelihood of a better educational future.

That future will be shaped by the teachers and scholars of today and tomorrow, who already have far more resources than any generation of their predecessors. Changes in society come quickly and sharply, but so do the techniques and understandings to deal with them educationally.

The basic curriculum conflicts of the past remain in substance but have been subdued. They have been rationalized well enough to move us into new ground with new goals to achieve in the schools. The current search is not merely a philosophical or logical exercise; it represents an effort to use the best of what we already understand to discover how to educate all persons to attain maximum personal growth and development to make their lives self-rewarding and socially contributive.

New dimensions of education are visible. One concerns the relationship of education and mental health. A position statement prepared jointly in 1966 by the organized state education, health, and mental health officers begins with the following:

> Mental health includes the ability to manage one's self and one's environment in an effective and growth-producing way. One of the most significant contributions of the behavioral sciences today is the idea that one's feelings about self are the basic determinant in mental health. . . . Two consequences are especially significant to the school. First, the mentally healthy person perceives reality with minimal distortion and is able to communicate these perceptions effectively. Second, the possession of self-esteem contributes to intellectual functioning (132).

There seems to be no psychological reason why subject matter properly presented cannot reinforce personal growth. As one interpreter of this view has said:

> There is no dichotomy between "becoming" and "learning." The development of inner personal strength is, in fact, the surest foundation of further learning. High scholarship in any discipline is no less dependent upon personal qualities —inner freedom, moral purpose, a kind of exuberant vitality—than high vocational success or fine citizenship. With few exceptions, the qualities wanted in the graduate school are the same as those hoped for in a business employment interview. To stress the personal side is not in any sense, therefore, to cry down keen intellectual development and the mastery of organized subject matter. We gratefully acknowledge the great intellectual gains made in recent years, for they have given us a sounder base on which to build (133).

Should we gain enough curricular resources and scientific knowledge to develop intelligence and cognitive learning along with personal character, we would be teaching on a widespread and scientific basis in the manner that a few great teachers have always taught, bringing out the best in pupils for themselves, their society, and mankind.

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Chapter 6

The World of Work

Gordon I. Swanson

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The World of Work

INTRODUCTION

The history of ideas has become a fashionable subject. The past is looked at as if it were the scene of continuous dialogue between partisans of one view or another and as if complete records of battles fought and victories won were kept. What is fascinating is the influences of ideas which come to dominate society or a generation, without one's being able to assign the reason for their success to any single event or individual. It is quite remarkable that such ideas often come to be held by people largely irrespective of political party or social position.

Although history is, indeed, a flow of actors and the events in which they participate, man's motives seem to change very gradually. Yet the things he does change rapidly under the influence of a changed environment. And a realization of a change in environment breaks very suddenly upon the human mind, as when a civilization suddenly becomes conscious of an entirely new outward stimulus or need. This situation has prevailed in the development of programs for preparing people for the world of work.

For convenience, or for clarity in chronicling the flow of man's response to his environment, historians have forced a rhythm upon history by assigning trends or movements to given epochs, such as decades or centuries. Who among American educators cannot characterize the twenties, the thirties, or the sixties and give each its own special flavor?

But the history of education is not so tidy that it can be meted out in 10-year periods or in any standard measures. Educational ideas, or at least ideas about educational systems, are powerful things. They require more than studied contemplation; they require action. Their acceptance obligates a man in some way to change his life, even if only his private commitment. They dictate where vision must be concentrated and where moral and intellectual priorities must be assigned. They provide a man with allies, and they identify enemies. In short, educational ideas impose an interest in their own ultimate disposition which goes far beyond the realm of detached reason.

This tenacity of educational commitment has prolonged and enlivened arguments including those about federal aid to education, church-state relationships, and general versus vocational education. This tenacity of commitment may often become culture-bound, whereby man becomes more a captive of this culture than a creator of it. The commitments sometimes seem to transcend decades or even centuries. Because of these influences, it is somewhat presumptuous to attempt to chronicle briefly the history since 1900 of preparation for work in the United States. Such a history must limit the influence of sweeping forces whose momentum was in the past and continues to be at present a dominant influence in shaping the nature of vocational and occupational education by confining such forces to given periods.

This record of training and education for the world of work will not attempt to highlight the efforts of individual states nor will it attempt to adhere strictly to a chronology. It will only attempt to highlight the forces at work which led to action, reaction, and direction within the broad field of education and, more specifically, in the kind of education most directly affecting the nation's work force. In order, this chapter will treat the following topics: (a) the uniqueness of cultural background,

(b) the constraints of early American culture, (c) the emergence of state and national leadership, (d) the land-grant movement, (e) the emergence of state and federal legislation, (f) the emergence of organizational leadership, and (g) the renewal of state leadership.

THE UNIQUENESS OF CULTURAL BACKGROUND

As successors to a European tradition, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gave us freedom of conscience and the right to worship God in accordance with internal dictates. The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries gave an urge and an enthusiasm for political liberty which began a series of revolutions against the personal and political restrictions that characterized the earlier centuries. The nineteenth century, which saw the beginning of the application of science to agriculture and industry, gave men new power over the forces of nature and opened the way for the production of almost unlimited wealth. The twentieth century gave man great power over this environment. It also found man questioning the directions of his power and the nature of a desirable environment for man's existence.

The division of history into the rhythm of the centuries in deceptively simple, and it does not illuminate the unique cultural forces which have shaped education for work. To fully understand them, one must recall that our system of ethics emerged from influences traceable to Palestine, or Christianity, in which emphasis was placed on service to God rather than to humanity or to Rome. Symbolically and demonstrably, the teachings of Christ emphasized the values of work. This, together with an emphasis on the primacy of the individual, became an enduring influence on the later course of educational events (1). The emphasis on the inherent value of the work ethic and also the continued preoccupation with individual differences, to the near-exclusion of emphasis on group differences, can hardly be dissasociated from our past. Although it was most clearly visible in the theistically oriented educational schemes of the Colonial period, it also continues to the present time.

While our ethics came to us from Palestine, our philosophy is easily traceable to Greece. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the strength of this influence. Yet it is essential to point out that, while this influence came from a relatively advanced civilization, it emerged from an area that was small in size, nonindustrial, and badly equipped for economic development. Its educational philosophy existed very comfortably in a setting in which happiness, material wealth, freedom from toil, idealism, and education were for the few; and slavery, misery, and ignorance were the lot of the many.

From what influence did our social system emerge? Mostly from England, where social class distinctions were fundamental. The highest achievement of education was the training of gentlemen whose identifying characteristics were their superiority over all people who worked and the extent to which they despised manual activities. Our country was initially settled by Englishmen who brought the social, political, and educational philosophy of their native land, with its class distinctions, its limited sufferage, its persecution of dissenters, and its attempts to maintain privileged classes. It is rather important to remember that the outlines of the American educational system began to take shape at a time when English and early American society was organized on a rigid caste basis and when occupational education had limited incentives to recommend it.

It is true, of course, that there were many other influences, including the Protestant Reformation, which laid stress on the worth of the individual and assisted in developing the necessary courage to exploit it. There were many "testing grounds" for the compatibility of the three streams of cultural influence, and immigration to the North American Colonies was to provide yet another.

THE CONSTRAINTS OF EARLY AMERICAN CULTURE

The flow of immigrants to the North American Colonies provided some new dimensions to the process of colonization. Unlike the situation in Asia or Africa, the natives—the North American Indians—were not amenable to subjugation or servitude. They could not be seduced into becoming a supply of labor for menial tasks. Thus, the immigrants found it necessary to become accustomed to the toil demanded by the frontier. Second, the immigrants soon discovered the need to develop the apprenticeship system for occupational and trade training. Fortunately, many of the early immigrants were both literate and well trained through apprenticeship schemes in Europe. The Colonial apprenticeship characteristically provided training in literacy and religion as well as in the trades. Training for work through apprenticeship became a popular form of general education for the less affluent during the Colonial period.

The theistic orientation prevailed in education throughout the early Colonial period. But it would be erroneous to assume that this orientation was homogeneous. While the religious tradition was largely Protestant, it ranged from the equalitarianism of the Baptists and Congregationalists to the hierarchical organizational patterns of the Methodist and Episcopal churches. The religious tradition accommodated itself quite easily to class distinctions. The common theme was the need for man to shape the world in the service of his and God's purpose. The instrumentality for accomplishing this was the individual. The transformation was to be achieved as each one utilized his capabilities in *work* and sought the advantage of the whole through the struggle for self-improvement. Education for work seemed to be winning its way, at least in New England.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that the settlement patterns of the Northeast were the only ones affecting the future course of educational preference in the United States or that there was much homogeneity among the various traditions which developed. These have now been described in sufficient detail that it is possible to trace their influence in subsequent history and in the development patterns of vocational education (2).

To the Northeast came people from England carrying the tradition of the agricultural village. Homes were built around a central commons or square. At one end of the square was built a meetinghouse which served the civic, governmental, and religious functions of the community. Occupational categories arose with the need for blacksmiths, millers, printers, and other specialists to serve the civic and economic life of the community. The village was deeply committed to a type of equalitarianism which required a minimum of literacy for all and a vital concern for apprenticeship training by many. Settlements spilled into unoccupied territory and established there a similar type of communal activity.

The tidewater, delta, and coastal areas of the South reflected a settlement pattern and a cultural tradition in sharp contrast to the New England pattern. Production was for a world market whose demands were growing as the Industrial Revolution got under way. Production required large acreages and a plentiful supply of unskilled field labor. The need for capital and entrepreneurial skills contributed to a clearly defined upper class. Lower classes included the dispossessed and those in slavery. Extensive kinship linkages and goverance by an elite gave the upper class a distinctive life-style based on family, friends, and politics. Education was mostly private and often tutorial. Education for work received the lowest priority.

A third tradition arose in the region now known as Appalachia. Into the hills and mountains came immigrants of the Celtic tradition who brought with them a strong sense of territory but no love of agriculture. Theirs was a subsistence agriculture based on patch farming, unfenced pastures, and a disregard for conserving productivity. They were deeply committed to an extended kinship group, and they were more equalitarian than the New England village. Often they rejected education as merely an instrument to dispossess them of their equality and kin-derived security. Literacy was not highly prized and vocational education, including apprenticeship, was highly disorganized. From the time of the Civil War onward, Appalachia has been an observer on the sidelines of American economic development.

A fourth tradition characterized America's heartland. It consisted of farm homesteads situated on individual tracts of cultivated land. Each house contained a family whose ties to neighbors consisted of a network of reciprocal obligations involving religion, exchange of work, and education. The latter often took the form of an obligation to provide board and room for the rural teacher. Agricultural livelihood required the production of small surpluses which solidified a social and economic symbiosis with the surrounding towns. The relationships consolidated the functions of town and country, including the educational services needed to optimize local determination and relevance in educational matters. This cultural tradition began in upper New York state, in the Middle Colonies and, together with the continuing flow of immigrants from Europe, it poured into the Ohio, Mississippi, and Missouri River valleys as well as into the river basins of the West. It developed a society of Main Street towns and rural neighborhoods which later grew to dominate the traditions of American civilization. This dominance gave way only grudgingly to newer forces of industrialization which demanded only coexistence with the earlier tradition, not its capitulation.

The European influence on America was not limited to its agrarian culture. Europe's urban and commercial traditions developed rapidly in America to accommodate banking, trade, the trans-shipments of goods, and the manpower demands of the Industrial Revolution. These developed chiefly in the port cities and on the banks of navigable rivers. The areas became centers for political and economic power. They also became refuges for the dispossessed from the older agrarian traditions who migrated in great numbers to seek a new view of the world of work and pleasure.

Each of the regional cultural patterns had its own influence on the development of vocational education—each in accordance with its style of economic and industrial growth. The heterogeneity of cultural tradition had its greatest effect on the variations in the vocational and occupational education which began to emerge in the states. At the same time, there were common threads transcending all regions and all states. Invention and development in the United States were directed toward saving labor. America was constantly short of labor, and there was continuous need for the substitution of capital for labor. Inventions were highly prized if they were labor-saving, even if they did not increase output. The compelling desire to create labor-saving devices was the first step in shifting man's burden from his back to his mind. It gave impetus to orderly and systematic training for those who would enter the industrializing processes.

EMERGENCE OF STATE AND NATIONAL LEADERSHIP

The educational influences of Europe began to weaken, and powerful spokesmen emerged to assist in charting the course of American education. Each had visions of America's future economic role and the important contribution that education should offer in shaping it.

Benjamin Franklin was an outspoken theorist whose contributions were felt in many fields. In 1729, he declared that labor was the measure of and creator of wealth (3). For this he was later criticized for having assisted in originating the Marxian labor theory of value. Franklin's educational interests were generated by observations in Philadelphia. He observed that a number of night schools had opened in the city by popular demand. He recognized that the orientation toward classical education did not meet the needs of most of the people and that the city's night schools were attended by sons of middle-class businessmen, as well as by the sons of manual workers. The middle-class sons attended traditional academies during the day, and, in addition, they sought practical learning at night (4). In response to this demand, Franklin created a new type of academy intended to be practical and utilitarian for the competitive and growing demands of work. Later his academy declined as it gave way to college domination.

Horace Mann, often referred to as the father of American public education, was an early educational activist. He persuaded the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to establish a State Board of Education, and he became its first secretary. The position had little direct power, but Mann demonstrated that enormous power could be exercised indirectly. He was best known for the series of annual reports given to his Board in which he developed his educational ideas and established a model for state educational leadership.

Mann's first task in Massachusetts was to rebuild the dwindling impact of local school districts. He began by urging a defensible rationale for school finance. Recognizing that the accumulation of property was essentially a manifestation of wealth made possible by applying man's intelligence, he argued that the present holders of property owed future generations a legacy of education permitting them to further exploit and enjoy natural resources. Thus, he regarded property rights as more relative than absolute and as an obligation to invest in the future in order to preserve what had been possible in the past. Mann's success in obtaining a property tax for education was not merely one of finding a source of revenue but also of making the point that is desirable to have a favorable rate of exchange between physical and intellectual capital.

In his Fifth Annual Report, Mann said that the aim of industry is served and the wealth of the country augmented in proportion to the diffusion of knowledge (5). In his twelfth and final report, he stressed the role of education in increasing the productive power of individuals, and he went even further to describe the nature of education's market value (6).

As U.S. commissioner of education, William T. Harris carefully followed the arguments advanced earlier by Mann. Harris joined business leaders in praising capitalism as he urged their further support of education. His most important interest was in maintaining the established order, a very important concern to him as he witnessed the rise of militant labor movements. His plea was that unemployed industrial workers were unemployed because of their lack of education (7).

Franklin, Mann, and Harris were among the leading spokesmen of their time. None has been credited with being a strong advocate of vocational education nor were any of them regarded as educational economists. But in both areas their qualifications were high and their contributions were enormous.

Again, it is necessary to be reminded that free public education had not emerged by the middle of the nineteenth century. Yet the country was in the midst of an industrial revolution which entailed an extremely rapid growth of cities and an even faster development of class consciousness. There was agitation by propertyless workers for education. Masses of people were shut off from education or the possibility of learning a trade. The apprenticeship system had already begun to decline, and nothing was substituted for it. Education had been proposed as necessary to increase production, to diminish crime, to prevent poverty, to control class cleavage, and as a natural right. The rising labor force favored universal education, but most others were opposed to it. As late as 1849, the state of New York passed a law establishing free public schools. The next year it submitted the question of repealing the law to a referendum. Although 42 out of 59 counties voted for the repeal, it was lost because of the heavy vote against it in the urban areas.

There were serious disturbances in the educational world and a crisis or reform was inevitable. The forces at work had begun to bring public schools into being and the same forces started an agitation for, and brought about, the land-grant colleges movement in a further attempt to give vocational education to the masses (8).

The educational leadership in charge of this movement did not reside in the universities. It emerged from state education departments and the U.S. Office of Education, represented by such men as Mann and Harris. Without their influence and leadership, the land-grant acts and the later vocational legislation may have been postponed more than a century.

THE LAND-GRANT MOVEMENT

No record of education for the world of work would be complete without mention of the Morrill Land-Grant Act influence. This influence continues into the present decade. Few educational movements growing from Congressional acts have gathered such momentum and permitted such a complete reinterpretation of initial intent. The current and popular view of the land-grant philosophy emcompasses research, extension, and collegiate instruction. Neither the Morrill Land-Grant Act nor its subsequent amendments included provisions for research or extension. The original intent was solely instructional and not necessarily limited to the college level. When the Morrill Act was first introduced in 1859, the existing college leadership was shocked by the proposed invasion of their sacred territory by the representatives of uncultured utilitarianism. They were chagrined at the notion of welcoming the new institutions as sister institutions with growing power and appeal. The bill passed both houses of Congress, but it was vetoed by President Buchanan. On its second try, in 1862, it again passed and was signed by President Lincoln. By this time, the Southern states had already seceded from the Union, thus eliminating some of the earlier opposition to the bill.

The 1862 Act had little immediate effect. It provided only land grants to states, and states saw little advantage in additional land. Most of them had more than they needed. In 1890, Congress passed the Second Morrill Act which provided instructional funds to each state. Again in 1907, Congress passed the Nelson Amendment to the Morrill Act, which provided more instructional funds and which contained an important proviso—namely, that funds could also be used for the training of teachers of agriculture and mechanic arts. Except for an additional supplement of instructional funds contained in the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1935, this completed the fund support included in the legislative intent of the land-grant movement.

The land-grant movement had a number of very beneficial effects on American education. First, it elevated several unorganized occupations to full professional status, particularly in engineering and agriculture. Second, it provided an element of competition for the non-land-grant institutions, and it tended to consolidate professional schools within university structure. Third, it provided a precedent for federal aid to education and thus encouraged subsequent legislation assisting education for work.

The land-grant movement also had some major shortcomings. First, it failed to have any effect on as many of mankind's occupations as was expected in its original intent. Nor did it have any significant effect on the educational attainments of farmers, an occupational group specifically identified in the legislative intent (9). Second, it had an unexpectedly modest effect on curriculum or program development at the elementary and secondary levels of education. While this effect was large in the early years of the movement, it dwindled in later years.

Except for limited programs funded by categorical aids to institutions classified as "land-grant," it became increasingly difficult to differentiate between land-grant and non-land-grant state universities by the middle of the twentieth century. It prompted Congress to give immediate and continued attention to additional legislation and additional programs to prepare people for the world of work.

THE EMERGENCE OF STATE AND FEDERAL LEGISLATION

At no period in history was there such a flurry of legislative interest in vocational education as in the period immediately following the turn of the century. A number of factors may have accounted for this interest. First of all, the Russian exhibit at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 in Philadelphia had a Sputnik-like influence on American industrial and business leaders. The spirit of competitive nationalism was unleashed, and its consequences fired enthusiasm across the entire country. Second, Congress had begun to tighten immigration laws at a time when industrial output was expanding and manpower supplies were short. The need for vocational training became increasingly clear. Third, labor was becoming increasingly organized and expressive about the needs for more education and training. Finally, state departments of education were just getting organized, and decisions regarding philosophy and focus had to be made. They could follow the limiting tradition of elitist education or they could continue the crusade of Horace Mann and those whose efforts had begun to be realized in the educational preferences expressed in the land-grant movement. The latter course was more difficult and required more leadership, but it seemed preferable. It was chosen by most state education departments.

Vocational education had become popular as a public school curriculum-choice by 1915. Agricultural education of some type was offered in 23 of the 48 states. There were more than 500 agricultural high schools. Home economics was offered in 44 states by 1911 (10). Commercial education enrollments had already exceeded 15,000 students. By 1912, five states had established state systems of vocational education, and even more had passed legislation to provide support.

Congressional Legislation

Between 1900 and 1917, there were numerous efforts to have Congress enact laws supporting vocational education. Most resulted in controversies regarding federal aid to education or arguments about the way in which it should be administered.

In 1906, the Pollard Bill (Nebraska) was introduced in the House and the Burkett Bill (Nebraska) was introduced in the Senate to provide federal aid for the training of vocational teachers in the normal schools of the states. The proposal was before Congress until 1911, but it failed to pass. The Congressional intent of this legislation was presumably realized in the 1907 Nelson Amendment to the Morrill Act, although its ultimate consequences were far different.

In 1907, the Davis Bill (Minnesota) was introduced in the House with the intent of providing funds to school districts offering agriculture, home economics, and mechanic arts. It also provided funds for branch experiment stations. It failed to pass in 1907, and in 1909 it was further amended to provide similar funding for public normal schools. The administration of this law was to have resided in the hands of the Secretary of Agriculture. Educators feared the possibility of a dual system of education, and leaders in agricultural colleges opposed any grant program for agricultural training outside of the land-grant college system. This legislation began a degree of alienation between those interested in state-supported secondary-level vocational education and those in agricultural colleges with proprietary interests in the administrative organization of agricultural education.

Unwilling to be thwarted, Senator Dollivar revised the Davis bill in 1910 with added provisions to allow lump sum payments to states on the basis of state plans. In committee discussion, this was combined with the McLaughlin House bill which proposed aid to agricultural extension. The Association of American Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations supported only the McLaughlin aspects of the bill, while the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education insisted on an amendment to clarify its purpose and its administrative provisions. The bill died in committee. It accomplished nothing except to identify further a growing opposition to vocational education by agricultural colleges.

Again in 1911, the Senate considered a bill by Senator Page to introduce federal aid to vocational education. It provided for public school instruction in agriculture, home economics, and trades and industries; funds for branch experiment stations at agricultural high schools; funds for teacher training in public normal schools; and federal administration as a cooperative venture among the Secretaries of Agriculture, Interior, Commerce, and Labor. Old arguments arose, and the proposal was amended in 1912 to allow the Secretary of Agriculture to be the sole administrator of its provisions for experiment stations. The bill was introduced again in 1913, and once more there was conflict over the same provisions that produced arguments in the past.

In 1914, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education requested Congress to establish a National Commission on Aid for Vocational Education and to make legislative recommendations. The request, framed as a resolution, passed Congress and was approved by the President in 1914. This resolution was both a substitute and a compromise for previous efforts to achieve federal aid to vocational education. Another substitute and compromise was the Smith-Lever Act of 1914, which authorized agricultural extension services from land-grant colleges and demonstrated that federal aid to education was much easier to implement through higher education than through elementary and secondary education.

The Commission reported in 1914, but legislation was not proposed until 1915. The Commission, under the chairmanship of Charles Prosser, recommended grant support of vocational instruction below the college level in agriculture, home economics, and trade and industrial subjects. It also proposed a Federal Board of Vocational Education with the U.S. commissioner of education as chairman. It further proposed state administration through state boards and a state plan for each state. Some of the old arguments arose again, but the bill finally passed Congress in 1917 as the Smith-Hughes Act. It was vocational education's organic act. It legislated a rationale which was followed by a long series of measures which extended and expanded its provisions. The specific provisions of the Act and its subsequent legislation are as follows:

Smith-Hughes Act. The Smith-Hughes Act provided an initial appropriation of $1,660,000 for distribution to the states and a gradual increase each year thereafter until a total of $7,167,000 was reached in 1926. An additional $200,000 was provided for a new federal agency to administer the Act. It provided vocational training in agriculture, trades, industries, and home economics by granting funds for the reimbursement of salaries of teachers, supervisors, directors, and teacher-educators. Reimbursement could not exceed one-half of the salaries paid, and the reimbursement for home economics could not exceed 20 percent of that allocated to trade and industrial education.

The George-Reed Act. In 1929, Congress passed the George-Reed Act, which supplemented vocational funding with an appropriation of $500,000 for the first year and annually thereafter until a total of $2.5 million was reached. The Act was limited to 5 years, and it provided only for education in agriculture and home economics. Nothing was provided for trades and industries. A sum of $100,000 was provided for administration.

The George-Ellzey Act. The George-Ellzey Act replaced the George-Reed Act in 1934. It provided $3 million annually in equal parts for education in agriculture, home economics, and trades and industries distributed, respectively, on the basis of farm population, rural population, and nonfarm population. Allowances were made for administration and to guarantee a minimum allocation of $5,000 for each field in each state.

The George-Deen Act. In 1936, the George-Deen Act replaced the George-Ellzey Act. It authorized an annual supplement of $14,483,000, thus doubling the authorization made under the Smith-Hughes Act and raising the total authorization to $21,785,000. It added distributive occupations to the list of reimbursible subjects, and it revised the matching principle employed in previous legislation. The Act provided that states and territories match federal funds with state or local funds or both to the extent of 50 percent until June 30, 1942, after which the percentage of matching would increase by 10 percent each year until July 1, 1946, when the required matching would return to 100 percent.

The George-Barden Act. In 1946, Congress passed a Vocational Education Act, commonly known as the George-Barden Act. It provided for further development of vocational education, and it authorized funds for guidance and for teacher training in all fields. It also established minimum allocations for each field in each state.

Amendments of 1956. Through an amendment to the George-Barden Act, Congress authorized an appropriation in 1956 (P.L. 911) of $5 million annually for a 5-year period to provide grants to states in order to extend and improve practical nurse training. In 1961, the law was extended for three additional years. A further amendment to the George-Barden Act provided vocational education in the fishery trades and industry (P.L. 1027). The amendment authorized $375,000 annually on a continuing basis.

National Defense Education Act of 1958. During the Eighty-Fourth Congress (1956), a measure was introduced into the Senate (S. 4301) authorizing annual appropriations to the states to promote the development of area vocational schools and programs. The measure underwent extended discussions, including responses from the National Association of Land-Grant Colleges and State Universities in which was expressed some fear of agricultural education being expanded into area vocational schools. After some revisions, the measure was incorporated into the National Defense Education Act of 1958 (Title VIII). It authorized $15 million annually for the training of technicians in area schools. The Act was scheduled to terminate in 1962, but it was extended to 1965.

Area Redevelopment Act. The Area Redevelopment Act authorized $4.5 million annually for training and retraining, and it designated the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as the executor of these provisions. The program was designed for unemployed workers living in areas of redevelopment. The Act provided that training be organized in states under the direction of state boards of vocational education.

Manpower Training and Development Act. The MTDA of 1962 authorized an expenditure of $161 million annually, with about one-third of the amount authorized for training purposes under the direction of state boards for vocational education. The U.S. Department of Labor was designated as the federal administrator of the Act, with the Office of Education acting as a broker in transferring the funds to the state boards.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963. The Vocational Education Act of 1963 was the culmination of the work of a panel of consultants appointed by President Kennedy in 1961. Their report recommended significant changes in vocational legislation. The result, the Vocational Act of 1963, authorized large increases in federal funds and permitted significant changes in program emphases. Although the 1963 Act did not repeal the Smith-Hughes or the George-Barden Act, it essentially permitted a repeal at the state level. It permitted state boards of vocational education, with the approval of the U.S. commissioner of education, to transfer funds from one category to another, including the transfer of all Smith-Hughes and George-Barden funds in the categories described in the 1963 Act.

The Titles of the 1963 Act did not include the vocational subject categories specified in previous legislation. It supplemented the intent of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 by permitting the use of federal funds for construction and operation of area vocational-technical schools. The Act authorized up to 10 percent of program funds to be used for research in vocational and technical education, an expression of a new and significant research commitment in the field of education. It also broadened curriculum options which could be included in programs of occupational education. The total appropriation was $60 million for the first year and increased over a 5-year period to $225 million. The authorization also required periodic review of accomplishments.

In 1968, Congress revised and greatly expanded the field of federally supported vocational education (11). Various sections of a comprehensive law authorized grants to the states for basic vocational education programs and research and training at appropriation levels of $355 million for fiscal 1969, $565 million for fiscal 1970, $675 million each for fiscal years 1971 and 1972, and $565 million for fiscal 1973 and each succeeding fiscal year. Ninety percent of these funds are for basic vocational education programs, and 10 percent for research and training in vocational education. State boards of vocational education and the U.S commissioner of education also are to operate programs of grants and contracts for exemplary programs in vocational education, using authorized appropriations ranging from $15 million in fiscal 1969 to $75 million in fiscal 1971.

Among the programs are residential vocational education programs for youth 15 to 21 years of age; federal funds to reduce the cost of borrowing funds for the construction of residential vocational education schools and dormitories; state programs of consumer and homemaking education, with authorizations of $25 million for fiscal 1970 up to $50 million for fiscal 1972; grants to the states for cooperative vocational education programs through work-study arrangements, with authorizations of $20 million for fiscal 1969 and up to $75 million for fiscal 1972; state programs providing work-study arrangements for students, with authorizations of $35 million each for fiscal years 1969 and 1970; and a program of grants and contracts by the U.S. commissioner with colleges and universities, state boards, and other organizations for development and dissemination of vocational education curriculum materials.

State and Federal Legislation in Perspective

Vocational legislation has invariably resulted in appropriations being made available to states as grant programs. Since 1917, these grant programs have followed a certain pattern which may be viewed in perspective. Some of the features of this pattern follow:

Categorical Aids and Earmarked Funds. Leaders in educational finance often have criticized categorical aids and earmarked funds. Categorical aids have always been inimical to any interpretation of the conventional wisdom or the conventional exhortations of experts in the field of educational finance. Yet the history of educational finance reveals that many of the improvements that have occurred over the years have been initiated by grants or stimulation funds (12). Vocational programs stimulated and supported by earmarked funds have become well established and well accepted. The removal of categorical aids in the Vocational Education Act of 1963 did not indicate that the program categories are no longer needed. Rather, it indicated evolution of an education program in which categorical designations were no longer a prime concern in serving the public interest. The history of grant programs in vocational education may repay study by those whose interest lies in evolving curriculums.

Administrative and Instructional Costs. Often it has been pointed out that the provision for supervisory staff in the vocational fields has been disproportionately higher than in other fields and that administrative costs are excessive in proportion to instructional costs. The administrative costs of vocational education have always been less than 2 percent of instructional costs. In fact, as expenditures have increased, the proportion of time given to supervision and administration has sharply declined. In historical perspective, it should be said that the most damaging indictment that may be leveled against vocational legislation is that the growing size of the state and federal supervisory and administrative staffs has not paralleled the growing importance of the field to the public welfare. Some indications of this importance may become available through provisions of Title V of Public Law 89-10, the Education Act of 1965, wherein Congress took special note of the need to strengthen state departments of education.

Federal Control of Education. Federal control implies a loss of local or state control. A careful examination of history will show that the only durable examples of federal control have been those arising from court interpretations of the Constitution. No illustrative cases can be found in vocational education. Since 1917, vocational legislation has required each state to prepare its own plan in accordance with guidelines and standards below which no state would make a deliberate choice. The history of vocational programs may show rigidities which are found in federal regulations and which can be traced to these and other federal influences, but these have become self-imposed by states or local schools through state plans that they have agreed to observe. The history does not show evidence of federal control nor of federal intervention in local control outside the scope of the state plans as officially interpreted.

State and Local Support of Vocational Education. Federal grants to states for vocational education have always observed a matching principle. The defect in the matching principle is that states or local districts may exhaust their resources in their attempt to match federal funds and leave a meager residual with which to choose from among other desirable options. In 1918, when federal allocations were slightly more than $3 million, the state and local allocation was $2.43 for each dollar of federal vocational expenditure. In 1956, when federal allocations had risen to more than $25 million, the state and local allocation was $4.26 for each dollar of federal vocational expenditure. In 1965, when the federal allocation was about $115 million and rising at a rate of about $50 million per year, the state and local allocation was about $2.50 for each dollar of federal expenditure. The record shows that local and state governments have at least doubled the minimum matching requirements.

Equality of Educational Opportunity. Equality of educational opportunity is a desired outcome of the educational system, but it remains as an unfulfilled hope of the less privileged in our society. The achievement of equality of educational opportunity requires a leveling of opportunity. With deliberate choice, Americans have opted for such a leveling of educational opportunity, and equally deliberately Americans have opted for policies favoring unleveled or differentiated incomes. Automobiles, homes, and neighborhoods may be graded in accordance with price, and the purchasers of these are likewise graded in accordance with income. Those with higher incomes may purchase extra educational advantages for their children in the form of books, travel, and entertainment which are not available to children from homes with lower incomes. It is quite possible that the ideal of equality of educational opportunity is incompatible with an equally acceptable ideal which entails unequal incomes. Vocational education is a type of education often called upon to redress the incompatible nature of this mixed idealism. Compounding the problem is the existence of many occupations for which there are no orderly and systematic training opportunities. Often there is much to be desired in the geographic distribution of the training programs currently under way. The "area" school features of the 1958 and the 1963 legislation have begun to alleviate a part of this problem, but much needs to be done. History shows that equality of educational opportunity in vocational education is closer than it was a decade or two ago but still uncomfortably out of reach.

THE EMERGENCE OF ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP

America's capacity to create and utilize organization is a trait that reaches to our earliest history. In 1620, the company of courageous Pilgrims set down rules to govern their relationships in the famous Mayflower Compact. Two centuries later, de Tocqueville marvelled at the ease with which Americans joined together to solve problems. They could join together, he observed, to solve their problems and then disband. And they could easily reconstitute themselves as a group if new problems arose.

The history of occupational education is aptly described by de Tocqueville's observations. In 1906, the National Society for the Preservation of Industrial Education was formed. During 6 out of the first 12 years of the organization's existence, its presidency was occupied by Cabinet officers of the federal government. It was an organization of stature and prestige (13).

In 1918, the organization changed its name to the National Society for Vocational Education. In 1926, it merged with a sister organization known as the Vocational Education Association of the Middle West. With the merger the new organization adopted as its name the American Vocational Association.

From the very beginning, the American Vocational Association and its predecessor organizations have been a professional focus for vocational and occupational educators. The record of vocational legislation is a record of effort by the American Vocational Association working integratively with state directors of vocational education, Congressmen, legislators, teachers, chief state school officers, the U.S. Office of Education, and other professional organizations. The history of all types of preparation for work is a record of the associated efforts of educational leaders whose essential catalyst included the American Vocational Association.

The American Vocational Association was not alone in its concern for vocational education. In 1908, the National Education Association established a Department of Rural and Agricultural Education. This Department served as a spokesman for and a supporter of the evolving programs in vocational education. In 1958-59, the Department devoted its annual yearbook to the topic of *Vocational Education for Rural America* (14).

Other organizations, including the American Federation of Labor, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, have joined as activist groups to assist in the development of vocational education (15).

Contributing enormously to professional and organizational leadership have been the state vocational associations. Each has been a constituent element of the American Vocational Association, although each has operated independently under its own constitution with strong leadership from state departments of education and strong commitment to state programs of vocational education.

RENEWAL OF STATE LEADERSHIP

The period since 1960 has been the most interesting and the most exciting in educational history. It has been a period of social protest and one of educational crisis. Few periods in history can match its turbulence.

Also emerging during this period was

a renewed interest in educational planning. Assisting this movement was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 whose Title V is devoted to the strengthening of state departments of education.

Regional groups such as the Upper Midwest Research and Development Council operating within the Ninth Federal Reserve District have developed intense interest in education. This interest has grown out of the realization that human resources, rather than natural resources, have the greatest wealth-producing potential in the decades ahead. In a major education report, *Education and Economic Growth in the Upper Midwest* (16), vocational and occupational education was cited as the highest priority for public attention.

In the Eight-State Project, an ESEA Title V project for educational planning in the Mountain States, a similar emphasis was given to coordinated manpower planning by state departments of education (17).

The report of the Task Force on Vocational-Technical Education of the Education Commission of the States, chaired by Oregon State Superintendent of Public Instruction Leon P. Minear, is perhaps the best illustration of a collective planning effort by state educational leaders (18). Their brief and succinct beliefs, observations, and proposals appear in Appendix A. The future of vocational, technical, and occupational education will be shaped by these and similar efforts to examine the broad context for manpower planning and, equally important, to win as much dedication toward instructional programs as is needed to realize such plans.

CONCLUSION

The history of educational adjustment to accommodate education for work is a record of chronicled crises. It appears to involve three sweeping movements. The first came in the Colonial period when early settlers came face to face with a rugged and inhospitable frontier which demanded utilitarianism for survival. For this, the class-conscious educational pattern of the mother country was not sufficient. Adversity demanded an educational response.

The second major movement came in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although educational events were overshadowed by the Civil War, the educational crisis was genuine. During this period the question of free public education arose. Even more, during this period the country found it necessary to rise to the challenge of making education relevant to the times, to the demands of the Industrial Revolution and a redefinition of equality that encouraged free public education. All this resulted in a growing demand for a vocational orientation.

A third major movement occurred in the middle of the twentieth century, during the late 1950's and early 1960's. Under the rubrics of area redevelopment, economic opportunity, national defense, human rights, and vocational education, there was widespread social protest expressed legislatively as well as institutionally. Again, education for work became an important focus of educational dialogue.

With each of the sweeping changes came an increasing concern for articulating vocational education with overall educational planning. The current stage and the immediate future will place great responsibility on state departments of education for new emphases in planning. In a society whose economic policy pivots on a full-employment model and whose social and political idealism is based on a work ethic, it is compellingly clear that neither society nor the educational system which supports it can live comfortably without orderly plans to accommodate education for work. The alternative would undoubtedly lead to further sweeping movements and perhaps another crisis in the middle of the next century.

FOOTNOTES

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Appendix A

BELIEFS, OBSERVATIONS, AND PROPOSALS OF THE VOCATIONAL-TECHNICAL EDUCATION TASK FORCE OF THE EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES

PART I. WE BELIEVE—

1. Public education exists for all the people. Public schools have become a vital link to progress and indeed the very existence of our democratic society.
2. The achievements of America's public schools over the past hundred years have developed potential for creativity in our society that have brought us to the threshold of a new era in which the possibilities for greatness will be limitless.
3. In this last half of the 20th Century, educated people, and the technology they have fostered, have given this nation a margin of choice which must be used wisely if a society of free men is to endure.
4. The schools are responsible for educating and preparing individuals for full participation in the economic life of American society; thus, the schools have a major responsibility in the field of manpower and development.

PART II. WE OBSERVE—

1. "Education for *all*" has become a reality; but the formal classroom setting which does not motivate nor serve all the people is still the primary environment for public education. The community, with all its resources, must also be involved as a context in which learning takes place.
2. Generally, education for work life is not treated equally or simultaneously with education in the intellectual, cultural, social, and political areas of human endeavor.
3. A plethora of educational programs, often poorly related to each other or to "real life," points up the need for strong state leadership in master planning and coordination. The resources unique to each state must be mobilized to provide each individual sufficient numbers and kinds of learning experiences to prepare him to meet society's ever-changing demands.

PART III. WE PROPOSE—

1. That a *Human Resources Council* be established in each state.

   The membership would consist of heads of those departments of state government that each state deemed appropriate, plus key lay citizens. The Chief State School Officer may serve as Executive Secretary.

   The Council's responsibility would be to develop long-range goals (this might be referred to as a "Bill of Educational Rights and Public Responsibilities") with a view toward adding the community context for education to the present "school" context and relating the two.

THE FOLLOWING PRINCIPLES MAY GUIDE THE COUNCIL AS IT LEADS IN SETTING THE STATES' EDUCATIONAL GOALS:

A. *Priority*. Education should be given first priority in the allocation of human and material resources.

B. *Community Involvement*. Education should be extended outward from the school to the entire community. Citizens can be involved as advisors on policy and programs, as tutors in and out of "school," as resource persons, and as students themselves.

C. *Extension of School Day and School Year.* Schools, as resource centers for learning for students of all ages, should operate from 8 a.m. to midnight every week of the year.

D. *Flexible Termination, Re-entry and Advancement.* The formal school-leaving age should be made flexible so that the individual, as he reaches the maturity to either go on to college or a job, may do so with the assurance that pursuit of a liberal education can continue along with career development, throughout life. Both dropouts and graduates whose skills become obsolete could be welcomed back into this kind of system to take up where they once left off, without fear of new failure.

E. *Individualization of Instruction.* No limitations or inhibitions should be placed summarily on learning because of age, ability, or other factors—rather, learning experiences should be planned to meet the needs of the individual.

F. *Followup and Feedback.* Effectiveness of educational programs should be continuously evaluated through a followup of all students for an indefinite period and securing feedback on how well the programs are serving their consumers. Such information can be used for program redevelopment and improvement as well as for continual escalation of individual skills.

The Council would establish and coordinate the work of state-level commissions which would concentrate upon bringing contextual reform to education in each of the following areas: occupational, social, cultural, political, and intellectual—beginning with occupational.

2. That an *Occupational Education Commission* be established in each state, with counterparts in Local Community Advisory Councils.

The Commission would be a top-level group, broadly representative, including members from labor and management in the private sector, as well as from public service. The State Vocational Education Director may serve as Executive Secretary. The Commission would have a full-time professional and clerical staff.

The Commission's responsibility would be to provide leadership and stimulate development of vocational-technical education programs designed to achieve the goals defined in cooperation with the Human Resources Council, with attention to such factors as:

Existing vocational-technical programs in the state upon which improved programs can be built.

Size and ecological characteristics of the communities in the state—metropolitan, urban-rural, and rural.

Identification of individual dropouts and potential dropouts as well as unemployed and underemployed adults. With this group, specific training and job entry is of key importance. *This should be the target population for* initial efforts in contextual reform; then the identified "passive" youngsters, and ultimately *all* the youngster and adults who can benefit.

Through its counterparts, the Local Community Advisory Councils on Vocational-Technical Education, the Commission would cooperate with local and intermediate school districts and lay citizens to:

Survey human resources—state, institutional, group, and individual.

Identify, establish, and staff "learning stations"—in order to induct youth and adults into programs including, but not limited to, "school."

Develop exploratory and tryout experiences, extend the school day and year, provide for flexible termination and re-entry, identify and prepare lay instructors, and develop new curricula.

Provide, in cooperation with business, industry, and other agencies, for follow-up and placement of students.

3. That a *Manpower Coordinating Committee* be established in each state.

   The composition of the Committee should provide for high-level representation of labor and management, and of the appropriate state agencies.

   The Committee's responsibility would be to effect maximum system-cost effectiveness in the utilization of the various occupational and job training programs.

   The Committee's primary function should be coordinative rather than administrative, with the actual implementation of the education and training programs being the responsibility of the appropriate agency.

   A state may elect to have this Committee operate as a sub-committee of the Occupational Education Commission, or separately, with close working relationships with the Commission.

4. That each state consider the establishment of a *Task Force for Occupational Education and Economic Development.*

   This Task Force would draw specialists from appropriate existing state agencies (including the Department or Division of Economic Development), labor, management, and the new groups proposed above.

   The responsibility of the Task Force would be to help build up the state's industrial output, through new or expanded industries. This would be done by means of providing information to assist industries in considering the state as a site, providing a pool of trained workers, and/or making available undeveloped (or underdeveloped) workers who can be trained for jobs provided by new industries.

   A state may want to consider this kind of special occupational education service if it seems likely that through its use the income of the state could be substantially increased. The Task Force could operate as a subcommittee of the Occupational Education Commission, or separately.

5. That *Regional Learning Centers* be established in each state in intermediate Education District or County School Offices or other regional educational organizations in the state.

   The Centers would be staffed with student-personnel specialists who would work with sociologists, psychologists, economists, and cultural and political leaders to synthesize educational planning for the region. The Local Community Advisory Councils described in Proposal No. 2 above would work closely with the Center.

   The responsibility of the Centers would be to provide leadership in development of broad inter-disciplinary curricula that are responsive to the needs of society an dthe individual and geared to the resources of the region.

   The results of this planning would be used by counselors in diagnosis and prognosis for individual learners, and by master teachers in planning complementary educational experiences in specific fields.

Source:

Education Commission of the States, Task Force on Vocational-Technical Education, "Changing the Context in Which Occupational Education Takes Place," *American Vocational Journal,* XLIII, No. 3 (March 1968), 59-60.

Chapter 7

Adult Education and the Public Schools

John B. Holden

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Adult Education and the Public Schools

INTRODUCTION

The American system of education has operated largely on the unfortunate assumption that the bulk of knowledge and skill required for a lifetime can be acquired during the individual's youth. For this reason, the tax-supported education efforts of our society have been devoted primarily to youth. Recent years, however, have pressed upon us a new focus, and we are beginning to think of continued learning as a necessity. For the first time in the history of civilization, the time span of major cultural change has been telescoped into less than the lifetime of an individual. The present generation of adults must manage a world that is drastically different from the one into which they were born.

One of the most exciting paradoxes of our time is that out of our youth-oriented society is emerging an urgent concern for lifelong learning. As we have pushed back the clock to acknowledge that both informal and formal learning begin very early indeed, we also are pushing it forward with fresh insights and understanding that learning does and must go on and on, into middle age, into old age, as long as the body and the mind can sustain it.

In his succinct and provocative discussion entitled *Self-Renewal: The Individual and the Innovative Society,* John Gardner reminds us of many of the simple complexities that we seem always to forget:

> The ultimate goal of the educational system is to shift to the individual the burden of pursuing his own education. This will not be a widely shared pursuit until we get over our odd conviction that education is what goes on in school buildings and nowhere else. Not only does education continue when schooling ends, but it is not confined to what may be studied in adult education courses. The world is an incomparable classroom, and life is a memorable teacher for those who aren't afraid of her(1).

It will be some time before the forces of adult education are rallied under this broad and sophisticated point of view. Indeed, the lack of vigorous and visionary leadership in the field itself is a major factor in the slowness of adult education to envision and move toward the great goals of the future. There are all too few prophets in the vast and uncultivated wilderness of continuing education.

One of the foremost phenomena necessitating continuing education is the dramatic rate of change, largely technological, that is taking place. Widely publicized dissertations show public awareness of this condition. It is said that our entire store of scientific knowledge doubled between 1960 and 1967; that there are more scientists living today than in all of the preceding years of recorded history; that an engineering graduate who makes no effort to keep up to date in his field will find his knowledge obsolete within 5 years after graduation and that he must systematically spend at least 10 percent of his time to keep up with new developments and another 10 percent in refresher training in those parts of his education not currently in active use. Progress in science and technology has been such as to demand vast programs of vocational and professional continuing education by our educational institutions at all academic levels. And the need is not confined to the sciences; it is pressing in all professions, requiring many adults to adopt new methods of work, to revise work patterns, and often to learn new vocations.

Beyond the immediate concern of occupational involvement lie the great needs for new insights into human relations, family relations, community relations, a meaningful existence, and more leisure and personal growth. All this applies to our total population, which includes those 18 million individuals who are over 65 years of age. Even the well educated youth of today, who seems to be so carefully groomed for the new tempo, can anticipate finding his knowledge obsolete by tomorrow, unless there is continuing education.

The great task before us is that continuing education must be offered to all —and simultaneously. We must emphasize the continued learning of adults even while training our young people. It is true that major crises, such as wars and economic depression, have produced emergency programs with mixed welfare and educational purposes, but it is equally true that these programs have been abandoned as the crises ended.

As we formulate for the future the great educational goals and programs that are so badly needed, we must pause to cope with pressing problems of the present, such as illiteracy and unemployment. In the United States today there are approximately 11 million persons 18 years of age and older who cannot read or write. According to the 1960 Census, 22.2 percent (23,158,434) of the adults 25 years of age and older have an eighth-grade education or less. The goal of proponents of the Adult Education Act of 1966 was to raise the literacy level of this sector of our population to the eighth grade.

There is no question that literacy is closely related to the problem of training the hard-core unemployed for work. In an economy capable of sustaining high employment, everyone able to work should be assured of a job. There are, according to estimates, some 500,000 men and women who have had no job or face serious employment problems and who live in the slums of our 50 largest cities (2). It has been proposed that the government identify and locate these persons and that industry train them and offer them jobs. This program is being given high priority in the tasks of overcoming poverty and redeveloping our cities.

Available as they are in every community, the public schools could be a key agency in the movement. Limited as they are by money and staff, they have had difficulty educating the youth of a burgeoning population. The U.S. Office of Education, certain professional associations, some universities, some foundations, and the communications media all have encouraged public schools to offer a wide range of adult education services, even when the value of such services was not commonly recognized. This might seem to show that adult education is part and parcel of a tremendous growth of public education in the United States. Such, however, is not substantially true in terms of full-time enrollments or serious vocational objectives. The burden of taxation for public education has had a retarding influence on the growth of adult education.

In spite of all the problems posed to public school adult education, it should be noted that in general there has been a steady increase in participation from 1900 to 1967. There was an increase from 203,000 adults in evening classes in the public schools of the nation at the turn of the century to 6,600,000 in general and in vocational education in 1967. The departments of education in all 50 states now have one or more persons assigned to general adult education programs. Appendix A shows enrollments in both general and vocational adult education for each state and territory for three separate years, at 10-year intervals. It also shows the number of staff members of departments of education for each of the years except 1946-47 for vocational education. Figures were not available for that year. The size of state staffs for general adult education expanded greatly in 1966-67, for reasons which will be given later.

Eventually the overload in the cost of education of children and youth, which leaves insufficient public funds for adult education (3), must be taken seriously and be thoroughly reviewed. The emergency programs in time of crises, with their primary emphasis on welfare and labor services rather than educational agencies meeting national adult education needs, underline the need for major attention to the problem by educational agencies at all levels. The history of adult education makes clear the reasons why this is unfortunately so.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION

Events Prior to 1900

Beginning with the early eighteenth century, one finds recognition here and there that schools should serve adults as well as youth. In various places evening schools established for youth also accepted interested adults as students. As one might suppose, these developments occurred almost exclusively in larger centers of population. Later, lawmakers and others recognized that adults had an interest in learning and in some few places passed permissive legislation for evening schools for adults.

The American Colonists generally had strong political and religious interests, which tended to condition their leaders favorably toward universal education. Strong religious beliefs induced them to establish schools so that all could read the Bible and know its teachings. Another motivating force found in the social doctrine of the Puritans was the "gospel of work." It led to the fear that without education, the result would be idleness and slothfulness and ultimately grave sin (4).

One of the early leaders in self-education was Benjamin Franklin, whose writings and projects planted the compulsion toward self-improvement that has exerted a dominant influence on our attitude toward continuing education. In 1772, with eleven friends, he began the Junto in Philadelphia, a uniquely adult educational institution of the period, as a discussion club to explore politics, natural philosophy, and morals. As the Junto grew over the years, it evolved from a men's club into a civic organization sponsored by various agencies. In 1941, the Junto was revived, again in Philadelphia, as an independent adult education institution with "Learning Can Be Fun" as its motto. Junto has fully justified its founder's hopes. The American Philosophical Society, the Franklin Institute, the University of Pennsylvania, the first American public library, and the first Philadelphia mutual fire insurance company are all outcomes of Junto discussions.

Private evening schools were established in early Colonial times for the education of servants, apprentices, and poorly educated adults. Most of these schools were loosely organized, primarily vocational, and largely religious in sponsorship. These were supplanted by the universally established common schools, which in many cities began to offer evening extension classes. Historical documents show evening schools in the state of New York as early as 1661. Such schools were established in Boston in 1724, in Philadelphia in 1734, and in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1744. Disparities exist among records of these early ventures, and conflicting dates are frequently quoted. From 1750 to 1820, however, it is known that evening schools grew steadily, indicating even in those early times the acknowledged need for adult education. Schools were open to youth and adults, offering both vocational and cultural subjects. In 1823, the state of Massachusetts appropriated $75 for an evening school; in 1834, the city council of Louisville, Kentucky, opened an evening school for apprentices. Records of evening classes may also be found in the annual reports of the superintendents of schools in St. Louis for 1834 and Cincinnati for 1840 (5).

The development of evening schools may have received some impetus from other developments. Two pioneering institutions were the Lowell Institute and Cooper Union. The Lowell Institute was founded in Boston in 1836 for "the maintenance and support of public lectures to be delivered in Boston upon Philosophy, natural history and the arts and sciences." Cooper Union was established in New York in 1859 to "provide free courses of instruction in the application of science and art to the practical business of life." Other institutes appeared in the early 1800's, but only a handful exist today—of which Franklin Institute in Philadelphia and the Cincinnati Mechanics Institute are examples.

A unique early experiment in adult education was the Lyceum movement started in Derby, Connecticut, in 1826, by Josiah Holbrook. Beginning in his home town, it developed by 1831 into a chain of local, state, and national organizations numbering over 3,000. Its form of activity at the local level was that of lecture-discussion groups held in connection with a library or museum collection; at the state and national levels, the Lyceum endorsed a system of free public schools and the professional training of teachers. There is no record of the National Lyceum after 1839, but hundreds of local units continued to exist until the Civil War. After the war, the work of furnishing lecturers to local groups was gradually taken over by commercial lecture bureaus.

In 1878, John Vincent organized the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle, originally a part of the Chautauqua program established in 1874 by Dr. Vincent and Lewis Miller. This was the first program of adult education on a national scale in the country. It consisted of a 4-year program of home reading circles, which were reported to number 10,000 at one time (6). Chautauqua pioneered in the development not only of reading circles but also of correspondence courses, summer schools, university extension programs, and book clubs.

The first state legislative enactment providing for public evening schools was passed by the Ohio Legislature in 1839:

> Section 16. That in all districts composed in whole or in part of an incorporated town, city or borough, it shall be the duty of the directors to provide a suitable number of evening common schools for the instruction of male youth twelve years of age as are prevented by their daily avocation from attending day schools, which schools shall be subject to such regulations as the directors from time to time may adopt for the government thereof (7).

It should be noted that the law did not exclude adults. As a direct result, three evening schools were established in Cincinnati in November of 1840 and remained open for 4 months during the school year. Within a few years, the law was modified and contained a statement that persons over 21 could be admitted and charged a fee (8).

In 1847, Massachusetts adopted a law authorizing cities and towns to appropriate money for the support of schools for the instruction of adults in reading, writing, English grammar, arithmetic, and geography (9). Also in 1847, New York enacted legislation authorizing the Board of Education "to conduct evening schools for males," with six schools being opened that same year. In a report to the Board of Education in 1850, the director of evening schools for New York City refers to one classification of pupils as "older youth or young adults who return voluntarily to school." By 1857, there were 25 evening schools in New York City, operating classes five evenings each week (10). Detroit opened two evening schools in 1875, each of which held classes for 22 nights and charged a registration fee of $1 to be refunded if attendance was "reasonably good." The enrollment numbered 278 students, and the cost of instruction per person was 6½¢ per evening and $1.43 for the term (11).

The purpose of the first evening schools was to offer opportunities for youth who had left school early for employment to continue their schooling after hours. Age was never a limiting factor, and adults were usually found in attendance. In the first several decades of their existence, these schools provided on a somewhat limited basis the same kind of common school education as did the day schools. The curriculum usually included such subjects as reading, penmanship, arithmetic, geography, linear drawing, and music. Schools were frequently graded into three levels covering subject matter somewhat comparable to that of the first six grades in a modern school. Later, these schools expanded their curriculums to correspond to the first eight grades of a regular day school.

As previously stated, the evening school had become a somewhat common feature of school systems in our larger cities before the Civil War. The programs of many of the early evening schools would not be regarded as adult education today because they were established primarily for school-age youth who worked instead of attending school during the day. But gradually adults came to take advantage of the opportunity for further schooling offered by these schools, and by the turn of the century the enrollment was predominantly adult.

During the early and middle years of the nineteenth century, the evening school labored under many handicaps and suffered many setbacks. An early report tells of the students being tired, many of them having come from a 10- to 12-hour working day. Low pay and difficulties of travel often made it difficult to obtain good teachers. Although it is now taken for granted that adults require methods and teaching materials quite different from those used with children, few such materials were available to teachers in the early evening schools.

The literature contains many statements praising the work of both the teachers and the students in those schools, but financially the schools were always in a precarious position. Whenever a local or national depression occurred, they were almost always forced to close. For example, New York City's evening schools were closed between 1838 and 1847 for lack of financing. According to the annual report of the Cincinnati Board of Education for 1841, attendance was reported as being increasingly irregular, and the school year was cut to 3 months. The Chicago Board of Education started evening classes in 1850, depending largely on voluntary service of the day teachers for staff. The first appropriation for these classes was not made until 1863. Both Columbus and Cleveland closed their evening schools at the time of the national depression in the 1870's (12).

In spite of these ups and downs, the public evening schools continued to grow and, by the turn of the century, were a fairly common part of the educational landscape in large urban centers. The following data give information on the growth in enrollments in three large cities: "In Cleveland, enrollments grew from 135 in 1851 to over 5,000 in 1909; in Chicago, from 208 in 1857 to 14,530 in 1893; in Los Angeles, from 30 in 1887 to 235 in 1901 and 3,414 in 1916" (13). Other characteristic changes in these schools were the increase in the age of the students and the broadening of the curriculum to include high school subjects and others of general interest, such as public affairs, industrial arts, and parliamentary law.

State support for evening classes for youth and adults came roughly in three stages. The first of these was passage of permissive legislation, granting local school districts authority to operate evening schools which would include adults. Then the states passed various mandatory requirements, such as required subjects for graduation from high school and for teacher certification. Legislation providing for financial assistance followed, and, finally, provisions were made for statewide services to local systems through the state departments of education. The Ohio law of 1839 required boards of education to set up evening classes whenever they were petitioned by 25 youths over 12 years of age. In 1842, the Pennsylvania Legislature passed a somewhat similar law. The Massachusetts act of 1847 authorized towns to support schools for adults in which the common branches of knowledge should be taught. Permissive legislation continued to be enacted, and during this period there was apparently no thought of state support. Evening schools continued to be established in the major cities. By 1870, there were more than 100 evening high schools and evening elementary schools in the United States. By 1900, 165 major cities had established such schools.

The first evidence of mandatory legislation came in 1883, when Massachusetts made the establishment and maintenance of elementary evening schools compulsory for cities of 10,000 or more.

California has a spectacular history of public school adult education, almost coincident with the period of its early statehood (14). The first evening school in the state was opened by the San Francisco Board of Education in 1856. John Swett, its organizer, consistently failed to collect tuition and was eventually successful in persuading the San Francisco Board of Education to make the evening school tuition free. In 1870, the evening schools were made a permanent part of the San Francisco school system. Then followed the wide development of adult education in other cities in the state. California's Constitution in 1879 contained permissive provisions for evening schools, and in 1893 the Legislature of that state enacted legislation calling for elementary schools that would admit adults.

Along with the need to keep up with social, political, and scientific developments in early America, another need was developing—that of technical and business training. While it is true that most young men working in machine shops, stores, and banks were expected to learn on the job, the increase in technology characteristic of our times had already begun. Long before the Civil War, numerous textile mills and small manufacturing plants had been set up along the streams of New England and in the Middle Atlantic states to take advantage of water power. Typical of the latter were the powder mills built along the Brandywine Creek in Pennsylvania by the DuPont family in the early 1700's. These industries needed operators, mechanics, and foremen. In the cities, large wholesale and retail mercantile establishments came into being along with banks and marketing facilities. These establishments also needed skilled persons to carry on their businesses.

There was a variety of responses to these needs, including apprentice systems, mechanics and mercantile institutes and libraries, plus the inclusion of business subjects, practical mathematics, and mechanical drawing in the curriculums of some of the early night schools. None of these was very successful. The apprenticeship system broke down partly because hopes of making fortunes by moving westward were constantly causing trainees to desert, and partly because, with a demand for labor greater than the supply, apprentices were often not willing to wait out a training period—sometimes as long as 7 years—before being certified as master mechanics or craftsmen.

The mechanics and mercantile institutes, which had been imported from England, met with even less success here than they had in the mother country and for much the same reasons. The methods of teaching were almost entirely by lectures and only infrequently accompanied by a demonstration. The highly technical language used by the teachers failed to take into account the low educational level of the young men in attendance. Nor was any concession made to the condition of fatigue that prevailed among the students after a long working day. Little in the lectures connected theory with application to on-the-job tasks of the learners. Furthermore, there were few books in the libraries of the institutes, and what few there were tended to be highly technical and theoretical.

The one response to the need for technical and occupational training that did persist was the gradual inclusion of more and more vocational subjects in the programs of the early evening schools. Although the means still lagged behind the need, efforts in the direction of meeting the needs can be seen by examining the lists of subjects taught in some of the night schools before the end of the nineteenth century. A report on evening schools in Boston in 1894 shows that along with other subjects bookkeeping, stenography, algebra, mechanical drawing, hairdressing, printing, and telegraphy were being taught.

Developments from 1900 to 1945

Adult education as more than an isolated segment of the public school system is a comparatively recent development. In fact, a survey of the succession of organization charts of state departments of education shows that with few exceptions no slot for adult education appears in charts of the greater number of states until the 1960's. According to a 1940 U.S. Office of Education study, the following states have a long history of comprehensive adult education: California, Connecticut, Delaware, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia. Notable programs today also include those in the following states: Florida, Louisiana, New Jersey, Michigan, Ohio, Minnesota, Illinois, and Washington.

The first part of the twentieth century was a dramatic period for public school adult education, since the movement experienced two world wars and a serious national depression. The program up to this time was limited to the evening school concept developed in large metropolitan areas. Now the idea was to grow, at least in certain states, that adult education should have a significant function in the public schools.

The period was characterized by increasing state legislation related to adult education. In a few states, legislative action authorized local districts to carry on adult education; in others, it became mandatory to offer programs given certain conditions; and a small number established divisions of adult education. In many cases, the state-supported classes were limited to those for the foreign-born and native illiterates. There were many different patterns of state aid, but the most frequent was that of dollar reimbursement based on a percentage of the local expenditures, the most common ratio being 50 percent of the instructional and supervisory costs (15). The latter development was an important one since it implanted the idea that some financial aid to adult education might be as essential as subsidy to elementary and secondary education. Federal legislation in support of adult education was also passed in this period: the Smith-Lever Act in 1914 provided financial aid for Agricultural Extension Service through the land-grant colleges. The Smith-Hughes Act in 1917 and subsequently the George-Deen Act in 1939 stimulated national development of vocational education at both secondary and adult levels.

Around 1915, it was recognized that the unemployment problem was largely a matter of skilled jobs looking for men and unskilled men looking for jobs. The utility of vocational education was recognized, although there were those who asserted that this training could not be given successfully through the public evening school. They argued that such training would be theoretical rather than practical, that the cost of keeping school shops equipped with up-to-date machines was prohibitive, and that it could be given more feasibly in company plants by shop foremen (16).

When public school adult education is mentioned, it presents an image to many persons of "Americanization" classes or courses for illiterates. This image was the result of the establishment of greatly expanded programs of this type between 1915 and 1920. It was at this time that many persons expressed concern about our national laws governing immigration. Immigrants had been entering the country since the turn of the century at the rate of a million persons a year. Earlier immigrants had come largely from Great Britain, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. They were generally well educated, and their customs and forms of government did not differ greatly from our own. However, in the early years of the twentieth century the percentage of immigrants from southern Europe grew, and these immigrants retained their divergent cultural patterns. The controversy over immigrant regulations called attention to this situation so that the U.S. Bureau of Education, beginning in 1915, provided advisory services and over 40 states set up Americanization programs. Many of them had supervisory services and adopted legislation granting financial assistance to local boards of education. Then came World War I and the National Academy of Sciences' shocking announcement that about one-fourth of the men examined for the American army were not functionally literate. Added to this discovery was the realization that the assimilation of the foreign-born had not gone ahead as fast as was generally believed. When our entry into the war became a possibility, many persons feared that these "hyphenated-Americans," as they were sometimes called, would endanger our security by engaging in what was in later years referred to as "fifth column" activities.

To offset this danger, the doors of schools, lodge halls, and factories were thrown open, while teachers and materials were hastily assembled to teach English and American government to the foreign-born. In most instances, native illiterates were either put in these classes or taught separately, with the same provisions for supervision and financial support. Almost every large community established such classes.

The size of this problem is indicated in 1920 Census figures: there were over 13 million foreign-born in the population, 4 million of whom remained as aliens; the total number of illiterate foreign-born exceeded 1 million; the native illiterate population was discovered to number 3 million. Bureau of Education figures in a 1925 survey showed 34 states favoring establishment of adult schools, 27 states furnishing leadership of adult education in state departments of education, and 24 states making provision for financial aid to local districts. In 1924, students in classes for adult illiterates and adult foreign-born in 25 states numbered approximately 286,000 persons (17).

Interest in immigrant education began to wane in the middle of the 1920's. Most of the legislation and state department organization was formulated for this specific purpose; therefore, support for that particular program of adult education began to drop. It was reported that only 21 states were furnishing support in 1930 and that only 7 of these provided aid for fields other than Americanization and literacy (18).

In the 1920's, several individuals began to carry on significant activities that were to move their states ahead in the field of public school adult education in the next few decades. They are pioneers in public school adult education, and the movement is indebted today to their efforts. One such leader was A. W. Castle. In 1909, as a high school principal in Columbus, Ohio, he started and taught the first free public evening school classes for adults in that city. In 1910, he secured an appropriation of $18,000 voted by the city council to develop a program of public playgrounds. This 25-year-old athlete and speaker, who made friends easily in all walks of life, was a fighter, a negotiator, and an arbitrator. His work attracted the attention of educators in other Ohio cities.

In 1917, Castle moved to Cleveland as assistant superintendent of schools in charge of extension activities. By 1918, he had a budget of $300,000 to spend on the adult and out-of-school youth program. After a period of service in New York state, he went to Pennsylvania. There he was to find not only a need for a statewide program of English and citizenship, but also a continuing need for instructional, recreational, and social service for adults as part of local programs of free school service. He drew up a bill in 1921 providing for such free education, but he could find few friends to support his efforts. Castle mobilized community forces, especially labor, the American Legion, the Congress of Parents and Teachers, and others, and with their assistance secured passage of Pennsylvania Act 266 in 1925. This legislation provided for the mandatory organization of extension classes and evening schools and established state aid to districts for the maintenance of the program. As a result of his efforts, 712 school districts had established these services by 1947. Castle was active in the affairs of the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association and in the organization of the Pennsylvania Association for Adult Education. His accomplishments are cited in some detail here because his efforts are typical of the period and the people devoted to the cause of public school adult education.

William Chandler Smith, state director of adult education in Connecticut, was active on the committee that led to the formation of the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association, of which he was the first chairman. He also was the first director of the Bureau of Americanization in the New York Education Department.

In Delaware, Marguerite Hill Burnett worked successfully for the development of a division of adult education in the State Department of Public Instruction. In 1936, she published *Enriched Community Living,* a history of adult education in Delaware.

Henry Nugent, director of public school adult education in Rhode Island, was also a pioneer in basic adult education. He began an Americanization program with an insistence on quality and on teacher training and in-service training programs.

Although South Carolina was one of the pioneers in the nation with regard to state-supported and state-supervised education, the state has consistently remained near the bottom in the national education picture. However, the personal involvement and the dedication of Wil Lou Gray would distinguish the adult education history in any state. Miss Gray was the first state supervisor, holding that position for 28 years before becoming director of the Opportunity School in 1946. Even since her retirement in 1957, she has continued to promote adult education in South Carolina (19).

In Denver, Emily Griffith had founded in 1916 the now famous Opportunity School as a means of making adult education available morning, noon, and night for 12 months of the year. The Opportunity School provided an important historical precedent due to the support given by the Board of Education for a tuition-free program for adults.

There are many others who could be mentioned, including Herschel Nisonger, who provided leadership in Ohio through his work with the Bureau of Adult Education at Ohio State University. Another was George P. Hambrecht, director of vocational adult education in Wisconsin, who set up and operated under a unique administrative arrangement. In Michigan, Henry J. Ponitz, as state director of adult education, worked with universities, labor groups, farm groups, government agencies, and voluntary organizations in developing a statewide approach to adult education. He was able to combine local and state programs to maximize initiative and support for an excellent and varied adult education program. In New York, the efforts of R. J. Pulling, for many years the director of the largest state department staff devoted exclusively to general adult education, deserve mention.

In the Depression of the 1930's, federal emergency programs gave a boost to adult education. Thousands of teachers were out of work, and millions of other citizens were idle and unemployed. The federal government then began direct operation of a variety of adult education programs through the Works Progress Administration, the National Youth Administration, and the Civilian Conservation Corps.

Under these programs, teachers were put to work and citizens were retrained. Teachers were put on the federal payroll and, under state and local WPA supervisors, taught such subjects as parent education, labor education, vocational education, literacy, American government, and liberal arts subjects. For many states, this was the first time that adult education classes, except for literacy, citizenship, and vocational subjects, were available to people (20).

According to one report, at its height this program enrolled about 1.6 million persons in 107,000 classes and activities, conducted by more than 30,000 teachers and administrative personnel (21). After 1935, the Works Progress Administration took up several adult education activities and sponsored additional projects which enriched their programs. These included projects devoted to creative writing, art, radio, music, and theater.

The Civilian Conservation Corps was established during this period. In addition to its work relief programs for young men, the CCC also enabled them to further their education. Although no provision was made for education, conscientious teachers secured books and materials and started classes in off-hours. Committees from state departments of education assisted in the selection of teachers, advisers, and courses of study. Special regulations were adopted in 40 states whereby courses completed in the camps received state approval.

An experiment that attracted considerable attention in this period was one in public forums. Under the leadership of John W. Studebaker, with a $125,000 Carnegie Corporation grant in 1932, a 5-year program was carried on by the public schools of Des Moines. Designed to develop adult civic education, the program in one year (1934) had a total of 70,000 adults in that city attending 570 neighborhood public forums. Later, Studebaker, while he was commissioner of the U.S. Office of Education, took measures to promote the forum idea on a nationwide basis. By 1939, similar school-managed forum programs were in operation in 38 states.

World War II, like World War I, again emphasized the educational needs of adults. New programs were developed by the armed forces to aid those with limited education. Soon after the attack on Pearl Harbor, public schools began offering emergency courses on national defense, war industry training, rationing, and other subjects. Correspondence courses were issued by the U.S. Armed Forces Institute in cooperation with universities, with state department approval, for adults seeking to qualify for a high school diploma or a certificate of equivalency. At the same time, General Educational Development tests were developed for use as a temporary measure for testing World War II veterans.

Beginning early in World War II, in order to build up factory production, colleges were given contracts to operate training programs for the nation's industries. These programs were designed to upgrade workers and to prepare new workers, both men and women, in engineering, science, and management.

An excellent example of adult educational programs born in time of crisis was the Engineering, Science, and Management War Training Program carried on by colleges and universities during World War II. Early in the spring of 1940, it became evident that the number of engineers and scientists who could be graduated by the nation's colleges would be insufficient to meet the critical needs of national defense. Accordingly, a specialized type of training program was inaugurated to supplement the regular curriculums of engineering colleges with short, intensive college-level courses. They had as their objectives the preparation of trainees, men and women, to perform specific industrial jobs, the retraining of graduate engineers to new or more specialized tasks needed in the defense effort, and the building up of a large supply of technicians, draftsmen, inspectors, testers, and engineering assistants. Classes were held both on and off college campuses, utilizing the facilities of extension centers, noneligible colleges, high schools, and industrial plants.

The time necessary to complete courses varied from a few weeks to several months, although the most common length was between 12 to 16 weeks. Two hundred and twenty-seven institutions participated in the program that enrolled 1,795,716 persons in courses preparing trainees for specific wartime jobs. The federal government expended nearly $60 million to cover the actual costs of this program. Courses were carried on by colleges and universities under the sponsorship of the U.S. Office of Education. These institutions gave much thought to the question of the relationship which the Office of Education should maintain toward them. Most had never before offered courses paid for by the federal government, and they were fearful of domination.

The final report on the program, issued by the U.S. Office of Education, specifically stated that there would be continued need for this type of training in peace time. It was even suggested that the program be broadened to include all fields of education, both graduate and undergraduate, and might well include the training of government personnel, mostly on the postgraduate level. The need, however, was quickly forgotten (22).

During this same period, the facilities of the public schools were largely unused for general adult education. However, it was entirely different for programs for adults carried on under vocational education legislation. Approximately 7.5 million workers received training in war production occupations in public schools under a program of short, intensive courses, which began in July of 1940 and terminated after 5 strenuous years on June 30, 1945 (23).

Before the end of the war, legislative attention was turned to the needs of returning servicemen. In 1944, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, known as the "G.I. Bill of Rights," was passed. This bill started a back-to-school movement on the part of returning veterans which was to be reinforced by the Korean G.I. Bill in 1952.

Developments After 1945

Although recognition and support given adult education at the state level has risen in recent years, it is still not great. By 1957, only 24 states and Puerto Rico had a state director working as much as one-fourth time in adult education. A very few states—Massachusetts, California, Florida, and New York—had full-time staffs of from 3 to 15 persons. As of 1961, the National Association for Public School Adult Education estimated that there were about 500 full-time city directors and about 3,500 part-time directors or supervisors. The expansion of state staffs of adult education has increased markedly in the past few years because of the passage of significant federal legislation, but many states still appear to be badly understaffed.

Adult education has suffered many attacks and setbacks. In New York, California, and other states, curriculums designed to meet the interests of all people came under attack in the early 1950's. In 1951, the California State Senate created an Interim Committee on Adult Education to conduct a study of adult education in California, to include federal, state, and local regulations, finances, administration, programs, and financial responsibility. During the California hearings in 1953, many of the programs were described as "frills" and were subject to strong criticism from legislators and others. The Senate voted overwhelmingly for a heavily restrictive bill, but the House of Representatives voted to override the Senate's action. In committee, some provisions were adopted that did not meet with approval from adult education administrators. The California Teachers Association brought its influence to bear in behalf of adult education and the defeat of the Senate bill. Ultimately, more liberal compromise legislation was passed. The programs were modified somewhat, if only to give course titles more academically acceptable names. Similar attacks occurred in several other states.

The work of three Californians deserves special mention. George Mann, chief of the Bureau of Adult and Continuing Education in the State Department of Education, worked energetically with teacher groups, members of the Legislature, and educators in maintaining adult education in the program of state support of education. Manfred Evans, assistant superintendent in charge of adult education in the Los Angeles schools, developed the concept of the full-time principal for adult education and did much to give it equal status in the Los Angeles schools with the educational program for youth. He published manuals for the field and experimented with the training of adult counselors. Paul Sheats, dean of university extension for the University of California, worked closely with the public school program and made a particular contribution with training programs for adult educators.

New York, as well, suffered legislative setbacks. In 1958, its adult education budget was cut in half, from $4.4 million to $2.2 million. The cut came about because an undue proportion of funds was being spent on subjects considered to be avocational. The Legislature felt the people's tax money was being misspent on adult activities. As a result, the State Department of Education issued new regulations governing adult education. The average daily attendance requirement was raised for classes to be eligible for state aid. It was required that all classes bear educational titles, and students were prohibited from repeating the same courses in fine arts, homemaking, and similar subjects.

Financial Support. Since 1930, the trend toward greater state financial support for adult education has grown only slowly. One study revealed that by 1957, only 19 states and 2 territories were furnishing some financial support to local schools for the purpose of holding classes for adults (24).

Most states now have legislation enabling local school districts to finance and operate general adult education programs, although in a few there is negative legislation. Montana has legislation that permits a local school district to offer general adult education and to use tax funds, providing the school board arranges for a separate election each spring at which the people approve such expenditures. In Arizona, it is permissible to have Americanization and elementary classes with fees, tuition, and contributions; but there is no specific authorization for general adult education. Arkansas has a constitutional provision that prohibits the use of public school funds for persons over 21 years of age. Missouri's Constitution states that state aid money cannot be used for adult education, but funds can be provided through local revenues. As recently as 1957 in New Mexico and Wyoming, the use of regular school funds for general adult education was prohibited (25).

At present, some of the states providing the greatest amount of financial support are New York, California, and Florida. California, Florida, Rhode Island, and Michigan include funds for adult education in the foundation program for the support of public school adult education (26). New Jersey has a unique formula for state aid under which it awards a local district two-thirds of the salary of a full-time or half-time director, depending on the size of the district. It gives no money for teachers' salaries but instead provides money for administrative leadership. New Jersey had a tireless worker for public school adult education in Everett Preston. He deserves credit for building a sound base for development in that state. New Jersey was one of the first states to develop an effective state association representing the diverse agencies in the field of adult education. Connecticut has a general adult education program with a three-stage scale of support providing for free education for adults through high school and free education for older persons and the handicapped.

The necessity for providing matching funds for participation in federal grants for adult basic education under Title II-B of the Economic Opportunity Act has stimulated the laggard states to contribute at least a minimum amount of funds. Whether this action will result in permanent provision for adult education in these states remains to be seen. A few years ago, a 16-member National Commission on Adult Education Finance carried on an extensive study on financing adult education in America's public schools. Among the Commission's findings were the following:

1. Large school districts are more likely to have adult education programs than small ones.
2. There is wide variation among districts in the proportion of adults enrolled; this is so because of the kind of financial support available and the quality of leadership.
3. The total cost of adult education in 1952-53 was 46¢ per hour (based on 174 million hours of instruction given at a cost of $79 million). This cost will vary, however, depending upon the items included in overhead costs. These funds came from the G.I. Bill, vocational legislation, fees, local taxes, state aid and other sources.
4. Fuller use should be made of all possible sources for financial aid so as to

ensure maximum participation and value for the community (27).

Yet another stage in the development of state support for adult education was the establishment of supervisory positions in state education departments. Ever since the Smith-Hughes Act went into effect in 1918, most state departments have had supervisors of vocational education, which included classes for adults. Wisconsin created the post of supervisor of adult and vocational education, with a state board of vocational and adult education, and with a separate budget. The first division of general adult education within a state department of education was established by California in 1920 (28). In the following 10 years, five additional states—Connecticut, Delaware, Nebraska, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania—established divisions of adult education. Following this, other state departments began adding full-time or part-time adult educators to their staffs.

At the federal level, Ambrose Caliver (29) became the first Negro to hold a professional appointment in the classified federal civil service. In 1930, he was named specialist in Negro education in the U.S. Office of Education. Later he became interested in the nation's functional illiterates—10 million American adults—and in 1946 was named director of the Project for Literacy Education. In 1950, Dr. Caliver was made assistant to the commissioner of education. He began to give his attention to public school adult education, and in 1955 his title was expanded to chief, Adult Education Section, Office of Education. In 1961, Dr. Caliver was elected president of the Adult Education Association/USA.

Recent Legislation. Reference has been made to the passage of federal legislation in the past few years that has had great significance for adult education. By the early 1960's, it was increasingly clear that the nation was facing another national emergency, one which while not as dramatic as either of the world wars was just as real. A society that had become highly complex through almost daily advances in its technology still had millions of citizens without the minimum education necessary to function as workers or citizens. In the midst of the most affluent period any society has ever known, one-fifth of the country's families were living on incomes which placed them below accepted standards of health and decency.

To help remedy these conditions, the Congress, under the leadership of Presidents Kennedy and Johnson, passed a series of bills designed to improve the lot of undereducated and undernourished citizens, to provide them with more useful work skills, and to instill greater self-respect. These bills included the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA), the vocational education legislation passed in 1963, the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, and the Adult Education Act of 1966. Certain redevelopment legislation, passed at the same time, provided relief for depressed areas.

The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962, with its subsequent amendments, had as its purpose the development and greater utilization of manpower in many vital occupational categories. Even in periods of high unemployment, many jobs remained unfilled because of shortages of qualified personnel. The skills of many persons had been rendered obsolete for various reasons, and government leadership was necessary to ensure that the benefits of automation would not become burdens of unemployment. Moreover, the skills of many employed persons were inadequate to make a maximum contribution to the nation's economy. It was in the national interest that opportunities be afforded these people to acquire new skills with minimum delay. The general purpose of this Act was to identify current and prospective manpower shortages so that persons who could qualify through additional education and training might be identified and trained as quickly as possible. It had other purposes: to provide better trained personnel in many vital occupational categories, to upgrade those skills that have been rendered obsolete by automation and other factors, to take emergency efforts required to train men and women to meet shifting employment needs, to upgrade the skills of many so as to enable them to make a maximum contribution to the nation's economy, and to reduce the costs of unemployment compensation.

One of the most promising educational programs today for rehabilitating those youth who emerge from public schools relatively untouched by efforts to help them acquire the necessary skills for life is the Job Corps. Although over 40,000 young people were in Job Corps centers in 1968, more than 1 million fit the profile of a Job Corps enrollee. They have completed 8.9 years of school, but 42 percent of them read below third-grade level. Of those eligible for induction into the armed forces, 47 percent failed to qualify; nearly 80 percent had seen neither a doctor nor a dentist within the past 10 years; 64 percent of the enrollees had been asked to leave school. Since its inception 3 years ago, the Job Corps has served as a residential training program for over 110,000 rejects and dropouts from public school systems in all 50 states.

The Job Corps is a total program of human renewal. It teaches reading, arithmetic, and communication skills. It offers counseling and guidance to youth whose backgrounds provide little adult supervision or control. It offers medical and dental care, teaches vocational skills, and endeavors to instill respect and responsibility. The atmosphere of a Job Corps center bears little resemblance to that of the usual school. Instructional methods differ from conventional ones. Job Corpsmen receive personal financial support—free room and board plus $30 a month and a clothing allowance.

In another recent development, Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965 was enacted to provide for university extension or continuing education programs to assist in the solution of community problems.

The new vocational legislation passed in 1963 was intended to amend the objectives of earlier vocational acts. A national committee, appointed to evaluate vocational education needs, reported that earlier vocational legislation had exceedingly limited objectives in light of the vast increase in new jobs and occupations. This act, therefore, provided not only a broader scope of training for youth and adults, but also gave federal assistance to the states for building modern and well equipped vocational-technical schools. In 1968, the National Advisory Council on Vocational Education proposed that laws on vocational education be consolidated into an omnibus bill called the Partnership for Learning Act of 1968. This recommendation was coupled with another that required that at least 25 percent of vocational education funds be spent on postsecondary and adult programs.

Another illustration of the practice of entrusting an entirely new agency with important adult education programs occurred when the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 was passed. Part B of Title II provided for a national attack on the illiteracy problem in the United States. Enactment of this provision in the OEO Act was in recognition of the need to improve the basic education ability of unemployed adults in order to prepare them for occupational training and profitable employment, as well as to make them responsible citizens. This legislation authorized grants to the states to enable them to establish basic education programs for adults. It was a milestone in the educational history of the United States.

In 1966, this legislation became a part of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act amendments of that year. In partnership with local school systems, state departments of education were made responsible for developing, organizing, and administering programs. The Act also made funds available to employ professional personnel at the state level to carry out these programs. Responsibility for its administration was moved from the antipoverty program to the U.S. Office of Education. Amendments permitted up to 10 percent of appropriated funds to be used for the training of instructors for adult basic education.

A very significant event for public adult education has been enactment of the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 (P.L. 90-129). The term *public broadcasting* builds upon the definition made in the Carnegie Commission's report on *Public Broadcasting: A Program for Action*. The term was devised to differentiate public broadcasting from educational television, instructional television, and educational radio.

In 1952, the Federal Communications Commission set aside 242 television channels for noncommercial broadcasting; in 1962, passage of the Educational Television Facilities Act authorized construction of towers, transmitters, and certain other facilities. This Act helped to build 92 noncommercial television stations, bringing the total in February 1968 to 144. By 1980, an estimated 377 noncommercial television stations will be in operation, reaching 94 percent of the people.

The Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 established a Corporation for Public Broadcasting headed by a 15-man Board of Directors (9 to be appointed by the President with approval of the Senate and 6 to be named by the Board itself). The Corporation will have major responsibility for channeling funds to noncommercial radio and television stations, program production groups, and educational television networks to improve quality in programing. It also can carry on research, demonstrations, and training.

Title III of the Act authorizes the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to make a comprehensive study of educational television and radio concerned with school uses of television, radio, and allied electronic instructional media. The report is to be completed by June 30, 1969 (30).

A scanning of the history of adult education in the twentieth century indicates that adult education legislation is frequently enacted to alleviate undesirable conditions in periods of national distress and even of crisis. Such legislation sometimes bypasses existing educational institutions, and new agencies are created to meet the emergency. Once the crisis has passed, the need for a particular adult education program, even one proved to be worthy, is often forgotten or its provisions are allowed to lapse. It is not re-enacted nor are its provisions updated to meet new conditions.

Two examples of this apathy can be mentioned. The programs of the public schools around the time of World War I designed to "Americanize" immigrants and reduce native illiteracy were allowed to lapse in many states or at least were cut back once concern for these conditions lessened. The emergency education programs that were formulated in the Great Depression and extended for approximately 10 years charged independent new agencies with adult education duties. The programs were designed to provide employment for professional school personnel then unemployed and also to offer instruction to unemployed adults. Money was not appropriated directly to educational institutions—the public school—in order to achieve these purposes, and the price was lack of continuity when economic or political conditions changed.

Some of the federal legislation enacted since 1961 shows signs of permanency. The Adult Education Act of 1966 is administered by educational agencies at all levels, and some other portions of federally supported programs may survive and be adapted to future needs.

PROGRAMS RELATED TO PUBLIC SCHOOL ADULT EDUCATION

One interested in the development of public school adult education must first know something of the historical background of other adult education and related agencies in the United States. He should be familiar with the origins of the more important adult education agencies and their contributions to the entire movement.

The Cooperative Extension Service

Since the United States began as an agricultural nation, much time and thought were devoted to the development and operation of farms and plantations. Colonial America saw the founding of numerous agricultural societies and farmers institutes that later campaigned for the establishment of publicly supported colleges to teach agriculture and the mechanic arts.

A Department of Agriculture was established in the federal government in 1862, which year also saw the founding of a land-grant college system on the recommendation of President Lincoln. In 1887, the Hatch Act was passed, authorizing the establishment of agricultural experiment stations in connection with land-grant colleges. The Chautauqua movement also encouraged the concept of agricultural education for adults outside of college. Colleges began to print bulletins, establish reading courses, hold short courses, and equip agricultural railroad trains to carry exhibits and lecturers to many communities.

In 1902, a program of farm demonstrations began under the direction of Seaman A. Knapp, and "agents" were appointed to work with farmers in small geographic areas. Slowly the possibility and opportunity for a nationwide out-of-school educational system developed. Stimulated by sentiment for federal support, the result was the passage in 1914 of the Smith-Lever Act, which authorized cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics. The term "cooperative" indicates the three-way support of the system—from the federal government, state governments, and local communities (31).

The basic concepts, principles, and methods developed by the Cooperative Extension Service have been useful in countries throughout the world. Its characteristic informal methods of instruction are demonstrations and short courses. The Service also makes use of teaching aids, demonstration equipment, tours and field days, exhibits, radio, television, and group discussion in assisting the extension worker in his efforts to reach the masses of rural people.

The Service has found that its work must be essentially educational and guided strictly by the needs of the people; it must be directed to the level of understanding of the rural people; it must be based on programs that take into account regional and national sections and needs; and it must rely on the voluntary cooperation of large numbers of people. It requires the support of highly trained personnel, who propound sound technical information that has been tested under local conditions.

The Cooperative Extension Service has been lauded as being the largest institutional program of adult education in existence. Its object—to increase food and fiber production and the development of rural homelife—has been spectacularly advanced in little more than 50 years. Having largely achieved this goal, program objectives have now become more widely varied to include marketing and distribution, as well as training in family economics, home management, consumer education, citizenship, health, and safety.

University Extension

The federal or Cooperative Extension Service provides an adult education program stemming from colleges of agriculture and home economics. Extension resources and adult educational activities of other divisions of universities are commonly referred to collectively as "general extension" or "university extension."

University extension in the United States has widespread roots in the experience of British universities; in the Chautauqua movement; in a Philadelphia project of 1890 extending to World War I, known as a program of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching; and in pilot projects of many universities (Wisconsin, Chicago, California, Pennsylvania State, and others), where administrative officers felt that institutions of higher learning were responsible for offering programs of continuing education.

University extension activities consist of formal class instruction which is usually offered off the campus at times and places convenient to the adults enrolled. Such instruction may be offered for university credit or on a noncredit basis. It may parallel a campus course or, if noncredit, can be especially designed to meet the needs and interests of the students. Similarly, correspondence or home study courses may be offered, and television and radio utilized. In addition, extension divisions now offer a broad program of short courses of varying duration, workshops, seminars, conferences, forums, and other informal projects and services on a purely noncredit basis for individuals who are interested in updating their general knowledge.

In recent years, extension divisions in many larger universities have constructed large residential centers, either on or off campus, for groups of adults wishing to spend a limited amount of time in intensive study. Support for construction and beginning program maintenance of some of these centers has come from the Kellogg Foundation. Several universities also have constructed residential continuing education centers, using funds from other sources. Professional groups of many kinds use these facilities for seminars on new developments in their fields.

University faculties can provide only a small portion of the instruction needed in the vast extension programs now being operated. Consequently, these institutions customarily invite individuals, qualified by experience and education, from outside the university to serve as teachers. Meanwhile, they are experimenting with other media, such as educational television, to reach off-campus groups.

One measure of the growth of this work is seen in the National University Extension Association, which was organized in 1915 at the University of Wisconsin with 22 institutional members and today has almost 150 members. The Association of University Evening Colleges has over 150 members, most of whom are located in large centers of population. This group primarily represents institutions offering courses in the evening, paralleling day courses in universities, with instruction given by members of regular college and university faculties.

University Extension did not have direct federal support for its projects, such as Cooperative Extension has, until the passage of Title I of the Higher Education Act of 1965, although such a subsidy had been sought for some decades. Title I provided for support of community service and continuing education programs. These programs, designed principally to help urban areas as Cooperative Extension has helped rural areas, nevertheless are formulated to assist in the solution of community problems of not only urban but also suburban and rural areas. Housing, poverty, government, recreation, employment, youth opportunities, transportation, health, land use, and other community problems are under study.

There also has been a phenomenal growth of junior or community colleges in recent years. These institutions now number around 900 in the United States, and it is said that a new one is opening each week. In many instances they function under the administrative direction of state departments and local boards of education. One of their principal functions is to offer adult education programs that meet the needs of the communities which they serve. These institutions register more adults for such courses than they do younger students pursuing the first two years of baccalaureate instruction or enrolled in terminal courses. Representative enrollment figures for all of these college-level activities are difficult to obtain, but it is certain that they serve hundreds of thousands of adults and are rapidly growing.

Adult Education in the Armed Forces (32)

The Department of Defense assists and encourages military personnel to develop educationally and professionally through many means, including voluntary participation in off-duty educational programs. Such programs consist primarily of academic courses of study. The student may pursue his studies alone, as a member of a group with a qualified instructor in a classroom, or by correspondence.

Group-study classes are arranged at military installations with locally procured instructors, or participation may be in a program conducted by the local civilian educational institutions. Courses range from the elementary through the graduate level.

Increasing emphasis is being placed on the educational, training, and occupational needs of personnel who are not interested in, or adapted to, academic programs leading to college degrees. Pre-high school and high school courses are being provided. Each military service, through its correspondence or extension institution, also provides technical and occupational courses through self-study or correspondence. These courses are related to the military career, but a large majority of them also have a civilian job counterpart.

At each military installation there is a staff assigned to perform educational services. The larger bases have a professional civilian educator supported by a staff of military and civilian education technicians. The smaller units may have a full-time education advisor or part-time additional duty staffs.

The objectives of the off-duty adult educational program are to provide opportunities and encouragement for the individual to perform his service job more effectively, prepare himself for more responsible service jobs and increase his chances for promotion, maintain continuity in the academic or occupational training which he began before entering the service, prepare himself to continue his education after leaving the service, and increase his value to the civilian manpower pool.

The Secretary of Defense has established by directive the following minimum educational levels for which the various military departments will provide educational opportunities: officers—baccalaureate degree; noncommissioned officers—2 years of college; other enlisted personnel—high school graduation or its equivalent. The services are encouraged to provide additional educational opportunities above these minimums.

One of the major contributors to adult education programs is the United States Armed Forces Institute (USAFI), which has been strongly influenced by the civilian educational community. Prominent educators worked directly in the development and administration of the USAFI program during World War II, and this relationship has continued through the close association of the professional staff at USAFI with their civilian counterparts at the college, technical school, high school, pre-high school levels.

USAFI offers two distinct educational programs: courses developed by the Institute at Madison, Wisconsin; and the participating college and university program, in which some 6,000 courses are offered through 47 colleges and universities. The participating college and university program consists of individual contracts in which a university develops and provides the educational materials and guides the student through the course; the serviceman pays for the course materials, and USAFI pays for the lesson service.

The testing program has always been an important part of the USAFI education program. In addition to the terminal tests for USAFI courses, which are presently standardized against a civilian population, the high-school-level General Education Development (GED) tests have been widely used by military personnel as evidence of educational development. It is estimated that some 2 million military personnel have attained high school equivalency by successfully passing the battery of high school GED tests since the inception of USAFI.

Other Programs

Space does not permit extended description of adult education programs of many other agencies. The cost of business and industrial training programs probably exceeds that of any other agency of adult education. Government also operates training programs for its personnel. Approximately one-half of the persons trained in public vocational school programs are adults. Churches and synagogues, libraries and museums, and a host of voluntary agencies carry on a variety of adult education programs.

Foundations

One of the developments that has influenced public school adult education and the movement generally is support from various foundations. The first major foundation grant for the promotion of adult education was made by the Carnegie Corporation in 1924 to the American Association for Adult Education, which was founded at that time. Fifteen years later, the W. K. Kellogg Foundation made grants for residential centers and program development. In 1951, the Fund for Adult Education was established by the Ford Foundation to promote liberal education for adults. These three foundations, combined with others, have contributed nearly $100 million to the field of adult education.

The Carnegie Corporation grants were made primarily to, or upon the recommendation of, the American Association for Adult Education. They allowed the recipients to be independent of the Corporation in their projects. The general policy of the Association was to collect and disseminate information about adult education and to sponsor publications and promote conferences of adult education groups. Grants given to support the Association and its sponsored activities amount to approximately $5 million. In addition, between 1942 and 1958 it gave about $4 million for projects in community development, international affairs, and leadership training (33).

The Kellogg Foundation's interest lay in making the best use of existing knowledge rather than in sponsoring research. It has contributed to self-help projects and has made large grants to universities (Michigan State, Chicago, Georgia, Nebraska, Oklahoma, and New Hampshire) for the construction of residential centers for adult study and for program maintenance for limited periods.

The Fund for Adult Education, established as an independent organization and operated under grants from the Ford Foundation, lent its support to programs of liberal adult education. During the 10 years of its existence, it financed study and discussion groups in the liberal arts and sciences, the uses of the mass media, and combinations of the two. Experimental liberal adult education programs were carried on in a number of medium-sized cities across the country—"test cities" they were called—and individual grants were made to develop adult education. The Fund established the Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults. It also had a fellowship program from 1954 to 1957 under which grants were awarded for graduate study in adult education. Some 200 to 300 individuals were able to work toward their doctoral degrees through this program. The Fund also made a series of grants to the Adult Education Association/USA, after its founding in 1951, to strengthen its publications and organizational leadership.

Acknowledging the need for leadership in the field, the Fund for Adult Education, through the National Association for Public School Adult Education, provided grants of funds to state departments of education interested in employing a full-time state director of adult education. Through a series of $8,000 1-year scholarships, the position of state director was established in Colorado, Oklahoma, Minnesota, Georgia, Utah, Iowa, Ohio, and Kansas. In addition, in 1957 FAE funds were provided with which to establish training programs for local directors of adult education and, in 1959-60, training programs for state directors of general adult education.

Programs of Equivalency Testing

General Educational Development (GED) tests, adopted as a temporary measure for testing World War II veterans, continue to be used. A successful score on these tests can lead to a high school equivalency certificate issued by the department of education of a particular state. This testing program, administered by state departments of education and by the military, is expanding rapidly. High school graduation has become a prerequisite for the greater number of job opportunities, and a high school certificate has become a common requirement as employers consider applicants for jobs or promotion. The armed forces accept satisfactory GED test scores in making service school assignments.

Business, industry, civil service commissions, and boards of licensing examiners accept high school certificates based on GED test results. State departments of education in practically every state recommend that USAFI courses and test scores be accepted for issuance of high school certificates based on GED test results, with the certificate being issued by the state department (34).

The opportunity to qualify for equivalency certificates has been helped enormously by the development of high school correspondence courses by the University of Nebraska and other universities. The Nebraska program was started in 1929 by Knute Broady, head of the university extension division, who sought through this medium to enrich the offerings of small high schools. Australia, New Zealand, and Canada had used this method earlier with success. The program received a grant of $10,000 initially from the Carnegie Corporation. During the Depression, sizeable support was extended by the Works Progress Administration, and temporarily unemployed teachers were assigned. At present, the correspondence division of the University of Nebraska has been granted an "A" rating accreditation by the Nebraska State Board of Education, thereby enabling it to issue high school equivalency certificates. The division currently has 16,500 enrollments and at the same time sells 25,000 syllabi to university extension divisions and to adult high schools for use elsewhere.

Educational Television

The National Association of Educational Broadcasters (NAEB) collects data on the use of television in teaching adults. The information detailed below comes largely from that organization.

Since its inception as one of the mass media after World War II, television has become useful as an instrument of education for children and adults. Educational leaders long have recognized its great potential as an instructional aid and have influenced the development of a separate noncommercial educational television service.

The Fund for Adult Education undertook a crash program in 1951 to ensure that channels reserved by the FCC for educational television stations were actually taken up by such stations. They gave a total of $5 million to educational stations for equipment—an average of $150,000 each. It was essential to act before an imminent time limit would allow these channels to revert to commercial use.

In 1950, the Committee on Educational Television—later renamed the Joint Council on Educational Television (JCET) —was formed to represent the educational interests in the development of educational television. Originally financed by the Fund for Adult Education, its purpose was to unite educational leaders in the new field of television and to arrive at unified policies for the use of television in education. The Council maintained a liaison among editors, Congress, and the Federal Communications Commission and provided services to communities which were in the initial stages of developing educational television channels. The JCET de-emphasized adult education in 1955 when the Ford Fund for Adult Education withdrew its support in favor of the Ford Fund for the Advancement of Education, which emphasized in-school instructional television. The JCET, however, has survived since 1950 and is organized and active at present as the Joint Council on Educational Communications.

Several of the organizations originally promoting educational television, including the National Education Association, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, are among the members of the current JCET. The National Association of Educational Broadcasters was formed as an educational trade organization by a small group of educational radio stations. In the early 1950's, it received grants from the Fund for Adult Education, the Kellogg Foundation, and other sources and extended its concern to include educational television. Today it is active in many fields of telecommunications.

Approximately 134 million people in the United States are within reach of educational television systems using UHF and VHF frequencies. A recent survey of 1,500 schools and colleges made by the Educational Technology Division of the National Education Association found that 812 television systems were being operated by 717 schools and colleges or universities, 45 percent of which were being operated by schools. The Cleveland public school system has made use of both commercial stations and its own closed circuit system (WIVT). Both the Miami (Dade County) and Broward County, Florida, school systems are using ETV to reach adult groups, and the latter especially through ITFS (Instructional Television Fixed Service), a microwave system which only the schools or designated educational agencies can pick up. Other Florida school systems using ETV for reaching adult groups include Tampa (Hillsborough County) and Gainesville (Achua County).

All but a few states use television to reach some adult groups. It is used in Milwaukee, Philadelphia, Minneapolis, Albuquerque, Denver, and other cities. Milwaukee Technical College has two television education channels available and in use. This gives the public vocational school a direct outlet to the listeners and learners of the community. Adults, individually and in groups, benefit from an extensive educational program broadcast by Chicago Junior College. Considerable use is made of television through closed circuit or otherwise in California, Washington, Oregon, Texas, Georgia, Alabama, New York, and Delaware. Although national use is made of commercial stations and university-operated community ETV stations, 127 school systems, according to the National Association of Educational Broadcasters, own and operate their own ETV systems. State department of education involvement in these programs runs all the way from mere knowledge of their existence through approval and cooperative relationships, to some degree of support through contribution of personnel, clerical services, and finance.

Professional Organizations

The first national organization of adult educators was the Department of Immigrant Education formed in 1921 as part of the National Education Association. In 1924, its name was changed to the Department of Adult Education. By 1927, its declared objective was to include in its membership "all those educators who instruct adults from beginning English classes to evening high school and general evening classes in special subjects, all under public auspices" (35). The Department drew its membership in the beginning chiefly from the directing and supervising workers in public school adult education, but later it promoted membership among librarians and personnel in colleges and universities, social agencies, and other agencies outside the public schools. This later development put it into competition with the American Association for Adult Education, which had been formed in 1926, with offices in New York City, as an umbrella organization. In May of 1951, the two organizations joined forces and created a new national organization called the Adult Education Association (AEA).

The AEA holds national conferences, publishes three periodicals and numerous other publications, promotes cooperative action by all agencies on issues important to the field, sponsors research, engages in international projects in adult education, and otherwise undertakes to serve the total field of adult education. Its headquarters, originally in Chicago, are now in Washington, D.C. Public school adult educators in large numbers are members of AEA.

In 1945, the National Education Association (NEA) formed a Division of Adult Education Service. This administrative arm of NEA was charged with the responsibility of serving the adult education needs of the public schools, including the needs of the Department of Adult Education of NEA. The Division continued after AEA was formed in 1951 and is still actively serving the field of public school adult education.

In October of 1951, public school personnel who were members of AEA formed their own national organization now called the National Association for Public School Adult Education (NAPSAE). The new organization affiliated with AEA in 1952 and with NEA in 1953 (36). NAPSAE is staffed by personnel from the Division of Adult Education of the NEA, and together the two organizations serve the field of public school adult education and promote it. NAPSAE holds an annual conference, often jointly with AEA. It also holds regional workshops and conferences. It has a comprehensive program of publications, including newsletters, yearbooks, directories, and pamphlets on special aspects of public school adult education. More recently, it has represented the public school field in testifying before Congressional committees on adult education needs. Working in close conjunction with the Department of Adult Education of the NEA, NAPSAE has full use of many services of the NEA and has worked to heighten the involvement and interest of its members in the upgrading of the total profession.

In addition to the three national organizations and agencies mentioned above, there are many state organizations to which public school adult educators belong. Some of these are affiliated with NAPSAE, some with AEA, and a few with both. The 1968 NAPSAE *Almanac* lists 21 state associations of public school adult educators, and 14 of these are affiliated with NAPSAE. Other associations to which public school adult educators may belong according to their interests include the American Association of Junior Colleges, the American Vocational Association, and the American Society for Training and Development.

An important new channel for voicing the interest of public school adult education is NAPSAE's Council of State Directors of Adult Education. Its Executive Committee, made up of one representative of a state department within each of the nine HEW—U.S. Office of Education—regions, has been an important instrument for maintaining communications between the Congress and the U.S. Office of Education in matters of federal legislation related to public school adult education.

The Council of Chief State School Officers has supported adult education strongly since its office was established in 1948. It has participated in the efforts to develop state department services to adult education and assisted in the 1966 reorganization of the state directors, recommending that their professional base should be the National Association for Public School Adult Education.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

An important survey conducted in October of 1957 by the Census Bureau in collaboration with the Office of Education indicated that over 9 million adults in the United States attended a series of adult education classes or group meetings which met three or more times during the preceding year (37). Then a few years later, building on this earlier investigation, a further extensive study was made by the National Opinion Research Center of the educational pursuits of American adults, primarily for the year 1962. It was financed by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. Its most important conclusion was that "America is likely to experience an adult education explosion during the next few decades" (38). The study shows that the potential audience for adult education is increasing at a much faster rate than the population as a whole. Better educated adults were found to be more active in learning pursuits, although only a small fraction take courses in order to receive formal credit.

There are few continuing learners in our lower income groups, even though some of their members realize fully that education can lead to employment opportunities and job security. Learning for them can in no sense be defined as pleasurable. The study concludes that the most critical challenge to adult educators is to aid that segment of the population which is apt to benefit most from constructive use of free time in an age of automation but is the least likely to turn to continuing education to develop and expand its spare-time interests. This conclusion has relevance for current efforts to train the hard-core unemployed.

Of particular interest is another finding of the study. The barrier preventing adults from taking courses most frequently cited by members of the "potential audience for adult education" was financial (43 percent). By contrast, the Scandinavian countries, Russia, Australia, Great Britain, and others have made adult education opportunities available at very low cost or no cost to the individual participant.

What will be the role of public school adult education in the future? What directions will it take? What directions should it take? These are fair questions. As one surveys the development of public school adult education, it is apparent that growth has been uneven. It has expanded when financial support was forthcoming, either state or federal. But it has been curtailed when state legislators found fault with public school programs on the grounds that the state should not subsidize courses in card playing, social dancing, fly tieing, horseback riding, and similar courses of a recreational nature.

The past few years have witnessed a sizeable growth in activity, as evidenced by Appendix A, which shows the size of state staffs and increased participation. This has been the result of appropriations, mostly from federal sources, for special programs, such as civil defense, adult basic education, and in certain local instances for driver education. In addition, the dramatic advent of Sputnik brought an accompanying assessment of the effectiveness of our total school program. The publicity currently given to the critical educational needs of the unemployed has added interest and many new federal and state programs, along with programs for training and subsequent employment by industry.

Obviously, governmental action to establish and thereby institutionalize programs has promoted growth. This has been true with two other adult education programs, namely cooperative extension and vocational education. As a long-range approach, the adult basic education programs are most promising, especially since legislation designed to combat illiteracy is on the federal statute books.

The earlier, generally accepted definition of an illiterate was one who had the equivalent of a fourth- to sixth-grade education or less. Legislation now proposed would subsidize educational programs of adult basic education to raise the level of attainment to a twelfth-grade education or equivalent. The minimum age for eligibility also would be lowered from 18 to 16 years of age. The proposed legislation includes provisions for research, demonstration, and teacher training.

The problem of how to expand public school adult education is not a simple one. A few state departments of public instruction question their obligation and responsibility for adult education, in terms of their other educational obligations that are in competition for limited funds. Many public schools have been slow to respond to the indicated needs. Certainly schools have their financial problems, but there is sometimes a question whether the lack of funds is due to the shortcomings of leadership, or whether the low support of adult education is due to lack of funds.

Other reasons given for program limitation are the dearth of information concerning community need or interest, a shortage of administrators and teachers, and an absence of administrative support from local or state school boards or administrators. It should be kept in mind that there are some adults who hesitate and often refuse to return to the secondary school room for adult instruction. Rational or not, this attitude is a factor in the lack of demand for adult education programs.

In many states, college and university

extension divisions took over the development of adult education when state legislatures failed to create public school programs. This was the case at the University of Texas where James Eddy, dean of the extension division, and his associate, Norris Hiett, established an outstanding program. In North Carolina, Dean Russell Grumman of the University's extension division developed similar programs. In Virginia, vestiges of the community service program originated by Jess and Jean Ogden are still in evidence. Clarence Jayne of the University of Wyoming acted in that state in the absence of initiative from the public school authorities.

Organizations such as the American Association of School Administrators, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, as well as the National Association for Public School Adult Education, all have prescribed a role for the public schools as providing educational opportunities which, while not neglecting the remedial and vocational areas, would include parent education and citizenship, the liberal and fine arts, and opportunities for recreation (39).

Professor Cyril Houle of the University of Chicago, in his keynote address at the 1966 NAPSAE Annual Conference, dramatically presented the choice facing public school administrators. Dr. Houle told his listeners that they had a clear alternative between (a) letting themselves be led by the influence of federal money into the trap of offering to adults a program of education consisting almost wholly of an extension of material to be found in the kindergarten through the twelfth-grade classes of the public schools or (b) offering a rich and varied program appealing to the whole range of adult needs and interests, wherein remedial and vocational aspects would be merely a part.

But the fact remains that there are more than 60 million adults in this country who have not graduated from high school. With rapid elimination of jobs for the unskilled, the pressure to complete one's high school education is rapidly mounting. Manufacturing firms continue to lament the shortage of technicians and technologists, complaining that they must frequently fill subengineering positions with highly trained engineers. The junior college and the technical institute movement promises to remedy this situation. A majority of the 900 private and public junior and community colleges have as part of their programs 1-year and 2-year technical programs leading to proficiency certificates or an associate degree. Separate technical institutes have been built whose sole purpose is the training of persons at the subprofessional level. New York, Ohio, and Michigan are pursuing this new development. Illinois is making a great advance in this field, following the recommendations of a 2-year study by George Mann for the Illinois State Department of Public Instruction.

Another force playing upon public school programs is that of competition with other public and private agencies. This competition, which often leads to wasteful overlapping, is highlighted by the recent growth of postsecondary institutions such as junior colleges, community colleges, and technical institutes. To see this situation in dramatic form, one has only to envision a county seat in which are operating the public school system, a junior college, a library, a 4-year college or a university, various "Y" organizations, and a cooperative extension program. In such a case how shall the role of the public school in adult education be defined? Under what jurisdiction should its role and responsibility be worked out? Should it provide only vocational programs and classes for adults wishing to obtain a grammar school or a high school diploma and leave all of the other activities to the remaining agencies? Some see a local administrator serving as broker in his school district. If college-level instruction is needed, he can get in touch with a nearby community college, or he can invite a university extension division or a 4-year college to make its resources available.

In some parts of the country, notably North Carolina and Washington, the entire function of adult education—literacy edu cation to advanced technical education—has been assigned to the community colleges operating under state and local boards of education. There is evidence that where chief state school officials and local school superintendents are reluctant to extend the educational services of their schools to adults, other institutions and organizations are taking over this responsibility.

There are other factors to consider in answering all the questions posed. One is the general acceptance of the gradually broadening function of the public schools. If schools plan their programs in accordance with carefully appraised adult needs and involve the community in the planning and evaluating of their programs, there is no reason to suppose that this tendency to accept a broader mandate for education of adults will not increase.

A powerful consideration in determining the public school's role in adult education is its strategic location and its unusual concentration of staff and facilities. Other agencies are located rather randomly, but public schools exist in every community, and they are supported by the taxes of all people. With their highly trained staffs and their publicly supported facilities of classrooms, art and music studios, science laboratories, auditoriums, gymnasiums, and machine shops, it is hard to argue that the schools should be relegated to remedial programs in serving adults exclusively.

If the public school would take the initiative in setting up a consultative relationship with the major agencies offering adult education in their communities, they could establish a process for working out the roles of each. The increased clarity of role and image which would ensue from such a process should take all of the agencies, public schools included, a long step toward better financial support. New Jersey, under the leadership of Clyde Weinhold, director of the Bureau of Adult Education in the State Department of Education, is establishing county and area adult education councils to perform this function. These regional councils have the participation of the many agencies of adult education and are representative of the entire field.

A recent review of research on public school adult education has several suggestions which seem pertinent at this point (40). It suggests that the public school adult programs need a set of policies and practices of their own, free from the influence of the day school; that boards of education should accept adult education as a significant and integral part of the total educational program; and that every community should have a planned program of publicity and promotion designed to create greater awareness of the educational opportunities available and to cultivate a more favorable image. It also suggests that more attention should be given to special methods and techniques for teaching adults, and that there should be a great deal more community and clientele involvement in determining what is to be taught and in evaluating the quality of the program for continuous improvement. The future is limited only by the creativeness, the courage, and the capacity of adult educators to provide for those who want to continue learning or can be induced to do so.

As state departments of education establish adult education bureaus, the result should be to give adult educators more needed support at the state level. The status of adult education already has been enhanced at the federal level with the establishment of the Division of Adult Education Programs, the Division of Manpower Development and Training, and the Division of Vocational and Technical Education under the Bureau of Adult, Vocational, and Library Programs in the U.S. Office of Education. The greatly expanded 1968 amendments to the Vocational Education Act of 1963 bring together all previous federal legislation affecting public schools from the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 to date. The fact that these federal funds must be matched by the states may encourage state legislatures to give financial support to general adult education also.

The U.S. Office of Education was preparing in 1968 to obtain information from the states regarding enrollments and other information from all adult education agencies. The survey to obtain the information given in Appendix A showed a woeful lack of organization for effective action at the state level. The questionnaires indicated that many states collect statistical data on everything but vocational education, so that it is difficult to assess the effectiveness of present programs in this field. In many instances, funds for travel of professional personnel to assist local adult education programs were nonexistent or extremely limited.

Does the state adult education program have the benefit of advice and support of an advisory body composed of influential persons devoted to the cause of adult education? Has the state program of general adult education been expanded to care for the educational needs of older persons, the need for parent education, civic education, consumer education, or education for personal development? Have studies been made of the potentialities of educational television by state departments of education? Has the state department of education been actively involved in efforts to train the unemployed? Have studies been made of the extent of adult education as carried on by various agencies in a particular state? Are counseling, testing, guidance, and evaluative services in operation? What are the goals of adult education in the respective states (41)? These are some of the questions raised as one reviews conditions outlined in this chapter.

The uncommon school should be the prime goal of the future, and it should be accepted as a matter of course that education should not be put aside when we reach our majority. The schools of the future can and should develop into multiple learning centers where people go for self-evaluation and guidance so they may learn what they want to learn, when they want to learn it, in the way they want to learn it. The adult educator will often be required to take the school to the students rather than require the student to come to the school.

SUMMARY

The public school interest in adult education dates back to almost the beginning of public education. By 1823, a few adults were attending evening schools; by the 1840's, permissive legislation had been passed by some states; and by 1850, recognition had increased that educational opportunity should be provided for adults. The recognition that some adult education is good for the whole of society developed about 1900, along with night and vocational classes. By 1920, an interest in citizenship and literacy was shown in public school programing. In the 1930's, a new emphasis was placed on public forums as a responsibility of the state departments of education. Federal money was provided for state leadership and to encourage local communities to offer continuing educational opportunities for adults.

In the 1940's, public schools offered adult education programs which were broader in scope and thus began to reach more of the educated as well as the under educated adults in different income levels and occupational groups. Many schools developed communitywide educational programs for adults, and efforts were made to coordinate educational opportunities and to increase cooperation among agencies interested or engaged in adult education.

By 1960, there took place a reexamination of the objectives of public school adult education, and various adjustments in tax support from federal, state, and local sources were made. There also was increased recognition that the educational improvement of adults is a key factor in maintaining the economic health of the nation.

In harmony with the American tradition of state responsibility for public education and under the pressure of federal grants for adult education, state departments of education increasingly are realizing that they have a responsibility for the education of adults. These departments have been expanding their programs to meet the needs of today by adding staff and providing money to equalize and to expand educational opportunities in a variety of areas. As state departments of education move to fulfill thier responsibilities in adult education, they will probably find it easier to fulfill their obligations in the areas of elementary, secondary, and higher education. They all are parts of the lifelong learning of the future.

FOOTNOTES

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Appendix A

Table 1—ENROLLMENTS AND STAFF TIME (IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION) DEVOTED TO GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION IN STATES AND TERRITORIES

	Enrollments in		No. of persons on state staff (full-time equivalents)	
	General adult educ.	Vocational adult educ.	In general adult educ.	In vocational adult educ.[d]
Alabama				
1966–67	10,175	49,590	2.00	4.50
1956–57	207	30,278	.25	5.25
1946–47	512	15,595	.20	...
Alaska				
1966–67	457	3,730	.50	1.80
1956–57	...	86	0	...
1946–47	...	...	...	...
Arizona				
1966–67	33,926	14,601[a]	1.00	2.00
1956–57	...	8,864	0	3.95
1946–47	50	3,120	0	...
Arkansas				
1966–67	4,198[b]	40,895[a]	3.00[c]	5.00
1956–57	...	43,428	.50	4.25
1946–47	1,360	26,440	.50	...
California				
1966–67	1,052,042	450,875	10.00	23.00
1956–57	706,907	248,268	4.00	15.35
1946–47	615,631	229,884	2.00	...
Colorado				
1966–67	2,019[b]	43,681[a]	2.00[c]	5.00
1956–57	14,008	39,755	1.00	9.50
1946–47	1,878	16,500	0	...
Connecticut				
1966–67	78,834	30,000	5.00	20.00
1956–57	42,000	16,140	1.00	4.83
1946–47	22,157	29,612	1.00	...
Delaware				
1966–67	10,000	3,200	1.00	6.80
1956–57	5,571	3,889	.60	2.25
1946–47	3,224	1,018	2.00	...
District of Columbia				
1966–67	13,486	1,306	6.00	1.00
1956–57	8,278	5,194	.90	3.46
1946–47	10,022	5,703	1.30	...

Table 1—ENROLLMENTS AND STAFF TIME (IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION) DEVOTED TO GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION IN STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued)

	Enrollments in		No. of persons on state staff (full-time equivalents)	
	General adult educ.	Vocational adult educ.	In general adult educ.	In vocational adult educ.[d]
Florida				
1966–67	152,092	166,414	17.00	46.50
1956–57	61,415	66,811	3.33	2.95
1946–47	12,634	11,291	.50	...
Georgia				
1966–67	12,997	83,889	4.00	15.00
1956–57	...	98,186	0	5.75
1946–47	6,949	82,926	0	...
Hawaii				
1966–67	28,145	5,692	4.00	15.00
1956–57	11,000	6,193	2.00	1.34
1946–47	2,900	6,352	0	...
Idaho				
1966–67	2,469	22,355	.25	11.00
1956–57	1,000	3,015	0	2.50
1946–47	916	1,038	0	...
Illinois				
1966–67	325,832	47,387	11.20	40.00
1956–57	57,368	47,096	.50	8.05
1946–47	13,415	24,093	0	...
Indiana				
1966–67	916[b]	24,622[a]	2.50	5.00
1956–57	25,511	23,735	.25	1.65
1946–47	8,991	16,274	0	...
Iowa				
1966–67	16,645	14,168	3.00	1.00
1956–57	38,519	36,463	.10	1.30
1946–47	3,139	27,298	.30	...
Kansas				
1966–67	46,000	35,789	2.00	3.00
1956–57	...	20,299	0	4.75
1946–47	2,482	6,828	0	...
Kentucky				
1966–67	9,142	32,378[a]	4.00[c]	8.00
1956–57	...	25,421	0	8.40
1946–47	6,200	20,125	0	...
Louisiana				
1966–67	22,460	24,000	9.00	22.00
1956–57	9,090	26,435	1.00	8.58
1946–47	5,746	19,503	2.00	...

Table 1—ENROLLMENTS AND STAFF TIME (IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION) DEVOTED TO GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION IN STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued)

	Enrollments in		No. of persons on state staff (full-time equivalents)	
	General adult educ.	Vocational adult educ.	In general adult educ.	In vocational adult educ.[d]
Maine				
1966–67	8,086	3,123	1.50	1.40
1956–57	3,150	1,134	.20	.12
1946–47	1,828	1,052	.20	...
Maryland				
1966–67	16,756	40,754	2.00	3.75
1956–57	25,882	12,370	.10	.79
1946–47	9,960	9,978	.50	...
Massachusetts				
1966–67	2,865[b]	54,624[a]	3.00	13.00
1956–57	52,783	50,552	9.00	6.65
1946–47	74,602	24,783	7.00	...
Michigan				
1966–67	185,318	107,480[a]	3.00[c]	11.00
1956–57	215,400	80,614	1.00	9.30
1946–47	81,700	45,874	3.00	...
Minnesota				
1966–67	129,803	130,000	2.00	13.00
1956–57	25,102	45,916	1.00	25.00
1946–47	4,731	19,984	0	...
Mississippi				
1966–67	20,564	37,000	2.00	6.20
1956–57	2,500	42,171	.50	5.50
1946–47	2,997	39,652	0	...
Missouri				
1966–67	34,819	32,988	1.00	3.70
1956–57	...	26,439	0	9.40
1946–47	4,942	23,954	0	...
Montana				
1966–67	1,100	4,608[a]	1.00[c]	2.00
1956–57	937	3,103	0	2.23
1946–47	1,495	2,119	0	...
Nebraska				
1966–67	808	32,464	.50	2.65
1956–57	5,906	18,390	0	6.05
1946–47	1,173	16,201	.10	...
Nevada				
1966–67	8,912	19,280	.50	5.60
1956–57	5,400	3,226	.25	1.29
1946–47	261	1,035	0	...

Table 1—ENROLLMENTS AND STAFF TIME (IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION) DEVOTED TO GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION IN STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued)

	Enrollments in		No. of persons on state staff (full-time equivalents)	
	General adult educ.	Vocational adult educ.	In general adult educ.	In vocational adult educ.[d]
New Hampshire				
1966–67	562	2,260	1.00	1.00
1956–57	...	2,087	0	.40
1946–47	462	936	0	...
New Jersey				
1966–67	206,827	25,000	4.00	1.70
1956–57	72,772	17,152	1.50	5.00
1946–47	9,798	18,827	1.00	...
New Mexico				
1966–67	5,429	3,781	2.00	1.25
1956–57	...	2,064	0	2.00
1946–47	827	846	0	...
New York				
1966–67	463,000	178,400	18.00	40.00
1956–57	754,626	106,115	15.00	12.75
1946–47	98,299	74,752	15.00	...
North Carolina				
1966–67	19,830[b]	34,036	6.00	19.00
1956–57	...	35,305	0	3.98
1946–47	9,620	24,965	0	...
North Dakota				
1966–67	162[b]	7,314[a]	1.50	3.50
1956–57	1,850	4,897	0	3.00
1946–47	460	1,661	0	...
Ohio				
1966–67	120,000	160,000	3.00	21.72
1956–57	52,752	64,038	0	16.25
1946–47	10,371	32,332	0	...
Oklahoma				
1966–67	20,500	30,752	2.50	3.00
1956–57	12,500	23,162	.50	3.00
1946–47	3,005	14,231	.50	...
Oregon				
1966–67	8,077	23,460	.25	1.60
1956–57	17,623	20,956	.20	5.38
1946–47	1,262	7,903	2.00	...

Table 1—ENROLLMENTS AND STAFF TIME (IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION) DEVOTED TO GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION IN STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued)

	Enrollments in		No. of persons on state staff (full-time equivalents)	
	General adult educ.	Vocational adult educ.	In general adult educ.	In vocational adult educ.[d]
Pennsylvania				
1966–67	184,068	54,599[a]	11.50	14.30
1956–57	130,000	53,465	1.00	11.00
1946–47	109,856	40,772	5.00	. . .
Rhode Island				
1966–67	802[b]	3,024[a]	2.00[c]	3.00
1956–57	8,310	3,077	2.00	1.43
1946–47	3,462	1,204	2.00	. . .
South Carolina				
1966–67	35,146	70,739	15.00	12.15
1956–57	11,231	68,392	1.00	8.88
1946–47	7,008	75,968	1.00	. . .
South Dakota				
1966–67	9,075	8,752	1.50	6.00
1956–57	2,000	2,982	0	1.00
1946–47	881	1,761	0	. . .
Tennessee				
1966–67	15,626[b]	34,756[a]	4.00	15.00
1956–57	24,282	24,068	0	5.66
1946–47	6,854	37,505	0	. . .
Texas				
1966–67	82,845	604,028	26.00	23.60
1956–57	. . .	162,470	.10	15.25
1946–47	27,005	106,338	.10	. . .
Utah				
1966–67	31,481	16,941	1.25	1.20
1956–57	14,344	19,104	0	4.58
1946–47	4,209	18,668	.20	. . .
Vermont				
1966–67	749[b]	3,361[a]	2.00[c]	2.50
1956–57	1,675	1,889	0	2.48
1946–47	898	1,051	.50	. . .
Virginia				
1966–67	27,655	68,039	5.00	10.00
1956–57	55,276	33,326	.17	7.70
1946–47	36,692	31,494	4.00	. . .
Washington				
1966–67	52,177	55,517	1.00	25.00
1956–57	30,000	66,501	.33	8.60
1946–47	50,829	50,097	.30	. . .

Table 1—ENROLLMENTS AND STAFF TIME (IN STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION) DEVOTED TO GENERAL AND VOCATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION IN STATES AND TERRITORIES (Continued)

	Enrollments in		No. of persons on state staff (full-time equivalents)	
	General adult educ.	Vocational adult educ.	In general adult educ.	In vocational adult educ.[d]
West Virginia				
1966–67	19,000	8,750	2.00	6.00
1956–57	...	10,784	0	2.05
1946–47	4,302	5,411	0	...
Wisconsin				
1966–67	464[b]	112,664[a]	2.00[c]	15.00
1956–57	65,000	60,112	.50	9.95
1946–47	54,819	71,712	.50	...
Wyoming				
1966–67	589	2,104[a]	1.00	5.00
1956–57	1,141	1,600	.12	2.15
1946–47	753	1,835	.30	...
Guam				
1966–67	267[b]	1,983	.50	1.00
1956–57	...	...	0	...
1946–47	...	...	0	...
Puerto Rico				
1966–67	19,208[b]	17,145[a]	1.00[c]	15.00
1956–57	61,653	14,048	1.25	12.29
1946–47	15,407	5,128	0	...
Virgin Islands				
1966–67	262[b]	138[a]	1.00[c]	1.00
1956–57	169	79	0	1.99
1946–47	...	0	0	...
Total 1966–67	3,554,667	3,084,436	219.05	546.42
Enrollments 1956–57	2,635,138	1,831,144	51.15	307.21
1946–47	1,358,944	1,353,629	53.00	...

Source:

Reports of state departments of education, July 31, 1967, and earlier.

[a] Figures furnished by Division of Vocational and Technical Education, U.S. Office of Education.

[b] Enrollment in adult basic education only; figures furnished by U.S. Office of Education.

[c] Data taken from NAPSAE 1967 Almanac and Directory.

[d] Where figures in this column were not furnished by state departments of education, estimates were made by dividing total number of state vocational education staff by 4.

NOTE:

Data for 1956–57 and 1946–47 taken from *Adult Education Services of State Departments of Education*, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education Misc. No. 31, 1959.

Chapter 8

Pupil Personnel Services

Walter S. Crewson

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Pupil Personnel Services

INTRODUCTION

Pupil personnel services are an integral aspect of the total instructional process and essential components of an adequate educational program. They are designed basically to facilitate the educational progress and development of individual pupils.

There are several variations in the concepts and definitions of such services. One set of pupil personnel services consists of those described in the Council of Chief State School Officers' publication, *Responsibilities of State Departments of Education for Pupil Personnel Services* (1). They refer specifically to attendance, guidance, health, school psychology, and school social work. In addition to these five basic services, the following also may be included: mental health programs; special education, including provisions for physically, mentally, and emotionally handicapped children; remedial reading; psychometrics; and speech therapy and correction. Transportation and school food services are considered by many to be within the general framework of pupil personnel services.

Pupil personnel services deserve special attention in this volume because they constitute the areas of greatest growth of elementary and secondary school functions in recent years. A hungry schoolchild cannot learn effectively, so learning depends on food. Disadvantaged children are more likely than others to suffer from ill health, mental disturbances, and physical handicaps, including difficulties in sight, hearing, and speech. Because they lack cultural and parental reinforcement, they tend more often to have disciplinary and attendance problems, to require the services of school social workers and psychologists, and to need remedial instruction. Youth and adults who did not receive these services when they were in school require compensatory training and often personal, social, and vocational rehabilitation.

The school is the universally available public institution that is in a position to deal with all children and youth preventively in these areas. It need not restrict personnel services to its enrolled pupils. The health and welfare needs of all children and youth are interlocked with their special educational needs in ways that have made it practicable to broaden the functions of schools so that both are made available to pupils on an individual basis. The further development of these services will continue to be an important aspect of education.

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT

Early Developments to 1930

American education is steeped in a religious and classical heritage from England and Europe. The Protestant Reformation helped shape the basic educational policies and practices in the founding of this country. An examination of the curriculum offered in the first Colonial schools indicates that the motivating objectives in the establishment of these schools were essentially religious. Study of the classics, of Latin in particular, dominated the curriculum. Education was subject centered.

With the growth of the American Colonies and the opening of new frontiers, the religious influence that pervaded education gave way to the demands of business and industrial growth. As the Colonists built up enterprises in the states and accumulated fortunes, much of the initial emphasis on the religious and philosophical bases of education was diminished. The advances in technology which characterized the Industrial Revolution during the nineteenth century and the growth of corporations, coupled with the doctrine of laissez faire, resulted in an unprecedented development of economic resources. The country was changing from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

Education began to reflect the demands of all these developments. It gradually assumed some responsibility in training youth for the world of work, which encompassed a variety of new occupations and required the acquisition of new skills. Education also sought to assist citizens to become more effective members of society Although the schools were still basically subject centered, books and curriculum materials were beginning to be thought of as tools in the educational process, as means to improve living rather than solely as ends in themselves.

Despite pressures to expand the scope of education during this period, curriculums were rigid. There were practically no electives. Emphasis was on subject matter, with mastery of facts as the primary goal. During the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, there were efforts by several national groups to review and revise the curriculums of both elementary and secondary schools (2).

As America moved into the twentieth century, the scientific study of education started to flourish. Theories in education and psychology gained more attention (3). The achievement testing movement was maturing (4), and interest was developing in intelligence tests (5). This movement was given even further impetus as a result of the armed forces' testing of men during World War I. Group tests, Army Alpha and Army Beta, were designed to measure verbal and nonverbal intelligence and capacities, to assess literacy and illiteracy, and to determine how skills could be used maximally. The need for knowing about individuals strengthened the concept of individual differences, and American education began to focus on children.

Important curriculum groups were active. The National Society for the Scientific Study of Education devoted its yearbook of 1918 to measurement. Also in 1918, the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education listed its seven objectives, designated as the *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education,* and concluded that—

> Consequently, education in a democracy, both within and without the school, should develop in each individual the knowledge, interests, ideals, habits and powers whereby he will find his place to shape both himself and society toward ever nobler ends (6).

David J. Wiens, who pioneered a comprehensive study of pupil personnel services in 1914, indicated that the general increase in the services was due to social changes, a broadened educational philosophy, compulsory school attendance legislation, and improved techniques in measurement (7).

Highlights of the 1930's and 1940's

During the Depression years of the 1930's, major emphasis was given to programs to revitalize the national economy. Unemployed dropouts returned to the schools or enlisted in emergency youth camps under federal direction. Expenditures for education were generally curtailed, but high schools and even colleges stretched their resources far to give personal attention to the needs of unemployed youth. As World War II approached, an influx of federally aided programs to prepare for the conflict bolstered the national economy, with a concurrent resurgence in education.

The era of John Dewey had brought increased interest and activities in research and evaluation of existing educational practices. Institutions of higher education, educational groups and related associations, school administrators and teachers focused upon philosophical bases of education and methods of implementing desirable objectives.

After 1917, the development of tests was so rapid that by 1928 nearly 1,300 standardized and semistandardized tests had been catalogued; in 1940, the number exceeded 2,600 (8). During the 1930's and 1940's, tests were questioned critically because of their growing use in the evaluation of pupils and schools. Many significant research studies and service projects were conducted in pupil personnel services. Programs of mental health, guidance, and psychological services became more common. Initially, guidance dealt principally with job placement, but gradually it was broadened to include educational and personnel counseling as well. Expanding services brought expanding professional and citizen organizations to promote their scope and effectiveness (9). Evaluation scales for schools and school programs increasingly reflected concern for pupil personnel services.

World War II to Sputnik

During World War II, the production facilities and labor forces of the country were geared to defense needs. Emphasis was upon military preparation and mobilization of all the resources of the country to overcome the power of Nazi Germany. Although the years following the termination of World War II were to see new international crises, such as the "cold war" in Berlin and the Korean conflict, the country's production facilities were adapted to meet the demands of an expanding market for products for civilian consumption.

School populations were burgeoning. The crest of the wave of war babies was moving through the elementary schools into the secondary schools. New communities were rising to meet the needs of returning veterans. Schools became a focal point of action, and construction of schools boomed.

A growing interest in pupil personnel services was accompanied by the need for more teachers, as well as specialists. By 1954, 200 cities in 40 states reported that they had directors of guidance. At least 205 colleges and universities had graduate programs for the preparation of school counselors. In New York state in 1955, the Legislature gave professional status to full-time attendance workers in school districts; and in 1957, requirements for certification of these workers as teachers were placed in effect. In 1956, California required a special student-personnel credential based on a common core program in the preparation of counselors, social workers, child welfare and attendance workers, psychologists, and psychometrists employed in the public schools. These developing fields, especially guidance, counseling, and testing, were stimulated by the launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union in 1957, when the shortage of scientists and engineers came to the center of educational attention.

Federal Financial Aid

The Vocational Education Act of 1917 (Smith-Hughes Act) was the first important federal aid for secondary education. It made funds available for vocational guidance as an integral part of federal promotion of vocational education. Additional appropriations were authorized by the George-Reed Act in 1929 and the George-Deen Act of 1936. The George-Barden Act of 1946 provided financial incentives for state programs of supervision in vocational guidance, training of vocational counselors, and acquisition of instructional equipment for use in counseling.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958 (NDEA) gave guidance, counseling, and testing in the secondary schools their greatest impetus. NDEA was designed to strengthen national defense and to encourage and assist in the expansion and improvement of educational programs to meet critical national needs. Title V-A provided for the establishment and maintenance of programs of guidance, counseling, and testing. Title V-B provided for the operation of short-term or regular-session institutes by colleges and universities for advanced study to improve the qualifications of counselors.

In 1964, amendments to NDEA provided aid for developing programs in elementary school grades and public junior colleges and technical institutes. The amendments provided an opportunity for guidance to be considered as a continuum. Heretofore, guidance services usually had been available only in secondary schools. The increase in guidance programs in elementary schools, public junior colleges, and technical institutes furthered coordination and articulation from one level of school organization to another.

The Vocational Education Act of 1963 also had implications for guidance services. It helped provide non-college-bound youth with occupational education and training. Among the categories of individuals who were eligible under the Act were high school dropouts willing to study part-time.

In the field of adult education, the Vocational Rehabilitation Act of 1920 and its subsequent amendments emphasized guidance and other personnel services. The Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 expanded guidance to disadvantaged persons of all ages, including very young children, and stimulated increased personnel services both in and outside of schools.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (ESEA), designed to strengthen the nation's elementary and secondary schools, concentrates largely on the development of pupil personnel services as a necessary prerequisite for successful education. The extensive programs under Title I of ESEA are designed primarily to prepare disadvantaged children who reside in pockets of poverty for successful living. Pupil personnel services have developed nationwide, involving preschool children and pupils through high school, including dropouts. The scope of the ESEA Title I program can be inferred from the federal appropriation of $1,123,127,000 for fiscal year 1969.

New dimensions in personnel services have resulted from various federally supported programs. Some are concerned with parent education and cooperation with community agencies. Others have expanded services to handicapped children, migrants, the neglected and delinquent, and school dropouts. These programs broaden the scope of the clientele served to almost all children and youth who need them and extend in some instances to adults as well.

The new programs of mixed education and personnel services stimulated by federal laws and supporting funds have tended to merge services that originated and developed separately. Some are administered by educational agencies, but many are in new or old administrative agencies identified with other areas of government. The proliferation of programs and agencies for their administration has brought problems of coordination and cooperation which are only gradually being resolved. The general effect, however, has been a large expansion and extension of personnel services to persons of all ages, both in direct relationship to organized education and in programs centered in many aspects of health and welfare services outside of education.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES

Growth of Component Services

The pupil personnel services selected for the purposes of this chapter are attendance, guidance, school health, school psychology, and school social work. Although these services differ among states and according to local school and community needs, their patterns of development have common elements that apply to pupil personnel services generally.

Attendance. Attendance can be considered the first of pupil personnel services. Although it was a matter of great concern in Colonial times, it was later related to the concept of pupil accountability as a component of compulsory education.

In 1635, the town of Boston established a school supported by private subscriptions, with income from a parcel of land which was set aside for the purpose. A Massachusetts law of 1642 was the first general law requiring town officials to compel parents to provide elementary instruction for children. Five years later, the Legislature of Massachusetts required each town of 50 families to provide an elementary school teacher, and every town of 100 families to establish a Latin grammar school. At the same time, the law legalized the levying of taxes by towns for the support of the teachers and set up penalties for noncompliance.

The New England states were the leaders in mandating instruction. Connecticut passed a law in 1650 similar to the Massachusetts law of 1647, and New Hampshire followed suit in 1680. During the 1700's, the development of mandated school instruction legislation in the United States was slow and difficult; the people failed to see the need for such legislation, and they tended to be hostile to compulsion in matters relating to their children. Opponents used this attitude as a club to attack advocates of school instruction legislation. In most states, it required years of education and vigorous effort to secure effective attendance laws.

Although these laws pertained to compulsory instruction, compulsory attendance gained specific attention in 1836 when Massachusetts mandated that children employed in factories be required to attend school 12 weeks of each year. Horace Mann, the first secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, recommended that all children be required either to attend school regularly or be excluded. In 1852, the first compulsory attendance law applicable to all educable children was passed in Massachusetts. This law required that all children 8 to 14 years of age attend school 12 weeks each year, and it became effective with relatively little resistance from the public. The regulation of child labor continued to be an important factor in compulsory school attendance enforcement, whether in rural or industrial areas.

Connecticut passed a law in 1813 designed to improve the educational status of factory children, but enacted its first compulsory attendance law in 1872. It required that children from 8 to 14 years of age attend school for 3 months each year. A compulsory attendance law was passed in Utah in 1890 requiring at least 16 weeks of school, with a penalty to parents who did not enforce the law as applied to their children.

Alabama enacted compulsory school legislation in 1915. The position of attendance supervisor was established in the State Department of Education in 1927, and in 1930 the first local uniform schoolchild accounting system was initiated. The Louisiana Legislature in 1918 passed a compulsory attendance law for the ages of 8 to 14, and in 1934 this was modified to the ages of 7 to 16. A visiting teacher law also was passed by the Legislature in 1944 to assist in the enforcement of the compulsory education law. In Texas, the compulsory school attendance law was passed in 1915; attendance supervision, then and now, has been considered the responsibility of the local school authority rather than of the Texas Education Agency.

Despite such progress, 28 states still had little control over local attendance administration in 1929. There was reluctance in many states to enact compulsory school attendance legislation. Considerable opposition was expressed on the part of those who emphasized the rights of parents. The schools were said to be un-American and unsuited to an essentially agrarian society, not adapted to our free institutions, and monarchial in origin and history. The sponsors of private and religious schools insisted upon schools taught in their own languages and according to their own religion. Truancy, exemption of children from school, child employment, and even the school census were important problems of the times.

The first compulsory education law in New York was enacted in 1853, requiring that children 5 to 16 years of age in county poor houses be given some education. This act provided that any vagrant between 5 to 14 years of age, upon complaint of any citizen on oath, should be brought before a magistrate; if the complaint were established, the parent, guardian, or master was required to send the child to school at least

4 months a year until he or she became 14 years old.

New York's second compulsory attendance act became law in 1874. It was the state's first general school compulsory law, providing that children between 8 to 14 years of age attend school at least 14 weeks each year, out of which 8 weeks had to be consecutive. Further amendments to the compulsory attendance acts followed; the present law was enacted in 1894 and incorporated in the consolidated school law of 1902. With the passage of laws requiring compulsory school attendance, the local school authorities were empowered to appoint attendance officers. To implement the act, the Board of Regents created an attendance division in the Education Department on April 26, 1904. Subsequent changes authorized local employment of attendance officers in 1955, with this authority extended to the city of New York in 1957.

Regular school attendance has improved and has become less of a problem as the number of children in attendance has increased in recent decades. Laws on compulsory school attendance and child labor stabilized the situation by the middle 1930's, when most of the states had passed legislation providing for effective attendance enforcement. Generally, the statutes at that time considered three elements: (1) compulsory school attendance for children until at least age 14; (2) provisions for child accounting, including requirements for the school census; and (3) recognition of the need for understanding the problems related to attendance and for specialized personnel in alleviating these problems. Advancements in compulsory education laws were assisted by the influence of parents and the cooperation of local, public, and private charitable organizations.

In 1966, the U.S. Office of Education reported that school attendance was required for children from 7 to 16 years of age in 34 states, with the maximum age fixed at 16 years in 41 states, 17 years in 5 states, and 18 years in 4 states. Exemptions to these laws are granted for physical or mental handicaps in 47 states, for high school graduation in 17 states, and under certain conditions for completion of the eighth grade in 16 states. Exemptions from compulsory attendance were granted in Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and Texas in 1966 to any child whose parents objected to his attendance at an integrated school (10).

A few states repealed their statewide attendance laws after the Supreme Court decisions in 1954 and 1955, but the recent trend has been to restore them. South Carolina repealed its law in 1955 and restored it in 1967. Virginia left compulsory attendance to the option of local agencies in 1959 and enacted a new law covering ages 6-17 in 1968.

The activities of the U.S. Department of Labor continue to be a factor in school attendance. In addition to the gradual broadening of the compulsory age range under state laws, minimum wage laws and regulations against employment of minors in hazardous occupations have also tended to extend the school-leaving age of some students. The Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 continues to be amended and expanded in ways that affect the labor market for young people. The most recent instance was extension of its provisions on minimum wages to hospitals, institutions of higher education, and elementary and secondary schools by Congress in 1966. The U.S. Supreme Court unheld these applications in a decision announced in June 1968, which set the minimum wage in schools at a level attractive to adults in many communities (11).

The emphasis of attendance services in 1900 was on accountability and primitive measures against truancy. Modern concepts of attendance in 1968, helped considerably by modifications of the curriculum to meet individual needs of pupils, relate to preventive measures: an understanding of the causes of absenteeism, case work, and school-parent-community cooperation. They also relate to the reorganization of local education agencies from more than 200,000 districts, mostly rural, to about 20,000 in 1968; to the need for more years in school and the lack of need for child labor; and to the requirements of our urbanized technological society.

Guidance. Initial emphasis in guidance was usually vocational in character. A pioneer in vocational guidance stated in 1909 that there were three principles in the wise choice of a vocation: (1) a clear understanding of one's self in one's aptitudes, abilities, interests, ambitions, resources, limitations, and their causes; (2) a knowledge of the requirements and conditions of success, advantages and disadvantages, compensations, opportunities, and prospects of different lines of work; and (3) true reasoning on the basis of these two groups of facts (12).

There were some early efforts in assisting students. Jesse B. Davis, as far back as 1898, gave much of his time to counseling students. When he became principal of the Central High School in Grand Rapids in 1907, he included guidance as a recognized part of the curriculum of the school; and in 1913, he was appointed director of vocational guidance for the city school system. In New York City, under the leadership of Eli W. Weaver, the High School Teachers Association sponsored a program in 1908 to assist students financially, as well as in counseling and placement.

A little later Frank P. Goodwin, Cincinnati director of the Department of Civil and Vocational Service, proposed a vocational guidance program which was adopted in the schools between 1911 and 1913 (13). As early as 1914, educational guidance was under discussion. Truman L. Kelly in that year published his doctoral dissertation, *Educational Guidance* (14). It was soon pointed out that the relationships between vocational guidance and social problems were much more than a public school problem. A classic in the relationship of education and guidance is John M. Brewer's book in 1932 entitled *Education as Guidance* (15). In his history of the vocational guidance movement, Brewer named four conditions that gave rise to it: division of labor, growth of technology, extension of vocational education, and spread of modern forms of democracy. His definition of guidance was so broad that some persons who were later to become colleagues in the Harvard Graduate School of Education suggested that he made all of education only one of the parts of guidance rather than guidance a part of education.

Two major movements undergirded the development of guidance services. The first was an effort to help pupils vocationally when they were about to leave school. The second involved discovering more factual data about pupils, including their abilities, aptitudes, achievement, interests, strengths and weaknesses, assets and deficits, and other characteristics. The psychological emphasis upon testing influenced the guidance movement and also led to increased interest in studying adjustment patterns and deviations of behavior.

During the early 1940's, manpower utilization related to the war effort restricted expansion of guidance and other programs. At the end of the war, however, returning veterans placed a heavy demand on educational and vocational guidance. Many returned to school or college or began other learning programs to prepare themselves for employment.

In the early 1950's this interest continued as an aftermath of the war. Soon the crest of the wave of war babies was moving through the schools. Elementary school guidance gained recognition commensurate with the increased emphasis upon the total development of a child. A total of 2,286 persons devoting one-half or more time to counseling in 1937-38 grew to more than 8,000 in 1952-53. Of 711 elementary school counselors in 1952-53, 408 were spending one-half time or more in counseling.

After the Sputnik crisis in 1957, guidance especially was catapulted into the limelight (16). The passage of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 gave specific attention and financial support. An NDEA report of the U.S. Office of Education indicates that for the school year 1962-63, there were 27,180 full-time equivalent counselors in elementary and secondary schools. Of this number, 17,928 were full-time counselors, which represented an increase of 143 percent over the 1958 pre-NDEA figures. The total number of counselors both full- and part-time was 38,150 (17).

Guidance services have flourished significantly in recent years. Although initial emphasis was on vocational guidance, new perspectives developed in other areas, such as greater understanding of child development, changing socioeconomic conditions, greater financial assistance to students for post-high school education, intensified interest in urban education, and more effective utilization of community resources in guidance. An important factor has been the expansion of education to include better opportunities for disadvantaged persons, young and old, who previously were neglected because they required special attention beyond the ability of many schools to provide.

School Health. The modern health services program is based on preventive measures and health education. Early concepts of health services focused upon detection of communicable diseases, followed by exclusion from school and readmission after proper clearance. The early history of health services was closely related to public health nursing.

In 1912, the American Red Cross pioneered in rural public health nursing, which included school nursing. Practices such as medical examination of infants and children under school age, medical inspection of children in rural schools, and vaccination for prevention of contagious diseases became more common. Attention was given to cutaneous infection, cardiac disease, and symptoms of rheumatism in childhood. Information was given in the care of prominent teeth, the causes of dental caries, and combined dental and nasal treatment to restore normal nasal respiration (18).

James F. Rogers reported on early school health activities in New York state as follows:

> In 1872, the alarming prevalence of smallpox, and its appearance in one of the schools in the city, suggested to the Board of Education, of Elmira, N. Y., the necessity for a more thorough supervision of the pupils in respect to enforced vaccination, as directed by a Statute [that of 1860] whose provisions had been partially and ineffectively carried out by the Board of Health (19).

As early as 1880, attention was given to classroom conditions affecting health. In Los Angeles, the Board of Education ruled that "teachers shall give vigilant attention to the ventilation and temperature of their school rooms. At each recess, the windows and doors shall be opened for the purpose of changing the atmosphere of the room" (20).

The first public school medical officer in the United States was appointed by the city of New York in 1892. In 1894, the first system of medical inspection was initiated in Boston. As a result of epidemics of diphtheria and scarlet fever, the commissioner of health appointed 50 school physicians as medical visitors, one to each of the 50 school districts. Similar problems motivated Chicago in 1895, New York in 1897, and Philadelphia in 1898 to follow the successful practices in Boston.

In Rhode Island, school health programs were based on legislation in 1886 pertaining to instruction in physiology and hygiene. In 1911, legislation was passed indicating that the total school health program should consist of health education, health environment, and health services.

The first school-supported nurse service in this country was established in New York City in 1902. Visiting nurses began to take note of many children wandering through the streets instead of being in school. These children had been excluded because they were suffering from the so-called nuisance diseases of pediculosis, scabies, and impetigo.

Lillian Wald of the Henry Street Settlement House persuaded the commissioner of health to allow her to put a nurse in one school district to demonstrate what might be done by a nursing follow-up of these excluded children. Lina Rogers began a month's demonstration program on November 7, 1902, and a month later the commissioner of health appointed 25 nurses to work in various schools of the city. Other cities also were initiating school nurse services, such as Los Angeles and Philadelphia in 1903 and Boston in 1905.

The nurse first came into the schools to assist in the control of communicable diseases. However, over the years her role changed as she worked with school physicians, community agencies, parents and teachers, and increasingly emphasized the preventive aspects of health. Leaders in public health during the 1920's considered school nursing to be part of public health nursing. However, school nurses did not consider themselves public health nurses, and during this time the titles of "school nurse-teacher" and "teacher-nurse" emerged.

The dental hygiene movement had a parallel development. In 1913, Albert C. Fones obtained a $5,000 appropriation from the city of Bridgeport, Connecticut, to establish a school dental clinic in educational programs. During the year, he opened the first school for dental hygienists, and they were introduced in the school program in 1914.

The New York State Board of Regents has long been concerned with health services for children and their relationship to other services. In its 1938 report on *The School Health Program,* particular emphasis was given to interdisciplinary cooperation (21).

Child welfare and governmental agencies, parent groups, and professional associations helped considerably to meet the demand for improved health services for children and youth. The Children's Bureau, established in 1912 under the Theodore Roosevelt Administration, reflected the early national interest in health. Since that time it has administered a large number of health services and programs affecting young children and their care. Several of the activities of the Bureau affecting schoolchildren included services for crippled children and the prevention and treatment of delinquency. Moreover, the White House Conferences on Children have been significant in focusing upon the needs of children and youth. It was one of the 15 recommendations in the White House Conference on Care of Dependent Children held in 1909 which called for the establishment of a federal children's bureau.

Child welfare legislation has had a great impact on the development of health services, particularly during the last four decades. The passage of the Social Security Act in 1935, with its emphasis on dependent children, was an important milestone. Federal and state programs for handicapped children have been steadily expanded by legislation, the most recent of which is new Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, enacted in 1966. This federal-state-local approach to greatly expanded services for handicapped children means rehabilitation programs involving all traditional pupil personnel services and innovations as well, all administered primarily by the educational agencies of the three levels of government (22). School lunch programs were improved by distribution of surplus foods under the provisions of the National School Lunch Act of 1946. One of the objectives of the Act was "to safeguard the health and well-being of the nation's children."

Federal programs for the disadvantaged, including Operation Head Start under the Economic Opportunity Act and preschool programs under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, gave additional emphasis to health programs for children. Such programs brought into sharper focus the cooperative relationships between school health services and community services, thus increasing public health services generally. Growth in school health services is indicated by the fact that in 1952 there were 6,309 nurses employed by boards of education, while in 1966 there were more than 12,000.

The growth of school health services evolved from an emphasis on the identification of communicable diseases to the preventive aspects of health. Cooperation between the schools and public health and other community agencies increased immeasurably. Federal, state, and local legislation sparked this growth by encouraging preventive and follow-up health measures. Today the educational aspects of sound health are being stressed, and the acquisition of health knowledge attitudes and interest in healthful personal and community living are considered paramount.

Basic policies for the administration of school health services were developed jointly by the Council of Chief State School Officers and the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers in 1951 and revised in 1959 (23). These two national associations, joined by the Association of State and Territorial Mental Health Authorities, jointly approved and published a similar policy statement on mental health in the schools in 1966 (24). Experience in these fields demonstrates clearly that many individuals and organizations should have jointly developed and clearly stated working agreements at local, state, and federal levels to ensure cooperation and best results in school programs of health and mental health.

School Psychology. The genesis of school psychology as it is known today can be traced to University College in London, where a laboratory for measurement was established in 1884. It was concerned with the study of individual differences in measurement. Twelve years later, at the University of Pennsylvania, Lightner Whitmer established a laboratory concerned with children's behavior. This, in essence, was the first child guidance clinic in America (25).

The first department of child study in a public school system in America was established in Chicago in 1899. In 1907, a child study department was developed in the Rochester public schools. In 1911, similar departments were established in the Cincinnati and Detroit school systems. In 1915, the Connecticut State Department of Education appointed Arnold Gesell as school psychologist for the purpose of giving examinations to mentally retarded children in school districts throughout the state.

The individual testing program, which is so closely identified with the school psychologist, was given impetus by the development of an individual intelligence test in 1904 by Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon of France. In 1909, Clifford N. Beers founded the National Committee for Mental Hygiene, which helped establish child guidance clinics primarily to combat delinquency. Symonds indicated that the term *school psychologist* first appeared in the literature in 1923 and reported that there were 75 school psychologists in 1925. At midcentury, scattered programs of psychological services had been established in all types of local, intermediate, and state agencies across the country, but they were far from universal (26).

A study of the local administrative organization of school psychology in cities of 100,000 population or over was conducted by David J. Wiens in 1914. He sent questionnaires to 93 cities, 88 of which responded. The results showed that the school psychologist was responsible to various individuals, including the superintendent, or was assigned to various departments such as health, attendance, or special education (27).

New York has experienced developments in this field that are roughly typical among the larger states. Ethel L. Cornell of the New York State Education Department reported a survey of personnel in school psychological services in 1942, finding that 65 individuals from cities other than Buffalo, New York, and Rochester were so designated. Further study concerning their activities indicated that no more than 63 of the 165 individuals working in 41 school districts could be regarded as fully prepared school psychologists. It seems clear that there was no precise definition of the functions of school psychologists at that time (28).

A 1958 study by the Bureau of Psychological Services in the New York State Education Department indicated that there were 573 school psychologists employed in the public schools of the state, and the number has continued to rise at a rapid rate. Over 70 percent of the public school districts with 200 or more pupils reported the employment of at least one school psychologist either on a full-time or part-time basis.

This report described the work of school psychologists in the public schools of New York state in the areas of educational retardation, underachievement, emotional disturbance, mental retardation, mental giftedness, conduct disturbances, unusual environmental conditions, physical handicaps, diagnostic study, and remedial and corrective action. It also discussed mental health school programs, the development and conduct of a standardized testing program, and in-service activities as aids to teachers and staff in understanding pupil personality and behavior (29).

The use of school psychologists was mainly in the measurement of mental abilities and particularly for the identification of atypical children. Until the early 1950's, the primary application of school psychologists' skills was clinical. The Veterans Administration training programs after World War II provided training of psychologists which was especially clinically oriented. Many of these psychologists entered school work and concentrated on its diagnostic and clinical phases. Growth of the mental hygiene movement continued, however, and the focus on personality development encouraged a new understanding of child behavior, with special attention given to prevention of undesirable behavior.

The contributions of Freud and other leaders in psychiatry made significant impacts on school psychologists in the 1930's and thereafter. These contributions underscored the need for greater understanding of emotional health as part of the individual's total growth and development, a frontier still expanding in 1968. Understanding of new or re-emphasized learning theories was stimulated by the psychoanalytic approach to behavior. Such theories of psychology as behaviorism and gestaltism were studied anew for their implications for education.

As in other pupil personnel services, there was an increase in the demand for school psychologists following World War II. This demand was accelerated by growing numbers of studies aimed at understanding all children better, as a result of NDEA programs, and because of greatly increased provisions for handicapped children. Attention to individual case studies of children with learning problems and the involvement of parents, school staff, and community agencies in a continuing expansion of school psychological programs have become standard practice in schools.

School Social Work. The primary function of the school social worker is to help the individual child overcome those environmental or emotional obstacles which interfere with his learning and to bring the school and the home closer together. Home visits are an important part of the work of the social workers, for it enables them to understand socioeconomic factors and family concerns which influence a child's functioning, achievement, and adjustment in school.

School social workers have been known by many titles, including "visiting teacher," "visiting counselor," "school counselor," "child welfare worker," "school worker," and "attendance teacher" (30). These designations indicate the overlapping functions of personnel within the broad field of pupil personnel services.

School social work has been influenced greatly by the shift in school attendance programs from primary emphasis on accounting for the whereabouts of pupils to prevention of unnecessary absence. The first social work programs began in 1906 and 1907 in Boston, New York City, and Hartford. The first visiting teacher programs were financed by community agencies. In New York City, employment of school social workers or visiting teachers, as in the field of school health services, resulted from a desire to find out more about children in school and to help school personnel learn more about the homes and environments in which children live. Two settlement houses in New York, Hartley House and Greenwich House, initiated the practice of assigning visiting teachers to work with teachers of the children who came into the settlement houses.

In 1907, the Public Education Association of New York City created a committee to extend visiting teacher work; in 1913, the work of the visiting teacher was taken over by the Board of Education. In Boston, the Women's Education Association initiated the work.

Growth of the social work movement was rapid in the early part of the twentieth century. The formation of the U.S. Children's Bureau in 1912 gave impetus to all activities affecting child welfare. The schools were recognized as one of the significant agencies concerned with the welfare of children. As the schools became more cognizant of and involved with private groups and agencies, particularly those concerned with special groups of handicapped children, the need for social workers became apparent. The significance of school social work was recognized with the establishment in 1959 of the position of specialist in school social work in the U.S. Office of Education by Commissioner of Education Lawrence G. Derthick.

Continued emphasis on child-centered education, as compared with what Cubberley calls the "old knowledge conception," gave rise to an increase in social work programs. Programs were developed in Kansas City in 1915, Indianapolis in 1916, and Chicago in 1919. In 1921, the Commonwealth Fund of New York gave a financial grant to the National Committee on Visiting Teachers, an affiliate of the Public Education Association, to conduct a nationwide demonstration. Thirty visiting teachers were placed in city, town, and country schools to demonstrate the values of these services to education. The findings determined from this study are described comprehensively in four books (31).

New York was the first city in which the Board of Education sponsored a visiting teacher service. In 1918, Rochester established a child study department which combined the efforts of the school social worker and the school psychologist. By 1920, the school system had a department of visiting teachers.

The Bureau of Child Guidance in New York City was established in 1931 and combined the services of the school social worker, psychologist, and psychiatrist. Syracuse public schools initiated the employment of social workers in the 1930's. In Michigan, the state school social work service, formerly its visiting teacher program, was initiated in 1944. In Georgia, the visiting teacher service was created in 1954. Other states which by 1951 had developed some type of visiting teacher program include Illinois, Louisiana, Maryland, and Texas (32).

In New York state in 1960-61, there was a total of 280 full-time and part-time school social workers, 186 of whom were in the Bureau of Child Guidance in New York City and 94 in areas outside of New York City. In 1965, there was a total of 405 full-time and part-time school social workers, including those in New York City.

The complexities of modern civilization, with its technological advancements and national priorities in antipoverty programs, have created new challenges for social workers. The movement of migrants and disadvantaged families from the South to the North and from rural to urban areas has created new dimensions of need for understanding the dynamics of family interrelationships in the adjustment of children to school. Changing socioeconomic patterns, involving disadvantaged Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans, and Indians, are of the greatest concern, necessitating maximum use of federal, state, and local resources.

The federal antipoverty programs, an increased sensitivity to urban areas, and greater involvement of parents at the local school level have created new bridges between the school and the home. School social workers can become most effective builders of these bridges and preserve them on a continuing basis after emergency programs have been terminated.

Association Activities

Initiative in the development and organization of pupil personnel services comes from a variety of sources. Legislative committees, state education departments, community groups, citizen committees, child welfare and parent groups, professional associations, boards of education, school staff, and parent-teacher associations have on occasion stimulated and contributed, either collectively or individually, to the establishment of pupil personnel services.

Professional associations of specialists have been particularly important in the development and upgrading of pupil personnel services. There were many reasons for the growth of these associations: to bring professional status to a discipline; to expand and standardize practices; to determine objectives; to foster growth; to establish codes of ethics; to protect interests; to recommend and lobby for relevant legislation; to recognize achievement; to assist in the upgrading of skills; to provide financial support, including scholarships, loans, and grants; to recommend certification and licensing requirements; to assist in the development and carrying out of preservice and in-service education programs; to act as a resource for federal, state, and local governmental units and for private community agencies; to conduct workshops and conferences; and to prepare publications and disseminate pertinent information.

On both national and state levels, there has been much evidence of professional activity relating to the disciplines comprising pupil personnel services. The American Psychological Association was founded in 1892, and its Division of School Psychologists came into being in 1947. The National League To Promote School Attendance was founded in 1911 and changed its name to the International Association of Pupil Personnel Workers in 1956. The National Association of Visiting Teachers was founded in 1919 to define and promote special standards for school social workers. This eventually gave rise to the school social work section of the National Association of Social Workers, which was founded in 1955.

In 1913, the National Vocational Guidance Association was formed. Three years later, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, which is concerned with the development and implementation of programs and services, was organized.

The American School Health Association was founded in 1927. A leader in the formation of the Association was William A. Howe, then the head of the health service program in the New York State Education Department. The National Association of Guidance Supervisors and Counselor Trainers started in 1940, later changing its name to the Association for Counselor Education and Supervision. A department of the National Education Association, the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, came into being in 1943, although its progenitor, the Department of Supervisors and Directors of Instruction, was in existence in 1921. Both have been closely identified with pupil personnel services.

The parent of the national guidance associations, the American Personnel and Guidance Association, was created in 1952. The following year saw the beginning of the American School Counselor Association. The American Personnel and Guidance Association today consists of the following divisions: American College Personnel Association, Association for Counselor Education and Supervision, National Vocational Guidance Association, Student Personnel Association for Teacher Education, American School Counselor Association, American Rehabilitation Counseling Association, the Association for Measurement and Evaluation in Guidance, and the National Employment Counselors Association. A new organization, the National Association of Pupil Personnel Administrators, came into being in 1966.

The role of professional organizations in assessing the functions and training of personnel in their various disciplines has been of vital importance. In 1955, the American Psychological Association issued a report entitled *School Psychologists at Mid-Century* (33). The American Personnel and Guidance Association sponsored an influential work on guidance by C. Gilbert Wrenn in 1962 (34). The National Association of Social Workers in 1959 sponsored a publication which analyzed practices in school social work and implications for professional education in that field (35). In 1964, a Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education of the National Education Association and the American Medical Association issued a report entitled *School Health Services* (36) which describes the health responsibilities of schools and the need for coordination of school efforts with parents, the community and its resources, and private practitioners.

A valuable and comprehensive story of an association and it activities is told by Feldman in *The Connecticut Personnel and Guidance Association: Its Contributions to Guidance, 1927-1962,* jointly published by the Association and the Connecticut State Department of Education (37).

Organized pupil guidance activities in Utah illustrate how movements are generated and crystallized into final action. An excellent description of the guidance services and association activities is given by Porter in his thesis, "A History of the Growth and Development of Guidance Services in the Public Schools of Utah" (38).

A vocational group sectional meeting had its first session in 1929 at the Utah Education Association convention in Salt Lake City. By 1934, persons from this group, along with others including social workers, deans, attendance coordinators, and guidance counselors, joined together and formed a pupil personnel organization. Until 1941, this group held meetings with the Utah Education Association. The first annual meeting of the Utah Association of School Counselors was held in October 1949. At the same time, there was developing a pupil personnel group which eventually, in 1958, formed the Utah Association of Pupil Personnel Directors.

Parallel with the organizational developments nationally and in other states, organizations of pupil personnel services thrived in New York. In 1927, the New York State League of Compulsory Education Officials was organized in Rochester and was later affiliated with the National League To Promote School Attendance. The New York State Association of Deans and Guidance Personnel was organized in 1927; the New York State Counselors Association, in 1937; the New York State Attendance Teachers Association, in 1949; the New York State Psychological Association, in 1947; the New York State Association of Pupil Personnel Administrators, in 1963; and a merger of separate groups created the New York State Personnel and Guidance Association in 1965.

The New York State School-Nurse Teachers Association began in 1936; the New York State Dental Hygiene Teachers Association, in 1948; the New York State Association of Supervisory Dentists for Schools, in 1960; and the New York State Social Workers Association, in 1962.

The history of these associations indicates that they have been and are important in the development of pupil personnel services, both within the states and nationally, and that personnel from state departments of education have cooperated with them fully. They have assisted in developing preservice and in-service education programs, in establishing codes of ethics, in preparing relevant publications, in recommending certification criteria for personnel, and in conducting research and evaluation activities. Zeal for professional status and services and resulting proliferation of organizations have effectively implemented pupil personnel services in schools, making them centers for broader contributions to their pupils.

Committees

Associations and committees of citizens who have an interest in services for children and youth have had much influence on the development and organization of pupil personnel services. The following activities indicate how national and state committees with appropriate follow-up can be instrumental in effecting change.

Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York appointed a State Citizens Committee of One Hundred for Children and Youth in 1950 to consider the services then existing or needed for the children and youth in the state. The state government was represented through an advisory committee to the Citizens Committee, which consisted of the state commissioners of agriculture and markets, correction, education, health, labor, and mental hygiene and social welfare and the chairman of the state parole board. More than 700 persons of both lay and professional background were members of the advisory committee's groups. Sections were organized on child care, child health, mental health education, youth services, industrial youth, and protective and correctional care. The Committee's report considered such topics as the family, care away from home, education, physical and mental health, physically handicapped children and youth, mentally handicapped children and youth, children and youth in the world of work, and the child and the community. The report of the Committee of One Hundred stimulated pupil personnel services generally throughout the state and beyond its borders (39).

The New York Board of Regents established the Regents Council on the Readjustment of High School Education, which issued its report on guidance services in 1959 (40). It provided a blueprint for the development and expansion of guidance services. Recommendations were made to boards of education concerning the objectives and steps to be taken in improving guidance services, including ratios of pupils to counselors, the need for school facilities, sufficient materials, clerical assistants, sufficient personnel, and the role of the teacher in the guidance program. Types of services that each school should provide were described, including vocational and educational guidance, personal and social guidance, placement, follow-up, and in-service training for professional personnel. Recommendations were made for closer coordination of guidance and counseling services with other pupil personnel services and with related services in the agencies in the community. Communication with parents and other citizens for better understanding of the aims of guidance was suggested as important to obtain the local support for the program. The Council report had a positive effect in the development of guidance services.

In 1960, President Dwight D. Eisenhower called a Golden Anniversary White House Conference on Children and Youth, whose theme was "To promote opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity." Recommendations were made for special services for all children and youth. Special conference categories included the gifted; the slow learner; the school dropout; the delinquent; the emotionally, mentally, physically, and multiple handicapped; the dependent and neglected; adolescent unmarried parents and illegitimate children; adopted children; migrant and minority groups (41).

In addition to national and state activities pertaining to conferences on pupil personnel services and related activities, there are numerous local study councils, ad hoc committees, and special groups considering the needs of children and youth on a local, regional, and statewide basis. These groups provide the vehicle whereby school people, representatives of professional groups, community agencies, and parents can meet to combine their efforts in providing assistance in developing and considering new ideas for programs and services to benefit children.

ORGANIZATIONAL PATTERNS

In 1960, the Council of Chief State School Officers issued a policy statement on the interrelatedness of major pupil personnel services—attendance, guidance, health, psychological services, and school social work—and offered a blueprint as to how these services should be organized on the state level for the provision of recommended services for local programs.

State department activity in pupil personnel services has been related to the size and scope of the departments and the concepts held by their leaders as to the role of pupil personnel services. Whether these services are regarded as related to general instruction or to handicapped children's programs and services has determined largely where pupil personnel services have been placed in the organizational framework. The following information, culled from communications from the states, illustrates various organizational patterns and reflects much diversity.

Alabama has no definite division of pupil personnel services. The Legislature enacted a law on compulsory school attendance in 1915. The attendance supervisor has been part of the division of instruction since 1927. A special services consultant was added to the State Department of Education to work with exceptional children in 1957, and a guidance consultant was employed under the National Defense Education Act in 1958. However, all of these positions are in separate divisions of the Department. Efforts are being made in the Alabama Department to coordinate the several services.

In California, pupil personnel services include pupil counseling, child welfare and attendance, school social work, psychological services, and health services for public school children and youth from kindergarten through junior college. In 1943, a supervisor of occupational information and guidance was employed in the vocational education section. A bureau of occupational information and guidance was established in 1945; as a result of the Strayer Report of 1949, which studied the reorganization of the California State Department of Education, it became the Bureau of Guidance in 1953. The name was changed to the Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services in 1961, but health services were left under the Bureau of Health Education and Recreation.

The National Defense Education Act was particularly helpful to the development of pupil personnel services in California. This is stated clearly by William H. McCreary, chief of the Bureau of Pupil Personnel Services:

> For its effect on pupil personnel services in the State Department of Education, NDEA deserves special mention. It added to the identification of these services. It gave them a status they had not had before. It gave them funds that previously were lacking, funds for building up adequate staffs and services to school districts. It took them out of the area of purely advisory-consultant service and put them in a truly leadership-active partner role. It enabled them to carry out independent or joint projects with school districts designed to service pilot, experimental, or statewide undertakings that would alter the course of guidance services in many districts and in many ways.
>
> A final word: during the last decade, especially, and with the considerable help given by NDEA and the strengthened relations with the Office of Education which resulted, the State Department of Education has been a more potent force than ever before, in the general progress of pupil personnel services in the public school system of the State. Much of the evidence is intangible and cannot be included in such a report as I have given here, but it exists, nevertheless, in the minds and feelings of numerous local school personnel and numerous other citizens (42).

In Connecticut, the genesis of pupil personnel services goes back to 1902, when general statutes mandated that the State Department of Education provide necessary materials and that local boards make provisions for testing the eyesight of all pupils at least every 3 years. This was changed to annual testing in 1923. In 1907, the Legislature provided that the services of school physicians could be obtained by towns either by direct employment or by arrangements with the local health department. School nurse-teachers could also be employed by towns having school physicians. In 1925, school districts were empowered to employ school nurses regardless of the availability of a school physician.

Connecticut has long been a leader in pupil personnel services. School social work services had their beginnings when Hartford established a position for them in 1906. In 1915, Arnold Gesell was appointed school psychologist. His functions were related to exceptional children, including both the handicapped and the gifted. Legislation in 1919 authorized local school employment of dental hygienists. In 1921, legislation was passed requiring the State Department of Education to appoint a director of special education and standards.

The Legislature enacted a law in 1913 authorizing local boards of education to establish a vocational guidance program and to employ vocational counselors. In 1940, a bureau of guidance was created, followed a year later by a bureau of youth services; and the two were soon merged to form the Bureau of Guidance and Youth Personnel. Further reorganization in 1955 resulted in a division of instructional services containing bureaus of pupil personnel and special educational services.

In Florida, there is no information concerning the organization of pupil personnel services at the state level prior to 1953. From 1953 to 1959, however, there was a director; from 1959 to 1961, a director and two consultants; and by 1965-66, there was a director and three consultants. A state supervisor of guidance services was approved in 1953, and the position was supported by the division of instructional field services and vocational education. Pupil personnel services emphasized guidance.

In Georgia, the division of pupil personnel services was created in 1965. Two services had existed previously: a visiting teacher service since 1954 and a guidance, counseling, and testing service since 1956. There are no records of any organized pupil personnel activities prior to 1945.

The basis for pupil personnel services in Iowa can be traced to 1928, at which time the Legislature passed a law requiring a statewide census of handicapped children. This responsibility was given to the Iowa Department of Public Instruction. There was no provision in the state education department for a coordinated system of pupil personnel services until 1947, except through a supervisor of vocational guidance. In 1958, however, a guidance section was created in the department under the impetus of the National Defense Education Act. In 1963, guidance services and special education were joined to become the Division of Special Education and Guidance Services. In 1965, however, the department was reorganized and one of the seven branches created was that of pupil personnel services. This branch consists of a special education division, a guidance section, and an ESEA Title I unit under the associate superintendent for pupil personnel services.

In Kansas, guidance services were under the State Board for Vocational Education until 1958. As a result of the National Defense Education Act, guidance services were expanded, and since pupil personnel services consisted mostly of guidance, there was formed the guidance and pupil personnel services section under the division of instructional services. Consultants in school psychology and social work are in the special education section.

In Louisiana, the State Department of Education does not have a specific section for pupil personnel services, but much emphasis is placed upon visiting teachers, who have primary responsibility for enforcing the compulsory attendance law passed in 1944. Each of the 66 parish and city school systems receive state support for visiting teachers as part of the minimum foundation program.

In Michigan, school social work, previously known as the visiting teacher program, was initiated in 1944. The Visiting Teacher Act of 1944 was a result of recommendations of the Youth Guidance Committee appointed by Governor McKeely of Michigan in 1943 to draft a program designed to assist in preventing juvenile delinquency. The visiting teacher program was fully recognized as a regular program in 1955.

School psychology and school social work had been part of special education, but in 1966 they were transferred to a section on pupil personnel services in the new curriculum division of the bureau of educational services. This section includes guidance, school health, school psychology, and school social work services. The title of visiting teacher was changed to school social worker in 1967.

The Mississippi Department of Education has not developed a separate office for pupil personnel services generally. From 1941 until 1958, the state supervisor of occupational information and guidance was employed in the vocational education division. As a result of NDEA, the program was expanded under the supervisor of guidance services in the division of instruction. There is also a division of crippled children services and a division of school health, which is jointly operated by the division and the State Board of Health.

Pupil personnel services in Nevada were initiated formally in 1960. At that time, there were only two psychologists, two assistant psychologists, and two social workers employed in the schools. By 1965, these numbers had increased, but the most significant growth in pupil personnel services occurred in counseling personnel.

In New Mexico, there is no special division for all pupil personnel services on the state level, although the possibilities have been discussed periodically. Child accounting is handled in the statistical division. Nursing services are supervised by the health and physical education division, while counseling and testing are under the guidance services division.

Ohio includes in its pupil services the following primary functions: psychological services, guidance services, school health services, visiting teacher services, speech and hearing therapy services, child accounting services, pupil appraisal services, and special education. Related functions include research, consultative services, and community services.

The first school psychologist in Ohio was employed in 1911 by the Cincinnati Board of Education, and in 1945 the first school psychologists were employed in the special education division of the Ohio Department of Education. In 1936, this division employed a full-time psychologist "to provide consultant and individual child-study services, to assist them in planning education programs and instructional services for handicapped children" (43). Legislation was passed permitting local boards of education to establish and maintain child-study services for handicapped children. The Ohio Department of Education places pupil services for the handicapped in the Division of Special Education; and guidance, measurement, evaluation, and testing services are in the Division of Guidance and Testing.

The organization of pupil personnel services in Oregon relates to attendance (not pupil accounting), guidance and counseling, health services, psychological services, and school social work. In 1943, a vocational education staff member served half-time as supervisor of occupational information and guidance. The following year a full-time supervisor served in that capacity. In 1948, a state department staff member served in a dual capacity of speech pathologist and consulting psychologist. The service of the consulting psychologist was full-time in 1949 but was discontinued in 1965. During the 1953 school year, an assistant supervisor of occupational information and guidance was added. As in other states, NDEA contributed to the development of the guidance services in Oregon. In 1958, the occupational information and guidance services were transferred from the vocational education division to general education. Although school social workers, attendance personnel, and school psychologists are represented generally, guidance is the most emphasized of pupil personnel services.

From 1958 through 1965, Pennsylvania guidance and health services were assigned administratively to a bureau of special services for pupils. Financial support for health services come from the Department of Health, with program supervision the responsibility of the Department of Public Instruction. There are no state appropriations for local educational agencies to engage in guidance services, school psychological services, or school social work services.

In Rhode Island, the position of guidance supervisor in the Division of Instruction was established in 1958 under the NDEA. In 1965, a consultant for elementary guidance was added. Within this division there is a unit for special education, but there are no provisions for supervisory positions in school psychology or school social work services. The post of coordinator of school health programs was added in 1965, growing out of a 1963 post of school health nursing consultant within the State Department of Health. Rhode Island school health programs are prescribed for local educational agencies jointly by the state education commissioner and the director of the State Health Department, but field supervision from the state level is a responsibility of the health department.

Attendance activities are related primarily to the state census and to information about compliance with the compulsory attendance law. The education personnel make predictions of enrollments, identify children with handicaps, and make research studies.

In South Dakota, the state department divisions of guidance and special education were merged into the Division of Pupil Personnel Services in 1961. However, the two service areas have been administered as distinct entities under the supervision of the director of pupil personnel services. In October 1965, a full-time psychologist was added to the staff of the division under provisions of Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The Division of Pupil Personnel Services is concerned with the administration and supervision of programs in the following areas: guidance and counseling, special education for exceptional children, and psychological services.

In Texas, passage of the Minimum Foundation School laws in 1949 gave impetus to the development of pupil personnel services, but primarily guidance. Consultative and program services in guidance were initiated by the Texas Education Agency in 1958, when the State Board of Education approved the establishment of a Commission on Educational Guidance Services. In 1965, the Agency's guidance functions were organized into a division of guidance services. The minimum foundation program authorizes state funds for the services of counselors, nurses, visiting teachers, and school physicians in local school districts, to be supplemented by local effort.

The Board of Education of the District of Columbia approved the organization of a department of pupil personnel services in 1962. The pupil personnel services include attendance and work permits, guidance and placement, psychological and psychiatric services, educational measurement (pupil appraisal), social work, and special educational placement. In addition, for purposes of coordination only, related functions of the speech center, reading clinic, and secondary school nurses are included. In 1968, these were incorporated under divisions of home services, child and youth study, group measurement, and guidance and placement services.

The Utah Legislature passed a law in 1919 requiring educational supervision over all persons 12 to 18 years of age. Included in Utah's expanded pupil personnel services are pupil accounting, school health services, guidance services, psychometric services, psychological services, and school social work. As is the case initially in many organizational patterns, vocational counseling in Utah was part of the vocational education program; but in 1958, supervision of this activity was transferred directly to the chief state school officer. The current state department responsibility for pupil personnel services is exercised by the Division of Pupil Personnel and Guidance Services.

The West Virginia Department of Education does not operate a general pupil personnel services division. The data processing section of the division of administration handles enrollment, attendance data, and related statistics. Pupil personnel services data are collected and retained by the county boards of education, which are the local educational agencies covering the entire state.

The organization of pupil personnel services in New York state is treated in greater detail to show the development of its program. And since New York City is the largest school district in the state, the description of its pupil personnel services is elaborated upon to show affiliation and relationship with the State Education Department.

The development of pupil personnel services is greatly affected by the extent and quality of local-state coordination, as well as cooperation and communication. Heck in 1929 indicated that pupil personnel services were being administered to the pupil in a more or less haphazard way and called attention to the need for effective coordination (44).

In 1947, Francis J. Daly, who was later to become the first director of the division of pupil personnel services in the New York State Education Department, studied pupil adjustment in 20 cities with populations of 300,000 or more. He found that overlapping and lack of coordination prevailed in those cities (45).

Roemer in 1956 surveyed the status of pupil personnel services in 31 selected schools in New York state and found that there were 15 different pupil personnel administrative titles (46). Numerous studies of the problems of coordinating pupil personnel services with the teaching programs of schools, as well as with each other, have eliminated much of the vagueness and uncertainty about pupil personnel services in the schools (47).

The organization of pupil personnel services in the State Education Department of New York followed the recommendations of a department committee report in 1949. It recommended that five services—child accounting, home and school relationships, educational and vocational guidance, psychology, and health—be recognized as separate services and that they be organized as the bureau or division of pupil personnel services. The committee also recommended that certification requirements be established for child accountants and home and school counselors.

In 1950, the Board of Regents established a Division of Pupil Personnel Services, including bureaus for examinations and testing, guidance, handicapped children, health services, and psychology and psychiatric services. The Bureau for Examinations and Testing became a division in 1955 and was incorporated into the Regents Examination and Scholarships Center in 1961. The Bureau for Handicapped Children became a division in 1962, with separate bureaus for physically handicapped and mentally handicapped children. The Division of Pupil Personnel Services had bureaus for guidance, health, and psychological services in 1962. Within the division a social services section administered both school social work and attendance services in 1965. The evolution of attendance services can be inferred from the following chronology: In 1904, they were organized alone in a division; in 1941, this division was discontinued. At present, however, there exists a unit on pupil personnel services designed to assist local educational agencies in their organization and development of school programs. This reflects the importance of special state and federally funded pupil personnel programs.

There has been steady statewide growth of pupil personnel services in New York. Of the 190 school districts reporting for 1956-66, 100 listed a director, supervisor, or coordinator of pupil personnel services; of this number, 32 were assistant and associate superintendents or administrative assistants in charge of pupil personnel. In 1968, reports indicated that guidance and psychological services were included in almost all of the programs, 96 percent and 94 percent respectively. Attendance and health services are found in about 70 percent of the coordinated programs, and the growing field of social work in about 34 percent.

Particularly significant in the development of services in New York state is the

Board of Cooperative Educational Services (BOCES), established in 1948 under Section 1958 of the Education Law. The main purposes of BOCES were to provide upon request cooperative part-time services to school districts too small to employ full-time teachers in certain educational areas, including under certain conditions cooperative part-time educational services to supplement those locally staffed. Also, the BOCES coordinated and administered surveys and research projects to determine the need for cooperative services and the procedures in improving educational opportunities in the supervisory districts.

New York City

Because of the growth of the city and the complexity of forces affecting it, there have been many changes in the organization of New York City's pupil personnel services. Since January 1961, the Division of Pupil Personnel Services in New York City has consisted of five bureaus: health education (1920); attendance (1914); speech improvement (1916); guidance (1931); and educational and vocational guidance (1947). In addition to supervising district health education counselors, the bureau for health education maintains liaison with the Department of Health, through which medical and dental services for children of all school levels are obtained.

The bureau of attendance has a citywide network of district field offices. Unique to this bureau is a motorized unit to provide assistance to children in the streets and in other public places, or in unsupervised homes.

The bureau of child guidance, organized originally in response to public concern about maladjustment and deliquency, has psychiatrists, psychologists, and social workers on its staff. Teams consisting of a social worker, a psychologist, and a psychiatric consultant are assigned to schools where they screen referrals made by the principal. Services also are provided for special programs and classes for the handicapped.

Although the bureau of educational and vocational guidance was the most recent to be formed, its services were in existence much earlier. Independent guidance programs had been developed in the academic, vocational, and junior high schools. In September 1947, the Board of Education brought the three guidance programs into a single department under an assistant superintendent. In 1948, a guidance program for elementary school was established under a director of guidance; and in 1950, a director of placement was appointed to coordinate the vocational placement services of the schools.

There is close communication between the New York City Division of Pupil Personnel Services and the Division of Pupil Personnel Services in the State Education Department. The department seeks to be of as much assistance as possible. In addition to conferences, workshops, consultative and supervisory visits, communication is vital in bringing the resources of the state to assist the city in meeting its objectives.

The state pupil personnel agency also works closely with the U.S. Office of Education and with other state departments of education. The U.S. Office of Education has provided much leadership to the states, assisting them in defining problems and in seeking solutions by refining organizational patterns. A 1962-63 survey of public elementary schools and pupil personnel services by Eckerson and Smith indicates the geographical distribution:

> The Southeast trailed behind other geographical regions in the frequency of guidance, psychological, nursing and speech and hearing services, and tied with the Southwest in social work. The Mid East and Far West fared exceptionally well in psychological services; the Mid East and New England in medical services; the Mid East, New England and Far West in nursing; and the Far West and Mid East in speech and hearing. Psychiatric services were found most frequently in the Mid East and New England regions (48).

Each state can learn much from others about organizational patterns and procedures for developing and improving the services. California and Georgia have developed a series of publications on guidance services. Connecticut has an excellent pamphlet on the team approach as applied to pupil personnel services. Michigan has a variety of publications including several on social work. Ohio, Oregon, Texas, and the District of Columbia have several pamphlets about pupil personnel services generally. Rhode Island has a special bulletin about school health. New York state has a series of publications covering all areas of pupil personnel services.

State Education Department Activities

State departments of education can serve their local educational agencies well in the many areas of pupil personnel services. This has been especially true since most of the federally sponsored programs both in and out of schools since 1960 have emphasized aid to handicapped and otherwise disadvantaged children and youth. The state education agencies have administrative responsibilities for many such programs. One field of leadership is to stimulate and assist local educational agencies in developing designs for improvement of local pupil personnel services. For example, by—

- Selecting competent staff members by the best possible means.
- Arranging administratively for a staff adequate in numbers.
- Organizing the professional staff for pupil personnel services improvement.
- Engineering communication to make certain that there is broad identification in the local professional staff with the program of pupil personnel services improvement.
- Designing in-service education to provide vital opportunity for the personal and professional growth of the staff.
- Developing plans and materials for meeting unique local educational needs.
- Harnessing the creativity of lay citizens to the task of improving both the local schools and pupil personnel services.
- Devoting specific funds in the local budget to the task of pupil personnel services improvement.
- Determining goals of pupil personnel services for the local schools, constantly revising these goals, and evaluating local progress in their achievement.

The state education department can foster the implementation of such designs by providing leadership to the local schools. For example, the department might—

- Advise and assist school administrators in the planning, development, organization, coordination, improvement, evaluation, and administration of pupil personnel services.
- Recommend suggested policies, objectives, and functions of pupil personnel services.
- Meet with boards of education, school staff, community agencies, and other interested community groups in fostering a greater understanding and interpretation of the nature and role of pupil personnel services.
- Organize, plan, and conduct conferences, workshops, meetings, and seminars and cooperate with national, state, and local associations of pupil personnel services and component services in national, state, local, and regional conferences.
- Assist and plan in the study, review, evaluation, and revision of certification requirements for pupil personnel services workers.
- Plan and administer a balanced and coordinated program of pupil personnel services in the state department of education, reflecting a pattern for organization on the local level.
- Initiate and conduct pilot studies, research, and demonstration projects related to pupil personnel services.
- Conduct supervisory visits to promote and appraise pupil personnel services programs.

- Cooperate with community agencies in studies and surveys to determine local needs regarding health, employment, education, and manpower and their relationships to pupil personnel services.
- Analyze and review state reports to assess needs of school districts and plan for follow-up activities.
- Distribute materials including bulletins, brochures, films, bibliographies, and reports on surveys, national commission studies, and state conferences.
- Disseminate information about curriculum development and the improvement of instruction.
- Provide leadership in initiating studies of pupil personnel services programs with other areas, such as special education.
- Promote the development of balanced and coordinated pupil personnel programs throughout the state.
- Provide leadership in the development and coordination of statewide pupil personnel services organizations.
- Promote interstate cooperation between and among state departments of education regarding pupil personnel services programs.
- Encourage districts to maintain a reciprocal relationship with private schools and with special schools for the operation of which the state agency is directly responsible.
- Maintain a professional library and loan packets on appropriate pupil personnel services materials.
- Recommended new legislation and changes in current legislation as reflected by changing needs of the population of the schools.
- Provide leadership in the implementation of needed services resulting from national, state, and local surveys.
- Assist, advise, and encourage liaison between higher education institutions and schools in the development and evaluation of pupil personnel services programs.
- Disseminate information regarding federal and state legislation in regard to pupil personnel services.
- Maintain liaison and cooperate with other federal and state departments and agencies concerned with pupil personnel services.

Nothing a state or national authority can do will substitute in an appreciable degree for any of the elements of the locally prepared design. The most effective control of education is *local* control, and the most effective state and national function in the improvement of pupil personnel services, as well as in other facets of education, is through leadership. State agencies operate increasingly through leadership in strengthening local control by facilitating local action.

FACTORS AFFECTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUPIL PERSONNEL SERVICES

Major influences have undergirded the development of the individual services. Concern for the protection of the health and welfare of children gave rise to legislation in child welfare and the growth of attendance, health, and social work services. The need for maximum identification of abilities and development of talents provided a special incentive for the expansion of guidance services. Further emphasis on individual differences, search for the causes of learning disabilities, studies on the influence of mental health on personal development, and curriculum adaptations fostered the growth of school psychological services.

As the services developed, however, there were diverse views from staff, boards of education, community groups, and state departments of education as to how the services should best be developed and implemented. The widely varying administrative placements of pupil personnel services in the organization of state departments of education reflect differences in concepts and philosophy about pupil personnel services. Factors affecting the development of pupil personnel services can be grouped into the following general areas: (a) operational concepts, (b) community expectations, (c) administrative attitudes and support, (d) pupil personnel services staff, and (e) staff training.

Operational Concepts

Initially, the component services operated as substantially independent units. As their number and functions proliferated, coordination became necessary. Issues which Ferguson has termed critical include (a) responsibility for innovation, (b) extension of the school program to achieve additional parental participation, (c) pupil services' responsibility for accounting and attendance services, and (d) the team concept in pupil services (49). State education departments can provide leadership in the development of these concepts.

The expectations that a community has of education and what it desires for its children and youth largely determine the kinds of educational programs it will support. The values, aspirations, and education of parents; the socioeconomic status of the community; and leadership resources are factors in how well pupil personnel services can fare. The leadership role of the state education department can be a powerful motivating force for boards of education, community groups and agencies, teachers, administrators, and parents to meet local needs for pupil personnel services.

Administrative Attitudes and Support. The school principal is usually the key figure in effective implementation. His attitude can color the attitudes of his staff, pupils, parents, and community. The superintendent and other administrative and service personnel are strong influences on attitudes of the staff toward pupil personnel services. The classroom teachers are partners of the specialized personnel services staff members in serving pupils.

The state education departments' activities in determining statewide policies, defining roles and functions, and in setting forth guidelines can assist administrators to obtain greater understanding of the services and their maximum utilization. The state education departments can visit schools to review programs, publish relevant materials, sponsor workshops and conferences, and provide opportunities for professional development to reinforce locally sponsored activities.

Pupil Personnel Services Staff

Attitudes among the pupil personnel services staff are important in the development of their programs. Some pupil personnel workers have seen their roles primarily as members of the instructional staff. Others have considered their roles as separate from the rest of the school staff on the basis of their professional training, believing they should operate in a different perspective because their training is often specialized over and above that which might be necessary for the teachers certificate. In any case, cooperation both with the entire teaching staff of the school and with their own colleagues in other personnel services is important.

Both attendance and school social services personnel need knowledge of case study and of utilization of community resources for effective use of their services. Both services are supposed to help interpret the school and the community to parents and to effect a close working relationship between the parents and the school. In many cases, there has been overlapping of attendance services and school health services concerning the reasons for absences and the clearance of children on return to school.

As school psychology grew, many of the school psychologists saw their roles primarily as clinical and emphasized testing and diagnosis. When the elementary school guidance movement placed greater emphasis on preventive and developmental aspects, there was concern among some personnel in school psychological services. In many cases, there was also an overlapping in the functions of the school psychologist and the guidance counselor, particularly in the area of counseling.

As school health services developed, there were varying interpretations as to where the public health nurse and the registered nurse fit in relation to the school nurse-teacher. Many school nurse-teachers were assigned attendance responsibilities, with the result that attendance teachers indicated that their work was being done by the school nurse-teacher. The dental health program also had a stormy period. Questions about the respective roles of the school nurse-teacher and dental health teacher and others reflected differences of opinion about their related functions.

There is hardly an area of pupil personnel services which has not had problems of relating to other services. In the final analysis, the interpersonal relationships which exist among the staff determine how effectively one service relates to the others. Recognition on the part of the pupil personnel staff that each service is part of a team concept and that each service has responsibilities, specific competencies, skills, abilities, and contributions to offer results in more effective use of the services. Crucial to the maximum development of pupil personnel services is communication. The development of well defined policies and procedures with the involvement of all staff members who are going to implement them is desirable.

The pupil personnel staff of the state education department can assist local pupil personnel staff, administrators, and other staff in understanding concepts, roles, and functions of the services and workers. The competencies which state education department personnel can acquire through visits to schools and other state education departments and through participation in professional activities can be quite valuable to persons on a local level. Local personnel can also serve effectively in evaluating state services and by suggesting changes in state organization and field work.

Staff Training. The ability to provide pupil personnel services staff is related to the economic law of supply and demand. Most pupil personnel services staff require special training in addition to the education necessary to become a classroom teacher. In some cases, the training approximates a doctoral degree, such as in school psychology. Requirements for certification and programs offered by institutions of higher education are related to the availability of competent personnel.

Several questions concerning the nature of pupil personnel work and training are relevant, and the answers depend largely on the persons and circumstances involved in particular cases. Should the pupil personnel worker prepare to be a generalist or specialist? Should he have a common core of educational experiences, with specialized training in a specific discipline? Should teaching experience be a prerequisite? What type of substitute experience, such as a practicum or internship, should be permissible, and for how long? Is the doctoral degree essential for any discipline, such as school psychology? What types of functions should be carried out by persons having modest training and experience and by subprofessionals and paraprofessionals? Should any part of the training be given in undergraduate work, and if so how much? What kind of follow-up by higher education institutions as part of training should be continued? These and other questions require considerable thought in determining conditions of employment and certification requirements.

Resources of institutions of higher education often are useful, both in preservice and in-service education. In addition to the standard activities in participating in workshops, institutes, and conferences, higher education institutions can provide leadership and consultative assistance in the development, implementation, research, follow-up, and evaluation of pupil personnel services programs. Their involvement in planning for the future also could be increased immeasurably.

The state education department can serve as a catalyst to encourage active cooperation between the schools and the institutions of higher education for more effective utilization of manpower and available resources, in initiating certification studies, and in developing preservice and in-service education programs for present and future staff. Such teamwork can help meet the demands of changing socioeconomic conditions through the establishment, expansion, or improvement of programs to serve evolving special groups before current services become inadequate for such groups.

Curriculum Development

Pupil personnel staff should be involved, as a part of their in-service training, in curriculum planning, development, and evaluation in the schools where they work. An aim of pupil personnel services is to assist in creating a flexible instructional program to enable teachers to meet the needs of individual pupils and to offer maximum educational development for each pupil. There is a responsibility for pupil personnel staff to know about the latest developments in educational technology, including computer-aided instruction.

A school climate conducive to good mental health is basic to a sound instructional program. The schools have been called natural community mental health centers for children. Stickney, at the closing plenary session of the joint meeting of the New York State Association of Mental Health and the New York State Association of Community Mental Health Boards, stated that if children are to receive effective early treatment for mental and emotional disorders, help will most probably come from the schools (50).

Schools, he said, should have diagnostic screening programs, and teachers should have in-service training to enable them to identify serious difficulties early. He recommended that this screening begin even before the child reaches the first grade, since principles of mental health need to be applied early. The pupil personnel services staff, particularly school psychologists, school social workers and counselors, should be in the vanguard in promoting a sound mental health climate in the school. As life styles of individuals differ according to needs at given age levels and as curriculum modifications for pupils are basic in meeting these needs, pupil personnel staff can help immeasurably in promoting positive curriculum adjustments at all levels.

Professional Development—Training and Retraining

Pupil personnel workers need continuous professional development. Preservice education is a major responsibility of higher education institutions designed to train individuals for different positions. In-service training is a joint responsibility of the school, the staff, and higher education institutions. Administrative arrangements, board of education policies, and the concepts and attitudes of the staff, including those of the pupil personnel staff, will determine how effective in-service programs can be.

Opportunities have been made generally available by federal and state grants for professional development. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 provided funds for counselors to attend institutes either during the summer or during the school year. More recently, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 provided for pupil personnel services and other staff opportunities to participate in in-service activities for professional development. This is essential to assist pupils in their physical, intellectual, emotional, and social development.

A significant aspect of professional development is the consideration of new positions in carrying out the functions of pupil personnel work. The number of elementary school guidance counselors has grown considerably within the last decade. Positions for child development specialists may soon be common, particularly in the first 3 years of the elementary school.

Pupil personnel staff are being challenged to keep abreast of findings of research and evaluation studies; of new methods and procedures, such as in group guidance and counseling; of new interpretations, such as in the measurement of intelligence among disadvantaged groups; of advances in educational technology; and of the nature of emerging community groups and their needs.

Research and Evaluation

Research and evaluation are based upon simple premises. How well are programs being implemented in accordance with their objectives? How are funds being spent, and what happens as a result of the expenditures? What procedures and conditions could lead to a greater degree of effectiveness? What combinations of resources can lead to more effective performance on the part of pupils? Research and evaluation can assist those who are in decision-making roles to have available necessary information in order to make their decisions wisely.

Research and evaluation in pupil personnel services is expanding. We need to know what factors encourage effective implementation and what factors are deterrents. We need to know what types of organizations for pupil personnel services are conducive to maximum effectiveness and how an organization can be adapted to meet local needs. Do the five basic services dealt with here provide desirable guides applicable to other pupil personnel services? Should special education be added to these? We need studies about role functions, types of training, maximum use of community agencies, and how the several kinds of pupil personnel workers can work together in a school for the betterment of each pupil.

Conclusion

The development and expansion of special programs and services for children and youth sparked primarily by federal legislation necessitate continued planning, research, and evaluation as to how pupil personnel services can best be organized to meet present and future demands. Increased amounts of federal aid have posted challenges, especially since the passage for categorical purposes of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 and subsequent legislation for education of the disadvantaged.

Emphasis for today and tomorrow is on minority groups, disadvantagement, urban education, and the role of education as a key institution in alleviating poverty and its effects. Pupil personnel services are integral parts of the processes of improvement of instruction in order that schools may assist each pupil to reach his optimal growth. This is predicated upon interdisciplinary understandings, the use of the team approach among the disciplines, and comprehensive planning among federal, state, and local agencies. Well defined avenues of communication among local educational agencies, state education departments, the U.S. Office of Education, and other agencies are essential for effective development of pupil personnel services programs. Resources available at each level should be used jointly to achieve common objectives.

Trends in pupil personnel services have evolved from the need for more effective interrelationships among the various disciplines. The basic philosophy of education as well as the role of the school, has changed from education for a selected few to education for all in democracy. Individual differences have become more important, with increased attention directed to physical, mental, and social handicaps. For the future, expansion is related directly to equality of educational opportunity for *all* children.

FOOTNOTES

1. Council of Chief State School Officers, *Responsibilities of State Departments of Education for Pupil Personnel Services* (Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1960).
2. Helen Heffernan, "The School Curriculum in American Education," ch. 5 of this volume.
3. G. Stanley Hall, "The Contents of Children's Minds on Entering School," *The Princeton Review*, Part I (May 1883), 249-72. In 1884, Hall established a Center for the Study of the Mental Development of Children at Johns Hopkins University. He later became president of Clark University, where he and his followers emphasized psychological studies.

4. Joseph M. Rice,"The Futility of the Spelling Grind," *Forum,* XXIII (1897), 163-72; Cliff W. Stone, *Arithmetical Abilities and Some Factors Determining Them,* Contributions to Education No. 19 (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1908); Edward Lee Thorndike, "Handwriting," *Teachers College Record,* XI (1910), 83-175; Leonard P. Ayres, *A Scale for Measuring the Quality of Handwriting of School Children,* Russell Sage Foundation Bulletin No. 113 (New York: The Foundation, 1912).

5. Binet and Simon, working in Paris, devised the first intelligence test in 1904. Goddard published a standardization for the Binet-Simon Test for American children in 1910; additional revisions included those of Kuhlmann in 1912 and Terman and his colleagues in 1916. Alfred Binet and Theodore Simon, "Application des Méthodes Nouvelles au Diagnostic du Niveau Intellectuel chez des Enfants Normaux et Anormaux d'Hospice et d'Ecole Primarie." *L'Année Psychologique,* XI (1905), 245-336.

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9. Carroll H. Miller, *Foundations of Guidance* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1961), p. 12.

10. August W. Steinhilber and Carl J. Sokolowski, *State Law on Compulsory Attendance,* U.S. Office of Education Circular No. 795 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966).

11. Maryland et al. v. W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor, et al. Case No. 742, October Term, 1967.

12. Frank Parsons, *Choosing a Vocation* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1909).

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14. Truman L. Kelley, *Educational Guidance,* published Ph.D. dissertation (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1914).

15. John M. Brewer, *Education as Guidance* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1932).

16. James E. Allen, Jr., *Good Guidance and Enough of It* (Albany: New York State Education Department, 1957).

17. Louise Omwake Eckerson and Hyrum S. Smith, *Scope of Pupil Personnel Services* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), pp. 10-11.

18. U.S. Bureau of Education, *The Health of School Children,* contributions from American medical journals, July 1913 to July 1914, compiled by W. H. Heck, Bulletin 1915, No. 4 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1915), p. 3.

19. Elmira, N.Y., Board of Education, *Thirteenth Annual Report* (1873), as quoted in James F. Rogers, "Health Services in City Schools," *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States, 1938–1940,* I, U.S. Office of Education, Federal Security Agency (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1942), 1.

20. M. P. Ravenel, ed., *A Half Century of Public Health,* Jubilee Historical Volume of the American Public Health Association (New York: The Association, 1921), p. 461, as quoted in National Education Association and the American Medical Association, Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education, *School Health Services,* edited by Charles C. Wilson (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association and American Medical Association, 1953), p. 440.

21. New York State Board of Regents, *The School Health Program,* the Regents Inquiry Into the Character and Cost of Public Education in the State of New York (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938), pp. 39-40.

22. *Elementary and Secondary Education Act, Amendment of November 3, 1966,* P.L.

89-750, new Title VI, 80 Stat. 1204, 20 U.S.C. sec. 161. (1966).

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26. *Ibid.*

27. Wiens, *op. cit.*

28. Ethel L. Cornell, "The Psychologist in a School System," *Journal of Consulting Psychology,* VI (1942), 185-95.

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32. Arlien Johnson, *School Social Work: Its Contribution to Professional Education* (New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1962).

33. Cutts, *op. cit.*

34. C. Gilbert Wrenn, *The Counselor in a Changing World* (Washington, D.C.: American Personnel and Guidance Association, 1962).

35. Johnson, *op. cit.*

36. National Education Association and the American Medical Association, Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education, *School Health Services,* edited by Charles C. Wilson (2d ed; Washington, D.C.: National Education Association and American Medical Association, 1964).

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(unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1947).

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48. Eckerson and Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

49. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, pp. 140-44.

50. *Mental Hygiene News*, Vol. XXXVII, No. 8 (April 1967).

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Chapter 9

Teacher Education, Certification, and Accreditation

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Teacher Education, Certification, and Accreditation

INTRODUCTION

With the adoption of the U.S. Constitution, the training and certification of teachers became inevitable state responsibilities. Because of the Constitution's silence on the subject, education became a function of the states under the provisions of the Tenth Amendment.

As state school systems emerged, the states gradually were faced with the task of assuring an adequate flow of qualified teachers for the schools. The development of centralized controls over both teacher education and certification was an exasperatingly slow process and one that was not fully and universally accomplished until about the middle of the twentieth century. This slow evolution was, of course, in large measure a concomitant of the fierce democratic spirit of individual freedom and self-reliance induced by frontier conditions. In fact, the first common schools were creatures of the local communities, financed by public subscription, and totally organized and managed by the people they served. This tradition could be overcome only as the original settlers died out or as frontier conditions changed.

To understand how we arrived at the teacher education and certification practices of today and their place in the broad spectrum of American education, it is essential to review some of the past.

THE PRESTATEHOOD YEARS

Americans generally tend to assume that the public school idea was planted here with the first Colonies. This is far from the case. Even the Massachusetts laws of 1642 and 1647, which some writers view as containing the seeds of the public common schools, had little relevance to them.

The need for state schools and for trained teachers grew out of the Reformation. However, the past does not always offer easy access to the future. Cubberley wrote:

> Under the older theory of collective judgment and collective responsibility for salvation—that is, the judgment of the Church rather than that of individuals—it was not important that more than a few be educated. Under the new theory of individual judgment and individual responsibility promulgated by the Protestants, it became very important, in theory at least, that everyone should be able to read the word of God. . . . This undoubtedly called for education for all. . . . The great struggle of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in consequence, became one for religious freedom and toleration; the great struggle of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been for political freedom and political rights; to supply universal education has been left to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (1).

The Colonial Common Schools

The evolution of the idea of publicly supported schools for all was a slow process, not really emerging with vigor until about a half-century after the unification of the states. The concept of the free public or state schools was the result of many internal factors. It was not imported from Europe and planted in American soil in the beginning of colonization. Although there were in existence some forms of state schools in Europe, especially in Germany, they had little effect upon the system to be developed in the United States.

The pauper school was an importation from England, and it was predominant in the Central and Southern Colonies, where the Anglican Church was in control. However, as this system was based on class, it was repugnant to many settlers in the more democratic Colonies and considered by them to be a dangerous concept.

Before the essentiality of tax-supported schools available to all could take root in the thinking of the American people, church control of schools, or sectarianism, had to be overcome; the Anglican concept of schools had to be changed; and the pauper school idea had to be overthrown by the egalitarian ideas of the Western frontier. Even after independence there was great question whether a system of state schools would die at birth. Cubberley describes the conditions at the close of the Revolutionary War:

> The effect of the War for Independence on all types of schools was disastrous. . . . With the outbreak of the war, education everywhere suffered seriously. Most of the rural and parochial schools closed. . . . In New York City . . . practically all schools closed with British occupancy, and remained closed until after the end of the war. The Latin Grammar schools and academies often closed from lack of pupils, while colleges were almost deserted. . . . The period of the Revolution and the period of reorganization which followed, up to the beginning of the national government (1775-89), were together a time of rapid decline in education advantages and increasing illiteracy among the people (2).

Because of the staggering national debt, lack of commerce, and other factors, Cubberley suggests that there was an absence of any real education consciousness among the new states until about 1820.

Absence of Teacher Education

Teacher education in the Colonies did not exist. In fact, there was no formal provision for training teachers for the common schools as a state effort until 1839. Before this time, here and there, a few private academies attempted some form of instruction for would-be teachers. In the 1830's, New York state subsidized a few private academies to prepare teachers.

Cremin identifies four distinct periods in the development of teacher education—and, thus, to a great extent, in teacher certification—in America. He states:

> The first of these is the Colonial period (1600-1789) during which there was little interest in popular education and virtually no interest in teacher education *per se*. A second period embraces those years between 1789 and 1860 when Americans laid the foundations of their state public school systems—particularly at the elementary level—and established the first normal schools to meet the growing need for professionally prepared teachers. A third period covers the years from 1860 to 1910, a period when the vast expansion of elementary and secondary education was reflected in the increase of normal schools, the early evolution of the teachers college, the introduction of teacher education into liberal arts colleges and universities, and the development of educational programs for teachers in service. Finally, the fourth period covers the years since 1910 when rising enrollments, expanding curricula, and the growing efforts of state agencies and professional groups to raise educational standards have led to the upgrading of virtually every phase of teacher education (3).

Certification: A Laissez Faire Process

The certification of teachers was sketchy and haphazard, being completely under local controls. Formal processes under some form of state supervision did not begin to emerge until about 1830, and states did not exercise significant controls until about 1900.

EMERGENCE OF STATE SCHOOL SYSTEMS: 1800 to 1860

Prior to 1800, most elementary schools in the United States were private schools, ungraded and conducted with no supervision. Terms were, typically, about 3 months in length. However, by 1830 the private school tradition began giving way to the public school concept. With the election of Andrew Jackson, the upsurge of the frontier spirit demanded equality of educational opportunity for all classes. Pauper schools and Lancastrian schools were receding and headed for eventual abandonment.

As the charity-philanthropic approach to public education subsided, there gradually emerged the idea of the free public school, open to all without reference to class or creed. The system ultimately to evolve was to be uniquely American; its exact counterpart could not be found in the Old World.

The Early State Constitutions

Early state constitutions were often vague or silent on the establishment of a public school system. The Illinois Constitution of 1820 mandated that the Legislature provide for a thorough, official system of free schools for all children of the state. This set a pattern for state constitutions subsequently adopted. Although several states made constitutional provisions for public schools before 1800 (4), in no instance was the language specific enough to mandate action.

In most states, paper plans for public schools were drawn up. But state controls were poorly developed and resisted by local communities, which only yielded under financial pressures. These are some reasons why a clear-cut image of state school systems did not begin to emerge until about the middle of the nineteenth century (5). During the interim, many cities sought special laws permitting them to establish public schools before their states were ready to go forward. Among these were Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Cincinnati.

In New York state, a Board of Regents, to have supervision over secondary and collegiate education, was created in 1784. But education was not mentioned in the New York Constitution of 1777 or the amended one of 1801. Impetus for the establishment of elementary schools in New York was given in 1785 with the passage of a law modeled after the Survey Ordinance of 1785, in which the Continental Congress set aside certain portions of public lands for schools. Then in 1795, New York appropriated $100,000 for each of the next 5 years for the public schools. Under the terms of this appropriation, each town was required to match state funds from the yield of a property tax. Each town also was required to elect school commissioners to supervise the schools and certify teachers.

The State Superintendency

In 1812, New York established a state superintendency, becoming the first to create a state officer to supervise schools. This was a uniquely American creation. Maryland followed suit in 1826, but the office was abolished in 1828 and was not re-created until 1864. Illinois made its secretary of state ex officio state superintendent of schools in 1825; Vermont created a similar ex officio post in 1827; as did Louisiana in 1833, Pennsylvania in 1834, and Tennessee in 1835 (6). In 1837, Michigan and Kentucky created the post, and these have been in continuous existence since. By 1861, there were 9 states with ex officio state superintendents and regular officers in 19 of the then 34 states, and the office of county superintendent of schools had been created in 10 states. The first state board of education was created in Massachusetts in 1837 (7).

Early Taxation for Schools

By 1825, there was considerable support for general and direct taxation of all property for the support of schools. But prior to this time a variety of taxes and schemes had been tried. In 1774, Connecticut authorized the use of all liquor taxes for support of schools in the towns where they were collected. New Orleans licensed two theaters, each to contribute $3,000 to support the city's schools. State lotteries to provide support for schools were a common practice in New York state between 1799 and 1810, and New Jersey and several other states resorted to lotteries in the early years of statehood. Even Congress, by joint resolutions on 14 occasions, authorized lotteries for support of the Washington, D.C., schools between 1812 and 1836. Bank taxes were another resort for support of schools between 1828 and 1860. Of course, the national land grants, beginning in 1802 with Ohio, were a great boon to the establishment and support of the common schools. Many states followed the practice of setting aside lands for school support (8).

The rate bills (*pro rata* charge against parents according to the number of children in school) was another common school revenue provision used from Colonial times on into statehood, lingering on until 1871 in New Jersey (9).

Emergence of Teacher Education

Prior to 1839, when the first state normal schools were opened, the common schools had depended largely upon private colleges and academies to furnish teachers. This expectation was never fulfilled to any significant extent. The academies supplied some teachers, but the predominant portion came from graduates of the common schools. As a result, the standards, both of teachers and instruction, were disgracefully low in the common schools, so much so that they gave rise to agitation for specific schools to prepare teachers. As early as 1750, Benjamin Franklin, apparently as an afterthought, proposed as one of the purposes of the Franklin Academy (now the University of Pennsylvania) that "others of the lesser sort might be trained as teachers."

The *Massachusetts Magazine* in 1789 advocated proper training, selection, and some form of certification for teachers. Dennis Olmstead, in a speech at Yale in 1816, made the first definite proposal for founding a school where prospective teachers could study and recite what they were to teach. This proposal apparently was based upon the *Ratio Studiorum* program of the Jesuits in the Middle Ages. William Russell suggested in a pamphlet, published in 1823, that the weaknesses of teachers could be removed by teacher training schools. Henry E. Dwight, in 1829, described in his *Travels in North Germany* the seminaries for the education of schoolmasters, pointing out that knowledge of a subject did not carry with it the ability to impart it. In 1823, Samuel Hall called attention to the fact that not a single seminary for training teachers existed in the United States, while there were 30 in Prussia.

The aegis for the founding of both state schools and professional preparation of teachers for them came from the Protestant Reformation. Martin Luther insisted that salvation was an individual responsibility, rather than that of the priesthood. This thesis meant that the Bible superseded the authority of the church. It followed, therefore, that the individual must be enabled to read to search out his own salvation. In time, this led to the establishment of state elementary schools taught in the vernacular.

The establishment of such schools shifted the focus and the emphasis of teaching. Previously, schools under the domination of the church, taught in the classical Greek and Latin, were conducted for a highly select clientele. State schools were to be available to all children, reflecting the complete spectrum of human abilities. The very diversity of talents required skilled methodologies on the part of teachers. Thus, the need for the professional preparation of teachers was brought into clear perspective.

The first class devoted to the training of teachers was conducted in France by Father Demia at Lyons in 1672. In subsequent years, he founded two additional seminaries for schoolmasters in Paris. In Germany, from which the United States borrowed the normal school idea, the *Seminarium Praeceptorium* was founded by Francke at Halle in 1697. Johann Julium Hecker established the first regular seminary for teachers in Prussia as a private institution in 1738. In 1748, Hecker established another private seminary in Berlin, which became the Royal Teacher Seminary with some government support in 1753. By 1800, there were about a dozen similar schools in operation. Denmark established its first state normal school in 1789, later creating five others (10).

Actually, Pestalozzi developed the theory of education that demonstrated the need for teacher training, although Martin Luther laid the groundwork for state schools. Pestalozzi held that all education starts with the nature of man; thus methods must be constructed. This philosophy formed the basis for teacher training. Pestalozzi founded what has been judged to be the first really modern normal school at Yverdon about 1800.

In France, the Superior Normal School was founded in 1794, but was soon abandoned. Napoleon reestablished the school in 1808, and by 1833 a total of 43 state normal schools were in existence.

In England, as would be expected—because of the predominance of the Anglican Church, which held that education was the responsibility of the home and the church—charity or philanthropic schools were established for children whose parents could not provide them. Teacher training was introduced by the Bell-Lancastrian monitorial schools. The pupil-teacher system was introduced from Holland in 1846. This was an apprenticeship system. The pupil-teacher-center system was inaugurated in 1874, wherein students secured 1 year of practice teaching and then entered the training college course of 2, 3, or 4 years.

Although schools exclusively devoted to the education of teachers did not originate in the United States, there is little question that here they came to full flower. There were borrowings from all the European practices, but the normal school idea was predominant. As has been previously stated, the first normal schools and courses were under private control. Samuel Hall is generally credited with establishing the first private normal school at Concord, Vermont, in 1823, although Knight reports the existence of a school in North Carolina, a private academy emphasizing teacher training founded by Samuel McCorkle in 1785 and called the Zion Parnasus Academy (11).

Cyrus Pierce, aided by Horace Mann and a private donor, established the first state normal school at Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839. A second school was opened at Barre in the same year, and a third at Bridgewater in 1840. These schools offered a 2-year course and maintained model schools for observation and practice teaching.

The first legislative act providing for training of teachers was passed by the New York Legislature in 1827. Not until 1834, however, were appropriations made, and these went to private academies to maintain teacher training programs under regulations of the Board of Regents. Between 1834 and 1844, the state subsidized 24 private academies. In 1844, appropriations for these private academies were discontinued, and a state normal school was established at Albany, probably due to a report to the Legislature of the success of the normal schools in Massachusetts (12).

As Table 1 indicates, by 1860 there were 12 state normal schools in the United States. The normal school movement spread westward. The first state normal school west of the Mississippi was established at Winona, Minnesota, in 1858; and the second was at Emporia, Kansas, in 1864 (13).

And growth continued throughout the country from 1870 to 1875. Missouri set up three schools; West Virginia, three; Alabama and Tennessee, one each.

Horace Mann's hope for the normal schools was boundless. On one occasion he stated:

> I believe that normal schools are a new instrumentality in the advancement of the race. I believe that without them,

Table 1—STATE NORMAL SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES PRIOR TO 1860

Place	Date established	Date opened
Lexington, Mass.	1838	July 1839
Barre, Mass.	1838	September 1839
Bridgewater, Mass.	1838	September 1840
Albany, N.Y.	1844	December 1844
New Britain, Conn.	1849	May 1850
Ypsilanti, Mich.	1849	March 1853
Salem, Mass.	1853	September 1854
Providence, R.I.	1854	May 1854
Trenton, N.J.	1855	October 1855
N. Bloomington, Ill.	1857	October 1857
Millersville, Pa.	1857	December 1859
Winona, Minn.	1858	September 1860

Source:

Adapted from Charles A. Harper, *A Century of Public Teacher Education* (Oneonta, N.Y.: American Association of Teachers Colleges, 1939), p. 8.

> free schools themselves will be shorn of their strength and their healing power, and at length will become mere charity schools. . . . Neither the art of printing, nor the trial by jury, nor a free press, nor free suffrage can long exist . . . without schools for the training of teachers; for if the character and qualifications of teachers be allowed to degenerate, the free schools will become pauper schools, and the pauper schools will produce pauper souls; and the free press will become a false and licentious press, and ignorant voters will become venal voters; and through the medium and guise of republican forms, an oligarchy of profligate and flagitious men will govern the Land. . . . Coiled up in this institution as in a spring, there is a vigor whose uncoiling may wheel the spheres (14).

Chairs of education in universities began to be established early in the development of state school systems. New York University established a chair in 1832, antedating the first state normal school, but it was short lived. Chairs in other universities were established as follows: Brown University (1850, later discontinued), Indiana (1852), Iowa (1855), Wisconsin (1856), Missouri (1858), Kansas (1876). In 1881, three state universities—North Dakota, Utah, and Wyoming established chairs. These chairs later evolved into schools or colleges of education. Private liberal arts colleges were much slower in making provisions for teacher education.

By 1896, the U.S. commissioner of education reported that of 430 higher education institutions in the country, 220 offered teacher education courses. Adding the high school normal course, there were probably as many as 350 institutions offering normal school courses by 1900.

It should be noted here that the only really unique American contribution to teacher training was the teachers' institute, originated in Connecticut in 1839 under the leadership of Henry Barnard. The institutes spread to other states. In the beginning, they were supported by fees, but the New York Legislature made appropriations for their support in 1844, and other states began to adopt the practice of public support.

The institutes varied in length from a few days to 6 weeks. They provided opportunity for teachers to review the subjects taught in the elementary schools and to study methods of teaching and school management. The idea of the institute persisted long after normal schools were founded in many states and continued well into the twentieth century. The format of the state, regional, and county meetings and conventions of professional associations, if not borrowed from the institutes, did at least duplicate their purpose in some respects.

Evolution of Certification as a State Function

The certification of teachers today is almost completely centralized in the respective state departments of education. This point was not arrived at easily; it took more than a century and a half to attain it. Prior to 1900, certification was almost completely vested in local controls—at first in local school districts, and later in counties. Cubberley has stated that in 1900 there were more than 3,000 teacher certification agencies in the United States, and the practice of issuing certificates based upon examination was almost universal in that year (15).

Prior to the founding of the Union in 1789 and the establishment of state school systems, the Colonies pursued a strictly laissez faire policy. The authority for teacher licensure resided in towns, churches, royal commissions or governors, or the Bishop of London (as the head of the Anglican Church).

Lincensure was exclusively by an examination that was mostly oral and generally superficial. The predominant requirements were religious and political orthodoxy and physical strength. On the need for the physical strength qualification, Kinney cites that "as late as 1837 more than 300 schools in Massachusetts were broken up by the insubordination of pupils and the incompetence of teachers to govern" (16). In early Massachusetts—and this practice spread westward to some extent—the local minister examined teacher candidates and authorized certificates. This practice was, of course, derived from the time when education was under the control of the church.

A study of New Jersey schools (about 1840) reported:

> Trustees frequently with inspectors were prejudiced in favor of the applicant. The law in regard to teachers is evaded in spirit. The way it is done is to employ for four months in the summer a female teacher having a certificate. . . . This fulfills the letter of the law and enables them to draw public money. For the residue of the year, a male teacher is employed, without a certificate, and unqualified for the position. . . . There is not sufficient attention paid by the inspectors when examining teachers. Generally, there is too great laxity in not refusing those who are poorly qualified. Again, if a teacher is rejected in one town, he has but to go to the adjoining one and there he gets a certificate with an eclat as a Lord. What he should be examined in should be specified by law, and not left for the inspectors to use their judgment on (17).

An example illustrating the laxity of the examining system follows:

> A young man had been engaged to teach his first school and had already taught two weeks of the term when he was summoned before the committee for examination in compliance with the law. Here is a record of the examination.

Chairman:	How old are you?
Candidate:	I was 18 years old the 27th day of last May.
Chairman:	Where did you last attend school?
Candidate:	At the Academy S.
Chairman:	Do you think you can make our big youngsters mind?
Candidate:	Yes, I think I can.
Chairman:	Well, I am satisfied. I guess you will do for your school. I will send over the certificate by the children tomorrow(18).

Kinney cites additional evidence regarding the quality, or lack of it, in the examination system:

> Our examination, wholly oral, was similar in all respects to that of the pre-

> vious year, and both were patterned after the primitive examination which I had passed in New Hampshire and Massachusetts. Each of us was asked one question in each of the following subjects: reading, spelling, arithmetic, grammar, and geography. The board of education was made up exclusively of men from New England, and they held faithfully to oldtime precedent. Mayor Webb, true to his Yankee instincts, put the following question, which for a quarter of a century had been a kind of *pons asinorum* in school examinations in New England: "Give an analytical explanation of the reason for inverting the divisor in division of fractions."
>
> Not only were we re-examined annually, but we were also re-elected annually for the term of one year. It was these twin humiliations that eventually drove me to seek a more independent field of action. In this connection I cannot refrain from mentioning one famous examination held in 1860. The president of the board himself prepared most of the examinations. His geography questions, a fair example of the others, ran as follows:
>
> 1. Name all the rivers of the globe.
> 2. Name all the bays, gulfs, seas, lakes and other bodies of water on the globe.
> 3. Name all the cities of the world.
> 4. Name all the countries of the world.
> 5. Bound each of the states in the United States.
>
> We were allowed only one hour for answering these very short questions. . . .
>
> At the end of the hour, some were still at work on the first question, some on the second question, a few on the third, and one on the fifth. . . . When the report was made, we all stood exactly alike, 60 per cent (19).

When the states were formed, they tended, by inertia or custom, to continue the haphazard certification practices of the Colonies. Authority both for the training and licensing of teachers was vested in local authorities. Licenses were valid only in the school districts issuing them. Conditions were chaotic, standards were disgracefully low, nepotism abounded, immorality and intemperance among teachers were common. The status of teachers was near the bottom in social and economic aspects, as demonstrated when the school commissioner of Ballard County, Kentucky, wrote to the state superintendent "that the law should authorize him to report to the grand jury 'every person who goes to the school house to whip or insult a teacher. If anyone desire to whip a teacher, let him wait until Saturday' " (20).

The beginning of the end of the decentralization of teacher licensure was the founding of state school systems. By 1861, 28 of the existing 34 states had created the position of chief state school officer, beginning with New York in 1812. This was also the beginning of state support of elementary schools.

The first step toward diminishing local controls of licensure and toward centralization of the process was the creation of county superintendencies, the chief duties of which were to take charge of teacher licensure and to some extent the training of teachers. New York (1841) and Vermont (1845) established such positions. As early as 1825, the Ohio Court of Common Pleas was directed by law to appoint three examiners of common schools in each county. Among their duties was the examination and certification of teachers. By 1860, licensure was focused in the office of the county superintendent of schools.

As the trend toward the universality of establishing the office of county superintendent (except in New England) and the centralization of teacher certification in this office proceeded, states gradually began to take over some of the functions: first, by providing the examinations to be administered by the county superintendent; and later, by providing the examination to be given applicants, the grading of the papers, and the issuance of licenses. During this period the practice of issuing first-, second-, and third-grade certificates, valid only in the county of issue, developed.

The evolution of the centralization of the certification authority in New York state typifies to a large degree what took place in other states at various times. In 1843, New York granted authority to the state superintendent of schools to issue certificates. After 1847, when the office of county superintendent of schools was abolished, the certification authority was shared by the state superintendent and local school commissioners, but under regulations prescribed by the former.

The steps in the final centralization of certification power are enumerated by Cook as follows:

> From 1795 to 1812, qualifications were determined by the town commissioners; 1812-1841, the town commissioners and three inspectors examined and licensed teachers; 1841 to 1843, town commissioners and two inspectors performed these duties. From 1843 to 1847, the town superintendent, county superintendent and state superintendent all were authorized to examine teachers, while from 1847 to 1856, state and town superintendents only controlled certification. From 1856 to 1888, county school commissioners had authority to examine teachers and issue certificates for their districts. While the state superintendent prescribed rules under which they were granted, and issued certificates valid throughout the state. . . . In 1894 a law was passed which removed all doubt concerning the authority of the state superintendent in this respect by prescribing that commissioners examine teachers only under rules prescribed by the state superintendent and with the use of questions furnished by the state department and examined by a board of examiners in the state department. Thus uniformity and centralization were completed (21).

Evolution of Teacher Education as a State Function

The trend toward centralization of certification developed alongside the assumption by the states of responsibility for teacher education. The two are so intertwined that they must be discussed together. A further step in the centralization of teacher licensure in the state departments of education was the subsidy voted by New York in 1834 for private academies for the purpose of training teachers. This was followed in 1849 by the provision for acceptance of graduation from the Albany State Normal School, as evidence of competence to teach, in lieu of an examination. This was the most significant step of all. Here was begun a new and sounder process for the issuance of teacher certificates. While the shift to credentials from examinations was slow in developing, the groundwork was laid and the eventual adoption of the practice by all states was inevitable.

The actual shift to state certification began with laws in New York between 1864 and 1894, giving authority to the state superintendent of schools to issue certificates upon examination or college graduation and 3 years of experience and to accept normal school diplomas from other states. In 1863, California recognized normal school diplomas as certificates. By 1900, 41 of the states accepted normal school diplomas, or completion of prescribed college curricula, in lieu of examination for certification. The trend toward centralization of teacher certification between 1894 and 1919 is shown in Table 2.

THE YEARS AFTER 1900

By 1898, only in 3 states was teacher certification completely centralized in the state department of education; in 36 states a combination of county-state authority existed; and in 4 states exclusive county authority for teacher licensure still existed. By 1911, certification was centered exclusively in the state department of education in 15 states.

Drive for Centralization of Teacher Education-Certification

In 1967, as has been previously pointed out, teacher certification was virtually the

Table 2—AUTHORITY FOR TEACHER CERTIFICATION IN SELECTED YEARS

Authority	Number of states			
	1894	1903	1911	1919
State Systems (states issued all certificates)	3	5	15	26
State Controlled Systems (state prescribed rules, gave questions, examined papers; county authorities issued some certificates)	1	no data	2	7
Semi-State System (states made regulations and gave questions; county authorities corrected papers and issued certificates)	17	no data	18	10
State-County System (both issued certificates; county retained full control over examination for one or more certificates)	18	no data	7	3
County System (county issued all certificates)	4	4	1	0

Source:

Adapted from Katherine M. Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates*, Bulletin 1921, No. 22 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1921), Table 1, p. 9.

exclusive prerogative of state departments of education. The county examination remains in only one state and is used rarely. The trend toward centralization of certification authority is indicated by the fact that between 1898 and 1940 the number of states issuing all certificates (not counting cities or colleges and universities authorized to issue them) increased from 3 to 42 (22). The increased authority of state boards over teachers colleges and normal schools is another indication of this trend.

Frazier reported that in 1938-39, there were 1,196 institutions of collegiate grade approved for teacher education: 27 percent were state controlled; 8 percent were controlled by cities or local school districts; and 65 percent were privately controlled. In addition, there were in 1938-39 a total of 523 secondary or postsecondary institutions preparing teachers for the rural schools: 51 were county normal schools, and 472 were teacher training high schools. Thus, in 1938-39, there were 1,719 institutions of one level or another approved by states for the preparation of teachers.

There were in 1938-39, among the 1,196 collegiate grade institutions, a total of 238 teachers colleges or normal schools (185 state, 14 city or school district controlled, and 39 private teachers colleges or normal schools). By 1967, the number of these institutions had diminished to 19 (8 public and 11 private) (23).

Another changed aspect is that in 1938-39 state teachers colleges and normal schools were under the control of state boards of education in 17 states. These colleges and schools constituted more than half the then existing state teachers colleges and normal schools (24). This practice now has been virtually abandoned.

The extent to which completion of teacher education programs in colleges and universities has superseded the examination, as the route to licensure for teachers, is indicated by the following data. In 1940, for elementary teachers, only 9 states required completion of the bachelor's degree for certification; 12 states required no college work at all, only the passing of an examination. This meant that 38 states required less than the baccalaureate degree for initial certification of elementary school teachers (25).

By 1967, all but four states (Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Wisconsin) required the bachelor's degree for initial certification of elementary school teachers (26).

Another way to show the rapid escalation in the upgrading of minimum requirements for elementary school teacher certificates has been set forth by Labue, who found that in 1921 a total of 30 states specified no formal preparation requirement; 14 states prescribed high school graduation; 4 states had some additional requirements beyond high school graduation. Thus, in 1921 none of the 48 states specified college work as a prerequisite to certification of elementary school teachers (27).

The decline of the local examination, based on elementary school subjects, as a means of licensure of teachers began with the shift to normal school and college preparation as the measure of qualification of teachers.

The latter practice is now universal. However, there have arisen in recent years extensive practices in the use of examinations at higher levels (in addition to degree requirements) as a prerequisite or supplement to licensure.

In 1967, all but three states (Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina) and the District of Columbia required prescribed scores on the National Teacher Examination (NTE) to qualify for a teaching certificate. Only applicants who had completed teacher education programs with the bachelor's degree were eligible to take the qualifying examination. Colorado and Georgia required NTE for the issuance of some certificates. Texas and West Virginia were experimenting with the use of NTE in teacher education and certification. California used NTE for renewal or provisional certificates. California, Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, and Wyoming made use of proficiency examinations to permit holders of certificates to qualify for endorsement of additional teaching fields or subjects (28).

Table 3 indicates the upgrading of state requirements for initial certification of elementary and secondary school teachers since 1900.

Table 3—NUMBER OF STATES[a] ENFORCING THE DEGREE REQUIREMENT FOR THE INITIAL CERTIFICATION OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS IN SELECTED YEARS, 1900-67

	Number of states enforcing for	
Years	Elementary school teachers	Secondary school teachers
1900	0	2
1910	0	3
1920	0	10
1930	2	23
1940	11	40
1950	21	42
1960	39	51
1967	47	52

Source:

Adapted from T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States.* Issued biennially and triennially after 1964 by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1967), Table 3, p. 22.

[a] Includes the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico.

The list below indicates when individual states adopted degree requirements for elementary school teachers (29).

It will be noted that Nebraska, North Dakota, Puerto Rico, South Dakota, and Wisconsin are not as yet enforcing the degree requirement. In some instances, states actually adopted the degree requirement earlier than shown above but were compelled to delay the effective date by teacher shortages.

Evolutionary Steps as Reflected in Selected States

Below are selected excerpts from five state histories, written for this study project, which reflect the evolution of practices in the supervision and control of teacher education and certification in state departments of education.

Arkansas. The prevalence of teachers' institutes in some states, as an organized program for teacher training, is illustrated by the Arkansas experience.

Junius Jordan, the state superintendent of public instruction from 1894 to 1898, described as "fantastic" the improvements in the competence and proficiency of Arkansas teachers aided by the Peabody Fund. He stated:

> The trustees of the Peabody Fund still continue their beneficent donations annually in favor of Summer Normal Schools. In addition to this, they gave to this State seventeen free scholarships to the Peabody Normal University at Nashville, Tennessee. The benefits that have accrued to all will be a perpetual monument to the memory of Mr. Peabody who has enabled Arkansas to arouse the pride and improve the professional power of every teacher within the borders (30).

The passage of an act providing for teacher institutes to run 4 months each year was secured. But it was an appropriation by the Peabody board in 1899 that made these institutes possible. By 1900,

Alabama	1955
Alaska	1961
Arizona	1936
Arkansas	1963
California	1930
Colorado	1961
Connecticut	1940
Delaware	1934
Dist. of Columbia	1930
Florida	1951
Georgia	1950
Hawaii	1941
Idaho	1955
Illinois	1943
Indiana	1940
Iowa	1960
Kansas	1959
Kentucky	1960
Louisiana	1940
Maine	1963
Maryland	1936
Massachusetts	1956
Michigan	1956
Minnesota	1961
Mississippi	1956
Missouri	1961
Montana	1967
Nebraska	. . .
Nevada	1957
New Hampshire	1948
New Jersey	1948
New Mexico	1957
New York	1936
North Carolina	1939
North Dakota	. . .
Ohio	1942
Oklahoma	1957
Oregon	1955
Pennsylvania	1939
Puerto Rico	. . .
Rhode Island	1932
South Carolina	1953
South Dakota	. . .
Tennessee	1953
Texas	1955
Utah	1942
Vermont	1952
Virginia	1942
Washington	1942
West Virginia	1957
Wisconsin	. . .
Wyoming	1962

there were 53 institutes providing professional training for 2,034 students. At this time, the county examiner administered the teachers' examination quarterly.

The trend toward centralization of the certification process is described as follows. In 1900, the Legislature vested the state superintendent with power to grant a state license valid for life upon examination. The statute did not recognize diplomas from colleges, normals, or universities.

Not until 1941 did the Arkansas Legislature delegate sole certificating authority to the State Board of Education. The policy of allowing individuals desiring to teach in a particular county to be certified by passing an examination given twice each year by the county supervisor was continued. The supervisor could issue only the state-county board certificate.

In the 1941 reorganization of the certification laws, it was stipulated that an administrator's certificate valid for 6 years could be issued to a person holding a bachelor's degree from an approved institution. In 1946, this minimum was increased to a master's degree.

The 1941 law stated that the high school certificate required graduation from an approved 4-year college with certain minimum requirements. A junior high school certificate could be issued on a minimum of 60 semester hours. A 4-year elementary certificate would be issued on completion of 2 years of college; and an elementary certificate valid for 3 years could be issued after 1 year of college work.

In 1956, Commissioner A. W. Ford appointed a subcommittee of seven from the Arkansas Advisory Council on Teacher Education and Certification to initiate the most comprehensive study ever made in the state on the State Board's responsibility for certification.

On the basis of the subcommittee's report, the State Board established new requirements for certification, effective September 1, 1962. The certificate now required a master's degree, with a minimum of 20 semester hours of graduate education courses. The secondary school principal certificate required a master's degree, with a minimum of 20 semester hours of graduate credit in administration and supervision of secondary schools. The elementary school principal certificate required a master's degree, including not less than 18 semester hours of graduate credit in administration and supervision of elementary education.

The high school certificate required a bachelor's degree, with 18 hours in education. The State Board of Education adopted a regulation that required all beginning teachers to possess certificates based on a bachelor's degree after September 1 ,1963. The regulation no longer allowed permits to be issued, and teachers holding such permits were given a reasonable time to qualify for regular certificates. At present, only 4.2 percent of Arkansas' teachers have less than a bachelor's degree or its equivalent.

Connecticut. Prior to 1923, local school boards examined, licensed, and employed teachers, issuing certificates valid only in the districts issuing them. In an era of local control and largely immobile population, this had been acceptable; but schools became ingrown, teachers parochial, standards lax, and school board practices capricious, if not chaotic. There were many arguments for greater state control to improve the schools by centralizing the certification of teachers. The Legislature enacted a law in the early 1920's with a basic normal school standard of education as the criterion for professional preparation and efficiency.

A teacher surplus during the Depression created an excellent excuse to raise standards. Normal schools were rapidly becoming teacher colleges. Proponents of a college degree for teachers continued to gain strength, so that by 1940 such a requirement had been added to the certification standards. Following World War II, during a period of teacher shortage, there were efforts to reduce standards, but education interest groups stoutly maintained pressures to keep them at a high level. The administration of these regulations enabled the state to attract more good teachers than would have been the case if lower standards had been adopted.

Georgia. During the nineteenth century and the early part of the twentieth, the certification of teachers was almost completely in the hands of the county and city school superintendents. Wide differences existed in the standards required by the various local systems, some localities securing teachers highly qualified, while others saved money by employing poorly prepared teachers. Educators were becoming more and more insistent that the state establish some sort of control over standards. In 1911, the State Board of Education designated, for the first time, various teacher classifications based on examinations.

The movement for higher standards continued to gain momentum and finally influenced the Legislature to pass a law in 1919 requiring the State Board to certificate teachers. Almost immediately, the colleges, the public schools, and the State Department of Education became more concerned with the standards for certification. However, only moderate progress was made in improving teacher qualifications during the years immediately following the passage of the law. The various colleges were allowed to take the responsibility for training teachers according to their own philosophies and concepts, with little interference from the state. A number of leading educators recognized that many students were being deprived of an adequate education because they had poorly trained teachers. By 1924, they were able to institute state certification of teachers based on a 4-year college program.

In 1932, the requirements for a 4-year teaching certificate were changed to include a college degree based on more functional courses than previously.

In 1938, the State Advisory Committee on Teacher Education and Curriculum was formed. This Committee originally consisted of one member from each junior and senior college, the seven state school supervisors, the secretary of the Georgia Education Association, the university high school inspector, and three public school supervisors.

From 1938 to 1940, the National Commission on Teacher Education, an *ad hoc* commission of the American Council on Education (ACE), operated a project that worked with and gave financial assistance to selected state programs for improving teacher education. In January of 1940, the Georgia Advisory Committee requested that the state be admitted as one of the units in the Commission's project. Michigan and New York had already been accepted, and Georgia was approved as the third state.

The Commission's consultative and financial help during the period from 1940 to 1943 was interrupted for a short time in 1941 because of political interference. Governor Eugene Talmadge and the university system board of regents were critical of some individuals in the university connected with teacher training. They withdrew financial support until these men were removed. Commission help to Georgia resumed the same year, this time with an increased emphasis on in-service teacher education.

The first national clinic on teacher education was held in Georgia in November 1946. Sponsored by the National Council on Cooperation in Teacher Education (successor to the National Commission on Teacher Education of ACE), it was attended by representatives from 34 states. Its chief value to Georgia was in modifying points of view and creating greater understanding of the state's education problems.

Perhaps the most important result of the Council's efforts in preservice education was the development of a new certification plan, which the State Board of Education subsequently approved.

The new plan for certificating teachers required each teacher-education institution to plan its own preservice program to conform with criteria developed by the state council. These programs were then evaluated by a visiting committee, appointed by the director of the division of teacher education and certification, and approved by the State Board of Education. This new plan was approved by the State Board in

February 1948 and became effective September 1, 1950. Here, perhaps, was the beginning of the approved programs approach.

On the positive side, the teacher education council had stimulated the state department and teacher training institutions to develop 6-year specialist and doctoral programs, not only for classroom teachers, but also for leadership personnel, such as administrators, curriculum directors, visiting teachers, librarians, counselors, and school psychologists. The state minimum salary schedules now provided wider differentials between professional and provisional certificates.

Kansas. In the spring of 1864, Miss Rosella Honey, a young prospective teacher from the Elm Creek settlement, traveled the 30 miles to the seat of Washington County to take the examination for a certificate. She had to make the 60-mile round trip twice because the county superintendent was not at home the first time. The examination itself proved not too difficult. She qualified for her certificate by writing her name, reading a paragraph from a newspaper, and answering oral questions in grammar, geography, and arithmetic. With this evidence of her ability, she began teaching at the Elm Creek school the following fall.

From prestatehood days, Kansas required public school teachers to be certified and made certification the principal responsibility of the State Board of Education. The Legislature conferred this authority on the county superintendents during the territorial period, an authority which continued until 1937.

In 1877, the demand for better qualified elementary teachers prompted the formation of county normal institutes to replace the senatorial district institutes conducted by the state superintendent. Closely supervised by the State Board—which certified each instructor—these institutes, usually meeting for about 4 weeks during the summer months, constituted the only professional preparation available for many teachers. After 1915, the county superintendent was allowed to run an institute for only 5 to 20 days and then administer one of the four examinations conducted by his office annually. Since 1937, these county institutes have become little more than briefing sessions of from 2 to 5 days length.

The Legislature took another step to ensure better prepared elementary teachers in 1909, when it authorized accredited high schools to establish normal training programs. High school graduates who satisfactorily completed work prescribed by the State Board became eligible for certification upon passing an examination under the Board's supervision. These graduates helped fill the demand for thousands of beginning teachers. But new teachers in rural schools seldom stayed long. Girls hoped to marry after a few years of teaching, and a number of rural boards adopted a policy of not retaining teachers more than 2 or 3 years, regardless of their proficiency. Encouraged by a $500 subsidy to each participating high school, the normal training program reached its height in 1924 with 349 schools offering courses.

The Kansas Advisory Council on Education was formed in 1947, when the department became the only certifying agency in the state. This voluntary, independent agency's members are named by the organizations represented on it, including 4-year colleges and universities, several groups of professional educators, the Department of Public Instruction, and the Kansas Association of Boards of Education. The Kansas Advisory Council has played an important role in raising standards for teachers and improving teacher education in the colleges and universities.

The Council's first task was to rewrite certificate regulations and develop a set of standards for evaluating colleges and universities that trained teachers. The result was a dramatic reduction in the kinds of certificates—teachers held no less than 89 different types from 1944 to 1964. Today the state issues only one type each for elementary, secondary, and junior college teachers, three levels of certificates for administrators, and an original 1-year certificate at each level under certain conditions.

North Carolina. Early in the century, when the seven normal schools for Negroes were reduced to four, a superintendent of this new unit was appointed. Since the duties of the superintendent were later expanded to include the supervision of the training of all teachers, this was the first step toward creating a division of teacher training in the State Department of Public Instruction. The Department also attempted to improve instruction by requiring the teachers to attend 2-week county institutes. Thirty such institutes were held in 1909, and 66 in 1910, enrolling a total of 6,551 teachers.

The State Department of Public Instruction encouraged colleges and universities to develop summer school sessions to improve teacher preparation. Later the Department required the teachers to attend either one of the biennial county institutes or an accredited summer school.

Another method of teacher training, designed to furnish a carefully selected course of reading, was the North Carolina Teachers' Reading Circle, organized in 1910. When a teacher finished this course for the year and successfully passed an examination on theory and practice, based on the reading course and given as a part of the regular county certification examination in July and October, the Department awarded him a certificate. Four of these certificates entitled the teacher to a diploma issued by the Department of Public Instruction. Although membership in the reading circle was optional, the Department requested county superintendents to give preference in positions and salaries to teachers who participated in this training.

Until 1915, the Department's examination was the only basis for initial certification, but in this year it was agreed that academic and professional credits from approved institutions of higher learning could be accepted in lieu of an examination. In 1917, the General Assembly abolished the State Board of Examiners, which it had created 20 years earlier, to institute a new system of certification and training under a state board of examiners and institute conductors rather than the Department.

During the period of certifying teachers by examination only, the stimulation for professional improvement came from the examinations themselves, from the reading circles, or the normal school programs. Between 1917 and 1921, the certificates, issued on the basis of training or by examination, were classified according to the Board's standards and requirements. The Board then established regulations for renewing and changing these types of certificates.

In 1920, the State Education Commission reported that the state's certification system was grossly inadequate. The following year the State Department of Public Instruction established a division of teacher training. State Superintendent Allen recommended in 1926 that 20 normal schools be established throughout the state over a period of 10 years, to provide prospective teachers at least 2 years of training beyond high school.

In 1927, the division of information and statistics conducted a comprehensive study of teacher training, which showed the need for higher standards and more teachers. It was not until 1929 that the division of teacher training instituted these changes and promulgated new certification requirements and possible standards for practice teaching in the colleges. Thus, during the twenties the emphasis in teacher preparation shifted from summer school experiences, extension work, and institutes to preservice preparation.

During the Depression, there were more teachers than available jobs. Since improving instruction was also involved in upgrading the teaching staffs and the preparation of teachers, the Department took this opportunity to increase its requirements. By 1941, all beginning teachers were required to be graduates of standard 4-year colleges, and the State Board ruled that those in the field who were not college graduates would have to obtain a degree by September 1, 1943, or be dropped to the certificate of the next lower class.

As World War II moved into the 1944-45 school year, certification requirements had to be relaxed still further. For example, teachers without college degrees were given until September 1, 1965, to qualify for Class A certificates, and teachers holding certificates in art, music, or physical education could devote one-third time to other duties without penalty.

Utah. During the early years of statehood, the State Board of Education and the office of the state superintendent concerned themselves primarily with teacher certification, considering each applicant individually. But they constantly struggled between the two horns of a great dilemma: the need for more teachers and the desire to hire teachers with more formal education. Beginning in 1876, the problem was solved in part by granting scholarships to selected students desiring to teach. As Utah followed the trend toward substituting credits and courses for examinations, shortly after the turn of the century the office found itself spending more and more time adopting teacher-preparation curriculums and inspecting teacher education programs.

The State Board's duties increased greatly as it assumed more control over certification, so that in 1913 it established a certification committee to act for it in clear-cut cases. Within 2 years, the Board required all beginning elementary teachers to have 1 year beyond high school, and required high school teachers to have college degrees. No longer limited to certifying county teachers, as in the early years, by 1915 the Board and the office controlled the examination and certification of all teachers within county districts. Legislation in 1919, 1925, and 1929 completed the process, making the Board responsible for certifying other teachers. These laws further stipulated that no person was entitled to teach, supervise, or act as superintendent unless he was properly certified.

The requirements were continually upgraded after 1922, so that by World War II beginning elementary teachers had to have the same 4 years of college training as secondary teachers. Further strengthening of requirements took place in 1946. After several years of discussion among the state superintendent, teacher training institutions, and the Utah Education Association, the State Board approved a new two-level certification program to begin in 1966. Teachers completing an approved 4-year preparation program could be issued a basic professional certificate; those who had taught successfully for 3 years and took an approved fifth year of training could qualify for the professional certificate. Administrators were required to have 2 years of training beyond the bachelor's degree. Teacher education programs were to be re-evaluated at 5-year intervals.

Like many other states, Utah issued letters of authorization on an emergency basis to employ teachers with less than standard training during major wars and other periods of teacher shortage. For the 1965-66 school year, more than 98.8 percent of all teachers were properly certificated.

The Development of Cooperative Approaches

Almost from the beginning of the exercising of centralized state responsibilities for teacher education and certification, state departments of education, in one degree or another, in one manner or another, sought to involve the teaching profession in the public schools and teacher education institutions in deriving fair and effective procedures.

Such cooperation is patterned somewhat after the legal or extralegal processes obtaining in virtually all of the private professions. Because of the excesses of authoritarian governments in the Old World, and particularly in England from whence most of the Colonists came, there developed on our frontiers a fierce spirit of individualism and a distrust of strong governments.

State departments of education, aware that in most of Europe professions were rigorously managed by the central government, elected not to replicate these practices. They chose instead to move in the direction of broad legal and extralegal powers to permit the professions to exercise major controls over their own affairs. In doing this they followed a sound rationale, for only the members of a highly skilled profession are in a position to prescribe meaningful preparation programs for practitioners in that profession. Thus, early in the history of the United States, the thesis developed that a given profession's basic obligation was to guarantee to society that those admitted to practice were competent. To do this, the profession must have the right, either *de jure* or *de facto,* to set standards of preparation and licensure by which members were admitted to practice. Since teaching is a public profession and the public schools are a public enterprise, the latitude extended by legal authorities to the private professions involved in them has developed more slowly.

The philosophy of the Council of Chief State School Officers on the cooperative nature of administering the legal authority for teacher education certification, as well as all matters pertaining to the public schools, has been expressed as follows:

> Teaching is a function of a vast educational enterprise which involves the establishment of policy and administrative authority and provides for the orderly operation of public schools under public law. We believe this is an essential system for the organization of public education.
>
> Such an arrangement is consistent with the development of a highly democratic procedure whereby individuals at all levels have an opportunity to practice in the decision-making process (31).

From the beginning state departments of education conferred closely with practitioners and their professional associations in the determination of standards to be adopted and enforced. In fact, the impact of professional organizations upon such standards can be traced very clearly from the time of the founding of the nation.

At this point, a word of caution must be inserted. George Bernard Shaw once said that "A profession is a conspiracy against the laity," and this could well be the case unless the state circumscribes what might become absolute powers, unless certain checks and balances are spelled out and enforced. For example, while primarily intended to advance the health, safety, and welfare of the people, licensure may be used to create a monopoly or a near monopoly for the purpose of eliminating competition and raising of prices (32). Moreover, a license to engage in the practice of a profession carries with it a high degree of social prestige and personal satisfaction.

As early as 1729, six leading lawyers of New York City formed a bar association. Soon after, the judges of the Supreme Court of New York state ruled that an apprenticeship of 7 years was required to practice in the Court. This movement spread until the American bar was solidly in charge of regulating the profession of law.

Very little attempt was made by Colonial governments to regulate the practice of medicine until the first medical societies were formed just before the Revolution. Six years after the organization of the oldest state medical society, in responding to requests to the state for recognition and assistance, New Jersey passed the first comprehensive medical practices act. By law, the regulation of medicine was vested in a state board of examiners consisting of lay members. By 1800, a total of 13 states (of the 16 in existence at the time) had enacted legislation vesting in state medical societies the authority to examine and license practitioners.

In 1857, the National Teachers Association (now the National Education Association) was organized at the instance of 10 state education associations. Actually 15 state education associations antedated the founding of the National Teachers Association. At the very first meeting a proposal was made that teachers press for higher standards through their state and national associations.

William Russell, in an address to this meeting, stated that teachers should make their work a profession. The teachers themselves should pass upon the qualifications of applicants for admission to the profession. Let a teachers association receive a charter from the state and proceed, without further authorization, to examine and pass upon applicants for membership. It is up to the association itself to issue certificates of membership, which will also serve as legal evidence of competency to teach. That is all there is to it. Let teachers claim the right, set up proper standards, and assume the responsibility of admitting and rejecting candidates; the state and public will quickly, gladly, and appreciatively accept such an assumption of responsibility by the teaching profession (33).

Even now it is too soon to ascertain whether Russell's appraisal was realistic or idealistic, for the professional associations did not for nearly a hundred years seek to follow up on his suggestions. He was describing what had taken place or was to take place in other professions.

Of course, there were sporadic efforts by state education associations to upgrade the standards of preparation and licensure. In these efforts associations were prodded as often as not by the state department of education. The establishment of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards by NEA in 1946 was the first formally organized, concerted, nationwide push by the profession to assume greater controls in the setting and enforcing of standards. NCTEPS has since that time worked in close cooperation with the state education legal authorities, and remarkable gains have resulted.

Advisory Councils on Teacher Education-Certification

Over the years, state departments of education have informally, but consistently, consulted with the professional associations, members of the profession, and teachër education institutions regarding standards, requirements, and practices in teacher education and certification. Many state education associations and NEA (prior to 1946) had established a certification committee.

Early in the 1930's state departments of education began establishing extralegal bodies, generally called Advisory Councils on Teacher Education and Certification, to further democratize these procedures and to assure that requirements adopted had the support of the organized profession. The evidence is that the impetus for this movement came from the state departments of education and largely from the state directors of teacher education and certification.

The great public pressures building up because of the tensions of the Depression years, pressures to lower standards and, thus, presumably to lower the cost of teachers, doubtless were factors of great importance in this development. State legal authorities realized that unless backed by a well organized group, the standards achieved might be swept away. But in addition, there was a sincere intent to induce the teaching profession to face up to its responsibilities.

Haskew has stated his viewpoint about the underlying causes for the creation of the councils:

> In one sense, each state council in existence today had its origin in a problem too big for any one agency to solve. In another sense existing state councils had their origin in previous successful attempts to do things cooperatively. In a third sense, the origin of the state councils can be found in the decentralized control of teacher education in the various states (34).

The first advisory council on teacher education and certification was created in Kentucky in 1933, followed by Georgia a few years later.

The first councils were extralegal, in the sense they were created by the state board of education, through implied powers. Generally, the makeup of the councils included representation from the major segments of the teaching profession—teachers, superintendents, principals, supervisors, and representatives of teacher education units of colleges and universities.

Typically, the state board of education made the appointments to the council upon recommendation of the chief state school officer, or that official himself made the appointments. The state education associations and their major special interest departments, as a general rule, were called upon to suggest the names of their representatives on the councils. Later on, states began to create these councils by law; and in several states, the state TEPS Commission was asked to assume the responsibilities of the councils.

By 1967, all states except Missouri, as well as the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico, had established advisory councils on teacher education and certification under one name or another. Eleven of these councils were created by law, by express action of the state legislatures, in Alaska, California, Colorado, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, New Hampshire, New Jersey, Oregon, and Texas. Two advisory bodies (one legal and one extralegal) exist in Alaska, California, Illinois, and Kentucky. Hawaii and Nevada have two voluntary or extralegal groups.

In all other states, except in the 11 where legal bodies exist, the advisory council is extralegal or voluntary. The councils vary widely in name and constituency.

Two states (New Jersey and Texas) have state boards of examiners by law. In four states (Maryland, Vermont, Wisconsin, and Wyoming) the state TEPS commissions serve the advisory function. In Indiana, the advisory board is a commission made up of 6 members of the State Board of Education.

It is interesting to note that up until the 1930's the struggle was to get teacher education certification processes centralized in the state departments of education. When this was largely accomplished, the state legal authorities began the search for a reasonable dispersal of this authority to responsible organizations or representatives of the teaching profession.

The Texas Story

An excellent case example of the use of cooperative processes, which have generally typified practices of state departments of education in the derivation of teacher education certification requirements, is that employed by the Texas Education Agency in its revision of requirements during the period from 1950 to 1955.

As the result of the Gilmer-Aikin legislation in 1949, the state's legal code for education was drastically overhauled. Among the mandated provisions were an elected State Board of Education and a commissioner of education appointed by the Board.

Since this legislation was proposed and accepted by the people as a means of improving the quality of public school education in the state, the first step recommended by the newly appointed commissioner, J. W. Edgar, and approved by the new State Board of Education was a comprehensive study of teacher education certification, looking toward a complete revision of existing practices. This was given priority by the obviously basic need to upgrade the quality of teachers and of teaching.

In this study virtually every member of the state's professional school personnel was involved, or was provided the opportunity to be involved, as well as thousands of lay citizens. A conference of representatives of four education agencies —the Texas Education Agency, the Texas State Teachers Association, the Texas Council on Teacher Education, and the Texas Vocational Association—developed a five-step plan of procedure.

First, a statewide conference would be held in which representatives of all educational interests would study possibilities and issues and formulate tentative ideas of what might be done. Second, tentative ideas, issues, and proposals would be published in a study guide, for wide distribution to public schools and colleges, and lay groups. Third, thousands of public school and college teachers, parents, and members of school boards would be asked to examine the study guide and to formulate and present ideas of their own. Fourth, another representative group would participate in a statewide conference to consider all the ideas, the issues, the suggested modifications, and to arrive at final recommendations. Fifth, the recommendations would be transmitted by the commissioner of education to the State Board of Education.

The first statewide conference was held in the summer of 1950, followed by the publication of the study guide (35). The second statewide conference was held in the summer of 1951. Among other recommendations, the conference suggested the formation of a steering committee to supervise the continuation of the study. A steering committee of 19 members, representing the four sponsoring agencies, plus the Colored Teachers State Association and church-related colleges, was established to guide the statewide study during 1951-52 (36). The steering committee selected a proposals drafting committee to bring together the recommendations gleaned so far in the revision plan from the two statewide conferences in 1950 and 1951 (37). Moreover, the steering committee appointed 14 proposals reviewing panels to check carefully for conflicts or contradictions or changes in proposals and to recommend changes to the steering committee (38).

Tentative proposals were published by the steering committee and distributed to all professional groups throughout the state. In addition, the steering committee appointed hearing panels to set dates and hold hearings in each of the 11 districts of the Texas State Teachers Association during the spring of 1952. Teachers, laymen, and teacher groups were invited to present oral or written suggestions to the hearing panels regarding the recommendations. It is estimated that some 5,000 teacher groups engaged in a comprehensive study of the proposals, many of which submitted reactions to the hearing panels (39).

Following these hearings, the panels sent their recommendations to the steering committee, which consolidated and coordinated the recommendations, issued revised proposals, and transmitted them to the commissioner of education (40).

After this comprehensive study, review, refinement, and substantial consensus among more than 100,000 professional school personnel and thousands of laymen, the commissioner of education presented the final recommendations to the State Board of Education. The Board approved the report in 1954, and supporting legislation was passed in 1955 by the State Legislature.

The Approved Programs Approach

Another development in recent years, sponsored by the state directors of teacher education and certification, is the approved programs approach to teacher education and certification. The purpose of this approach is twofold: (1) to provide approved teacher education institutions with the maximum possible autonomy in the development of their own programs of teacher education and (2) to reduce to a minimum state prescriptions for certification.

As defined by Armstrong and Stinnett, the approved programs approach means—

> . . . certification of applicants largely upon recommendation of the approved teacher education institution [copy of credentials—transcript—may or may not be required] that the applicant has completed the approved programs and is judged to be qualified, on the basis of preparation and other specified factors, to perform a specified teaching service [such as English, elementary teaching, etc.] according to the minimum prescriptions of the state. This implies that the state exercises careful scrutiny of a proposed program of teacher education before approval and that the institution's recommendation of a candidate who has completed the program is given major emphasis in issuing the certificate (41).

This approach simply leaves to each approved institution the derivation of its own overall program of teacher education, as well as variations required by the respective levels and areas of teaching.

The state department of education, instead of laying down prescriptions of separate courses (both professional and academic) in terms of exact semester hours, prescribes the broad areas that the program must include. For example, in the professional aspects the department might prescribe adequate coverage of the foundations of education, human growth and development, principles and methods, and laboratory experiences. This would leave each institution to determine the number of courses and credits that its faculty deems adequate. Such a plan enables an institution to plan teacher education programs along the lines of its peculiar strengths, faculty, clientele, philosophy, and resources. It enables each institution to avoid what has been called the "scissors and paste pot" method of determining curriculums in teacher education. In the latter plan, by inflexibly following the detailed certification requirements of the state, the curriculums are handed down. All the institution has to do is to conform.

Moreover, the approved program approach enables a given institution to exercise a large degree of flexibility, according to individual students' backgrounds, experiences, and needs. It would enable institutions to apply an honors program to teacher education. With the use of proficiency examinations, individual students could waive certain required courses and move on to enrichment courses.

Professional Practices Acts

The latest step in the effort at decentralization is the enactment of professional practices acts. Admittedly, this movement originated with professional associations, largely the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS) and the National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities (PR&R)—both commissions of the NEA—but cooperation has been evidenced by state education agencies in some states.

By 1967, a total of 12 states (Alaska, California, Florida, Georgia, Iowa, Kentucky, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, North Dakota, Oregon, Oklahoma) had passed such legislation. The California enactment establishing a professional standards commission antedated the professional practices acts and was sponsored by the California Teachers Association. There is also a statute in Illinois creating the state teacher certification board that is similar to the professional practices acts.

As advocated by NCTEPS and the PR&R Commission, the regulation of professional standards involves two categories: (1) standards of preparation and (2) standards of practice. The first, in the view of these two NEA units, should be vested in a professional standards board, such as is the case in California. As such, the board would be charged with developing requirements and policies governing accreditation of teacher education institutions, the issuance and revocation of licenses, the assignment of personnel, and with conducting studies to improve these phases. The second cluster of responsibilities should be assigned to a professional practices commission. Such commissions would be a legally recognized power, authorized to deal with standards of practice—of ethics, competence, and academic freedom—where protective or disciplinary action may be needed.

The Oregon law creating a teacher standards and practices commission apparently was predicated on the idea that both clusters of responsibilities would be merged into one board or commission.

These commissions and boards are designed to serve as legally recognized advisory bodies to the chief state education agencies. As such, they are duly constituted juries of peers of teachers, set up to bring to bear the weight and consensus of the teaching profession in providing competent practitioners and ethical practice.

Efforts To Achieve Reciprocity in Teacher Certification

Almost from the time states began to centralize certification authority and to issue certificates of statewide validity, they have dreamt of an effective reciprocity plan among the states. As the minimum requirements for initial certification in various states have grown to be more nearly identical, the dream has persisted. This is evidenced by numerous efforts to achieve nationwide provisions acceptable to all states.

The reasons for this urge are clear. A qualified teacher in one state ought to be a qualified teacher in any state. State lines should not determine teacher qualifications. The right of a professionally competent person to practice his profession in any state would seem to be assured by the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. State sovereignty ought not to be exercised in such an arbitrary manner as to deny this right by petty and unique requirements. Of course, the key problem here is defining the qualified teacher in such a way as to be accepted universally.

Moreover, the demand for the free movement across state lines has grown with the rapidly increasing mobility of our population. This demand will not be stilled by parochial requirements designed either to preserve positions for homegrown products of a given state (this was a common ploy used during the Depression) or to enforce unilateral concepts of what constitutes teacher competence. Regional biases, ingrained mores, a sort of supernationalism by states can only be ameliorated or eradicated by the widespread migrations of citizens of the United States in general, and teachers in particular.

California made the first effort toward reciprocity in teacher certification in 1866 by recognizing normal school diplomas from other states as a basis for issuing California certificates to their holders (42). But this practice was not widely adopted for a quarter of a century.

The next formal effort was the exchange-of-certificates plan, which, under the leadership of New York state, was developed among several Eastern states. By agreements, the states accepted certificates issued in the other compacting states as valid within the receiving state. This plan developed in the 1890's, and it expanded until by 1921 a total of 38 states were using it. After 1921, the practice declined and was finally abandoned (43).

A study in 1902 found that 11 states authorized the state superintendent to issue certificates without examination to applicants from other states if they held a license in another state. Also, 10 states would certify applicants from other states if they held a diploma from state universities or other recognized higher education institutions (44).

As the exchange-of-certificate plan declined in use, the shift from the examination basis for issuing certification also began to decline (during the 1920's and 1930's) and to be replaced by college preparation. Consequently, as World War II approached, the directors of teacher education and certification in contiguous states began seeking means of increasing the mobility of teachers across state lines. In most instances, the basis for such reciprocity was college education, the completion of a prescribed teacher education program in an accredited institution. In other words, reciprocity was not applied below the degree level of preparation.

In the year indicated, the following regional compacts were developed: the Ohio Valley Conference (1937), involving 8 states; the Southern States Compact (1941), involving 3 states; the Eight-State Reciprocity Compact (1949), involving originally 8 states, later expanding to 11 states—commonly called the Eastern States Compact; and the Central States Conference Reciprocity Agreement (1953), involving 6 states.

Thus, at one time or another, a total of 38 states were signatories to regional reciprocity compacts in teacher certification. But each of these compacts fell into disuse over the years, except the Eastern States Compact, the only one remaining (45).

The reason for the receding of the regional compact idea appears to be that, like so many practices in education, it served the needs of a simpler era well. But conditions changed with the rapid urbanization of the nation after World War II.

The urbanization itself was the product of a giant migration of the American people. Naturally, this mobility of the general population had its impact upon the mobility of teachers.

The regional compact idea was succeeded by concerted efforts of the state directors of teacher education and certification, who by the late 1940's had developed a well organized and vigorous professional association—the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC) —to arrive at a reasonable consensus as a basis of national reciprocity.

It became evident that the states were moving rapidly toward the bachelor's degree as minimum preparation for initial certification of teachers at all levels. NASDTEC sought to capitalize on this trend by seeking, through annual and regional conferences, a growing consensus among state directors on the essential elements that should constitute certification requirements, as well as those nonessentials or peripheral requirements that should be eliminated.

The difficult hurdle they had to overcome was adoption of criteria for the accreditation of institutions that would be acceptable to all states. Thus, we find NASDTEC members adopting the following recommendation in June 1958:

> A graduate of a college or university which at the time of the applicant's graduation is fully accredited by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education should be eligible for a regular teachers' certificate covering the area or level of teaching for which the candidate is recommended by his preparing institution and which is supported by the transcript provided by the institution. It should be assumed that this policy applies only to an applicant who has graduated from a regularly approved teacher education program that is specifically accredited by NCATE. It should be assumed that this policy will not apply to statutory provisions that are in effect in some states relating to such requirements as audio-visual and conservation, state history and government (46).

By 1959, a total of 12 states had adopted this provision; by 1961, this total had grown to 24 states; by 1964, to 27 states (47). As of 1967, 37 states reported "some" or "significant" use of NCATE accreditation to facilitate movement of qualified teachers across state lines (48).

As a matter of fact, there currently exists a large degree of reciprocity in certification among the states, especially for teachers who have completed a degree program of teacher education in a recognized institution. The extent of this development has been influenced greatly by NASDTEC, whose members have consistently and earnestly sought in the last decade to derive a workable, effective process.

This is not easy. There is a deeply grounded faith in state rights and mores. There are deeply grounded beliefs that a given state has the right, indeed the obligation, to enforce its philosophy and course prescriptions upon in-migrating teachers. There is the conviction that, in fairness to its own teachers, precisely the same requirements should be enforced on out-of-state or in-migrating teachers. This feeling is found more often among legislators and personnel of teacher education institutions than among state directors of teacher education and certification. Then there is the legislative prescription of special courses, such as state history and constitution, which become discriminatory against the out-of-state teacher unless the enforcement of the requirement is accompanied by administrative flexibility.

Above all, the free mobility of teachers across state lines is hampered by the enforcement of precise course prescriptions, which often prove to be chaotic and always irritating.

To summarize: The still existing impediments to national reciprocity in teacher certification are (a) the lack of a universally accepted national accrediting process. (b) the great differences among states in course prescriptions in teacher education.

(c) the persistence of detailed course requirements in the certification process, (d) the persistence of special course requirements, and (e) the lack of desirable flexibility in enforcing the precise requirements of the states.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE ACCREDITATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

One of the modern landmarks in the development of state procedures and of cooperative approaches in teacher education and certification has been the founding of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE).

An inevitable development in the evolution of a profession in the United States is the derivation and application of a national professional accrediting process. The emphasis here should be upon "in the United States," for elsewhere in the world this is not necessarily true. In fact, most often it is not true. Elsewhere, central ministries of the state tend to dictate standards of preparation and licensure of practitioners of professions.

Accrediting Unique to United States

In the United States, as the result of unhappy experiences of the Colonists with certain authoritarian practices in Western Europe, there was great distrust of central governments and a zeal to keep regulation as near to the people as possible. This apprehension was instinctive with our early higher education institutions. Prior to the beginning of the Union, higher education institutions in the United States were privately controlled and financed almost without exception. As such, they feared governmental controls. An example of this fear led to the Dartmouth College Case, in which the institution went to the courts to preserve the integrity of its charter and to prevent state interference in the internal controls of the institution.

As a result of these fears and the pressure of professional associations, we began early in the history of America, even prior to statehood, to experiment with the concept of self-regulation by professions as a desirable alternative to government controls, or as a supplement to or complement of such controls. Thus the need for voluntary accreditation developed as a unique process in the United States.

Regional Associations

The first extralegal accrediting process to develop in the United States was the founding of the regional accrediting associations. The first of these—the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools—was founded in 1885. The Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools was founded in the same year and followed by the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1895; the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 1895; the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools, 1918; the Western College Association, 1948 (49).

Mayor and Swartz point out that there are confusions between the date of the founding of these associations and their actual entry into the accreditation field. The New England Association did not begin accrediting (at least of higher education institutions) until 1952. The Middle States Association did not begin accrediting colleges until 1921 and secondary schools in 1928. The North Central Association began accrediting schools in 1915 and colleges in 1910. The Southern Association began accrediting schools in 1912 and colleges in 1917. The Northwest Association began accrediting secondary schools in 1918 and colleges in 1921. The Western Association became an accrediting body in 1949 (50).

Professional Accrediting Associations

The national professional accrediting processes have all come into being since 1900. The basic reason for this development was the professions' desire to control entry into them. This required a minimum quality floor for the preparation programs. The regional associations concentrate on the general programs of institutions and pay little specialized attention to professional programs. Thus, one or more professional schools in a given institution could be weak indeed, and yet, on general balance, the institution as a whole could be accredited. In order to prevent the tremendous variation in the quality of professional schools from institution to institution and state to state, professions felt compelled to establish their own national accrediting processes.

The dates of establishment for national professional accrediting processes for the professions are as follows: medicine, 1907; dentistry, 1909; architecture, 1914; business administration, 1916; law, 1921; library science, 1924; music, 1924; social work, 1927; pharmacy, 1932; nursery, 1933; engineering, 1934; forestry, 1934; theology, 1936; chemistry, 1937; optometry, 1941; veterinary medicine, 1941; journalism, 1945; public health, 1946; Bible, 1948; chiropody, 1951; and education, 1927 and 1951.

It will be noted that for education two dates are given for the establishing of a national professional accrediting process. The first (1927) is when the American Association of Teachers Colleges (AATC) first sought to apply national standards to teacher education institutions. This effort was successful insofar as the separate, single-purpose state teachers colleges were concerned. But shortly thereafter, the shift of state teachers colleges to general-purpose colleges began, and by 1950 the shift of the latter to state universities was in full swing. Consequently, the AATC was never able to attract more than 25 percent of the institutions engaging in teacher education to its membership and accreditation. Thus, in 1948, the AATC, by merger with two other associations, formed the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE), a wider based association.

Proposed New Format for Teacher Education

By the formation of AACTE in 1948, many influential educators and associations, including many of those directly affiliated with AACTE, became convinced that a new format for the national accreditation of teacher education was indicated. It was clear that a national accrediting agency broadly representative of the practitioners, the state education legal authorities, and the preparing colleges was needed. The old plan of accreditation, solely as an agency of institutions (and largely of single-purpose institutions), would never be able to overcome the resistance of a majority of institutions to the notion that teaching was a profession or that specialized preparation for teaching was necessary.

To trace the evolution of the movement to found a national process for teacher education, it is necessary to look at the historical development of a number of vigorous and aggressive organizations determined to improve teacher education: several associations of professional schools, the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, the Council of Chief State School Officers, and the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification.

The first association of teacher education institutions was the American Normal School Association, which became the first department of NEA in 1870. (This was the forerunner of the present AACTE.) In 1902, the North Central Council of Normal School Presidents was formed, becoming in 1922 the National Council of Teachers Colleges. In 1917, the American Association of Teachers Colleges, an association of degree-granting teachers colleges, was formed. The AATC and the National Council of Teachers Colleges merged in 1923. The AACTE was formed in 1948, by a merger of AATC, the National Association of Teacher Education Institutions in Metropolitan Areas, and the National Association of Colleges and Departments of Education. The AATC adopted standards for accrediting teacher education institutions in 1923 but did not begin accrediting until 1927. AACTE continued this accrediting after its formation and until 1954, when the function was assumed by the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE).

The beginning of the coalescing of interested groups toward the establishment of a stronger accrediting process for teacher education emerged from one of the study groups at the 1948 national conference of NCTEPS. This group recommended that NCTEPS devote one of its national conferences to accreditation (51).

As a consequence of this recommendation, NCTEPS devoted its 1950 national conference to the theme, "Evaluative Criteria for Teacher Education Institutions." The keynote address was delivered by John Dale Russell, then director of the Division of Higher Education, U.S. Office of Education. Russell proposed the establishment of a joint council, broadly representative of interested groups, including teacher education institutions, the organized teaching profession, the state education legal athorities, and local school administrative officials, both professional and lay (52).

Following this conference in June of 1950, the AACTE School for Executives was held at the University of Wisconsin in August. Further consideration was given to establishing a new national accrediting agency for teacher education.

At this time, AACTE accrediting was being criticized by various sectors of higher education, especially by private liberal arts colleges and universities and large public colleges and universities which did not share the teacher preparation backgrounds of most institutions in the AACTE membership. Prominent among the supporters of AACTE accreditation was the National Council of Chief State School Officers, which on November 30, 1950, unanimously adopted the following resolution:

> The Council supports the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education in its efforts to achieve nationally higher standards of quality among institutions engaged in the professional education of teachers and other school personnel. These efforts of the Association are gratefully recognized and approved as services to state departments of education in the exercise of their own constitutional and statutory responsibilities for the accreditation of such institutions within the several states in connection with the issuance of professional certificates to teachers and administrators.
>
> We urge that the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education be recognized by all national and regional accreditation agencies as the responsible accrediting agency at the national level for the profession of teaching and professional teacher preparing institutions offering four, five, six and seven year programs for the preparation of teachers and administrators.
>
> More specifically, since teaching is a major profession, the Council requests that the recently organized National Commission on Accrediting recognize it as such in its commendable efforts to coordinate and simplify general accreditation procedures, and that the Commission recognize the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education as the responsible, voluntary, national, professional and institutional agency to accredit professional programs in all institutions which prepare teachers and administrators at the four, five, six and seven year levels to be certified for professional service by the states (53).

During the fall of 1950, representatives of AACTE, NCCSSO, NCTEPS, and NASDTEC met to study the best machinery for accrediting. At a meeting of this group in Washington on April 27-29, 1951, at which the National School Boards Association was also represented, it was recommended that the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education be established, subject to approval of the national organizations involved. The group constituted itself as a Temporary Committee with the 16 members to serve, pending reorganization on a permanent basis. A target date of January 1, 1954 was set for the assumption of responsibility by a permanent NCATE for accreditation of teacher education on a national basis, beginning with the institutions currently accredited by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education.

The National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education was outlined in this conference. On the evening of April 28, a specific plan for NCATE was developed by a subcommittee composed of State Commissioners John H. Bosshart of New Jersey and Finis E. Engleman of Connecticut; Superintendent John L. Bracken of NCTEPS, a former president of the American Association of School Administrators, and Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the National Council of Chief State School Officers. Chairman Bosshart's report for this subcommittee on the following morning was adopted unanimously and the Temporary NCATE planned to have a letterhead and a modest treasury of its own as soon as possible. (See Appendix A.)

The Temporary NCATE, after extensive study of existing professional accrediting agencies, had concluded that a joint council seemed to offer the best machinery for the following reasons:

1. All segments of the profession would be assured of participation both in the derivation of evaluative criteria and their application.
2. The council would offer the best plan of integration, cooperation, and coordination with existing state and local legal authorities.
3. The council would offer the best hope of enlisting united professional and public support for the accrediting procedure.

A second meeting of the Temporary NCATE in September 1951 found that the National Council of Chief State School Officers had unanimously affirmed the plan for establishment of NCATE on July 9, 1951, with the following resolution:

> Education is a major profession and must be dealt with accordingly.
>
> The state education agencies certify teachers and accredit professional schools of education on behalf of the respective states. The exercise of these official responsibilities must be based on professional consent as well as on the consent of the general public. Such professional consent should result from professional standards for educational personnel developed on a national basis with the full participation of the rank and file of the profession, the state and local official agencies, and the colleges and universities which prepare teachers and administrators.
>
> In accord with these principles, the Council endorses the proposed National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education and urges all who are concerned with the maintenance of education as a major profession to assist in the task of making the proposed Council effective as soon as possible (54).

The other four constituent bodies affirmed establishment of NCATE at their next annual meetings as follows: AACTE on February 22, 1952; NSBA on February 23, 1952; NASDTEC in June 1952; and the National Education Association (on behalf of NCTEPS) in July 1952. During this period, the Temporary NCATE regarded itself as the direct ancestor of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, acting much as the promotors and founders must act in establishing a business corporation as a legal entity. Its secretary-treasurer appeared before all the constituent organizations, except the National Education Association, to urge NCATE ratification at the separate meetings in which it was considered by each of these organizations.

The plan for NCATE was now ready for full implementation up to the point that it could assume accreditation responsibilities. It called for a National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education of 21 members to be constituted as follows:

A. *Legal state educational agencies:* The National Council of Chief State School Officers shall name three members; the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education Certification shall name three members.

B. *Practitioner:* The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards shall name six members, broadly representative of the profession in the field.

C. *Teacher Education Institution:* The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education shall name six members, broadly representative of institutions engaged in teacher education.

D. *Boards of Education:* The National Schools Boards Association shall name three members.

The target date to achieve this organization of NCATE by its constituent members was on or before March 1, 1953, nine months prior to the date for actual accrediting. NCATE was fully organized more promptly than anticipated, and it met jointly with the newly appointed members on November 14-16, 1952, to organize the council, declare its policies, arrange for fulfillment of its major purposes, and agree on next steps to be taken. All this was accomplished, and the target date for accreditation by NCATE was advanced to July 1, 1954 (55).

The temporary financing of NCATE meetings and other expenses had been underwritten by contributions by AACTE and NCTEPS. Funds for the first budget of NCATE were largely from the National Education Association and AACTE on a 70-30 matching basis; they were fixed at $12,500 for the fiscal year beginning September 1, 1952. Plans were made to request a grant of $150,000 from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, to be spread over the period from 1954 to 1958. This request was refused by the Fund. The first budget of NCATE as an active accrediting agency was $46,000, which was totally inadequate. Not until 1960, when the budget became $138,000, did the financing of NCATE even begin to approach adequacy.

The chairman of NCATE was Dean Waldo E. Lessinger of Wayne University of Detroit, president of AACTE; the vice-chairman was C. O. Williams of Pennsylvania State College, an officer of NCTEPS; and the secretary-treasurer was Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of NCCSSO. The work of NCATE was to arrange for assured funds to establish accrediting, to employ a director, and to develop further public and professional understandings of its goals. There also was a special function which had for 2 years or more grown rapidly in importance. A desperate effort was being made to prevent NCATE from assuming its accreditation functions in any way. Numerous meetings were held with regional accrediting agencies, groups at all levels of education, and especially with the newly established National Commission on Accrediting (NCA) to discuss NCATE.

Early in 1953, President Floyd Heck Marvin of George Washington University, then the secretary-treasurer of the National Commission on Accrediting, informed the secretary-treasurer of NCATE in a lengthy telephone conversation his organization had decided that NCATE would not be allowed to assume any duties of teacher education accreditation on July 1, 1954, or ever. That NCA had the authority to make or to enforce any such stipulation was flatly denied and rejected, and the legal authority of the state educational agencies in the field of accreditation was asserted. The mandate was reported to President Finis E. Engleman of NCCSSO. In a letter regarding NCATE addressed to all chief state school officers and signed by President Engleman, Commissioner Fred M. Raubinger of New Jersey, and Superintendent Clair L. Taylor of Michigan, they pointed out—

> It would be better, of course, to have this group (NCA) with us, but if it will not go along on reasonable terms, we must go without it. The NCATE is necessary if we are to improve teacher education, and teacher education must be improved to make the needed improvements in our schools (56).

This letter advised the chief state school officers to join hands with the state association of boards of education, institutions already in NCATE, and the state TEPS commissions to the end that understanding of the importance of accreditation of teacher education and the role of NCATE in it would become common knowledge.

Here was a positive declaration of intent of the teaching profession, as represented by the constituent groups, to have a really national professional accrediting process, regardless of the opposition of certain college and university sources. The declaration came from a powerful and influential group of professionals having legal powers, and it probably constituted the turning point in the power struggle. This was a clear declaration that the National Council of Chief State School Officers was determined to make of teaching a profession in every sense of the word.

Continuing Resistance to NCATE

After NCATE began operations as scheduled on July 1, 1954, resistance led by the National Commission on Accrediting continued.

NCA advised its 800 member colleges and universities not to seek accreditation by NCATE, insisting that the accrediting agency should be made up exclusively of representatives of colleges and universities. During the first year of NCATE operation, it accredited six new institutions, reaccredited five, and denied accreditation to some others. It also developed a new set of standards and compiled a list of persons to help evaluate teacher education programs; but even under such harassment this was a meager beginning.

The records show that one of the most vigorous conflicts of American educational history was continued without abatement as the national accreditation of teacher education was begun by NCATE. It was an innovation, new, financially weak, and extremely vulnerable in a huge field in which success had always been elusive. Public education itself was under its most concentrated attack in more than a century (57). The National Commission on Accrediting and its overlapping and like-minded agencies, such as the Association of American Colleges and the American Association of Universities, took full advantage of the defensive position of the legal and professional representatives of public elementary and secondary education in pressing their opposition.

The NCATE tried to placate NCA by agreeing to and carrying out several internal reorganizations, all of which resulted in relatively fewer NCATE members from the state and local legal agencies, CCSSO and NSBA, and the state professional association, NASDTEC. Through these changes, the Council of Chief State School Officers and the other constituent groups tried to persuade leading liberal arts groups to appoint members to NCATE and willingly increased the proportion of NCATE members allocated to institutions of higher education, but they refused to participate.

W. Earl Armstrong, who became director of NCATE on July 1, 1954, set forth the nature of NCA's opposition:

> Word has been received informally that some college administrators had registered objection to the Council following the release early in November of the Council's *Statement of Purposes, Policies, and Procedures,* and its *First Annual List* of accredited institutions. The first official indication of dissatisfaction, however, came from the Middle States Association in the form of a resolution voted at its annual meeting on November 27, 1954 (58). [See Appendix B for full text.]

In answer to NCA's objections to the structure of NCATE, the latter proposed to change its size from 21 to 17 members by reducing the number of representatives from each of the 3 state and local legal agencies from 6 to 3 and adding the Association of American Colleges to the constituent bodies with 2 representatives. This would have created a 17-member body with 8 members from colleges and universities.

One of the things that had happened in the controversy was that the secretaries of the six regional associations issued a statement to the effect that the preparation of teachers was so much like general liberal education that the regional associations should do the accrediting of teacher education. It is believed that this position influenced the Association of American Colleges to vote 92-75 to decline to participate in the structure of NCATE in January 1956 (59).

Reorganizations of NCATE

At any rate, in March 1956, NCA rejected the NCATE proposal for its restructuring and specified that it would give full approval to NCATE on the conditions—

1. That NCATE create a structure providing for majority institutional control; that is, a majority of its members would be designated by organizations of colleges and universities.
2. That NCATE would work closely with the duly constituted authorities of the several regional accrediting associations (60).

NCATE then recommended to the constituent organizations that the Council should be restructured to contain members as follows: AACTE (7); CCSSO (1); NASDTEC (1); NCTEPS (6); NSBA (1); and three members from liberal arts fields to be designated by a special committee designated by the National Commission for Accrediting. This action was taken at a meeting of NCATE on May 11, 1956 (61). The proposal was approved by NCA on October 10, 1956, and NCATE accrediting continued with renewed confidence and at a faster pace.

Whether the constituent organizations of NCATE should have made their stand at this point and fought for the original Council constituency is a moot question. This possibility was seriously discussed in many meetings. The final decision was to take a statesmanlike view of the controversy and seek by compromise to reconcile the conflicting viewpoints. But another review of the NCATE structure was made by NCA in 1960, as had been indicated in the NCA approval in 1956.

No major changes were demanded in the 1960 review, but criticism of NCATE standards and procedures continued. When the Carleton College and University of Wisconsin controversies occurred in 1961 and 1962, a new wave of criticism broke out. (See Appendix C.) Conant's criticisms in 1963 and 1964 added to the uproar (62). Thus, NCA again reviewed NCATE standards, procedures, and structure in 1964 and 1965, which resulted in another restructuring in 1966.

There have been several notable turning points in the history of NCATE since 1963. One was recognition of the state departments of education as key agencies for improvement of public education in general by Harvard President Emeritus James Bryant Conant in 1964 (63). From that time, concurrently with the publication of his *Shaping Educational Policy* (64) in the same month, this pre-eminent shaper of educational policy quieted criticism of state education departments and directed public attention to their problems and the importance of solving them. He urged action to make these departments more effective and muted his criticism of NCATE so far as they were concerned. It is significant that the Council of Chief State School Officers continued to approve each reorganization of NCATE and that there was a perceptible drop in criticism of NCATE and its official constituent agencies after efforts to strengthen state departments of education became an educational priority.

A second factor in this shifting opinion was that an extensive study of accreditation of teacher education by Mayor and Swartz, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation (65), reached conclusions generally favorable to national accreditation of teacher education under principles similar to those developed by NCATE.

Some of the most important criticisms of the operations of NCATE were remedied in its reorganization of 1965-66. This

Constitution was drafted by the executive officers of the AACTE, CCSSO, and NCTEPS, with a final draft being arrived at on June 7, 1965. It was adopted by the constituent agencies after discussions with NCATE and the constituent agencies concurrently. It is reproduced in Appendix D as it was in effect in 1967, after unqualified approval on March 31, 1966, by the National Commission on Accrediting.

When NCATE was established, a prevailing line of criticism was that it would be dominated by the National Education Association, or by the state legal agencies, or by some combinations of members of the public education "establishment." Nevertheless, soon after accreditation by NCATE began, the emphasis of some critics shifted to the independence of NCATE members as individuals from their constituent organizations. There was no longer so much fear of domination were NCATE members to stay in touch with the views of the constituent agencies that had appointed them and report back on NCATE operations to those agencies.

In 1965, the criticism had thoroughly focused on the independence of the individual NCATE members, who in the exercise of their personal freedom did sometimes neglect to report to the constituent organizations that appointed them. The need was to reestablish some responsibility for NCATE in the constituent agencies that had founded it and especially to assist NCATE in its public image and support it in areas where it had not been able to do well enough for itself. This was done through the establishment of a coordinating board in the revised NCATE Constitution. The board was made responsible for legislative functions of NCATE, including raising of funds and approval of budgets as a whole. There was no effort to interfere with the internal operations of NCATE in allocations of funds within the total amount set by the board. Such financial responsibility has led to more interest in and effort on behalf of NCATE by the constituent agencies and has increased its financial support. It has also made NCATE less vulnerable to criticism than it was when it exercised both legislative and administrative functions itself in connection with its financing.

The new Constitution allocated responsibility for development of standards and evaluation of the applications of standards to AACTE, the constituent organization representing public and private institutions preparing teachers. It currently has a slightly larger number of private than public institutions in its membership, which has eliminated another criticism. AACTE is also charged with keeping open channels of communication with NCATE and with other organizations interested in the work of NCATE.

These and other factors, and especially the full approval of NCATE as the national professional accrediting organization for teacher education by the National Commission on Accrediting on March 31, 1966, have brought an era of cooperative development to NCATE. The presentation on December 28, 1967, of tentative new standards for accreditation developed under AACTE leadership to representatives of all major viewpoints in teacher education seemed to underscore the depth of the current working consensus. The future of NCATE is promising for the foreseeable future, provided it makes adaptations as they come to be needed year after year.

CURRENT STATE PRACTICES AND PROCEDURES IN TEACHER EDUCATION CERTIFICATION

Certification as a State Function in 1967

In 1967, legal authority was vested solidly in the respective state departments of education for defining acceptable teacher education programs; prescribing the requirements for teacher certification; and issuing, reissuing, and revoking certificates (66). As has been pointed out several times, the state departments of education, without exception, seek to exercise these powers in a democratic, cooperative manner, not unilaterally or arbitrarily.

Certification Requirements and Procedures

With reference to certification, with only minor exceptions, the authority is focused in the state departments of education. In only nine states is there a sharing of some certification authority with other agencies. The following cities are empowered by law to issue certificates to their teachers: Wilmington, Chicago, Baltimore, Buffalo, New York City, and one city in North Dakota.

In California, Missouri, and Pennsylvania, county superintendents still retain some minor duties in connection with certain types of certificates. In Kansas and Missouri, the bachelor of science in education graduates of state colleges and universities have somewhat automatic certification. State legislatures are the sovereign bodies regarding certification. But they have assigned this function to the chief state education agency.

The legislatures in a few states retain some authority for certification in some specifics. These are minor and generally have to do with prescribing age, health, and loyalty requirements. For all practical purposes, it can be stated that the chief state education agency now has virtually complete authority to set the standards for and issue teachers certificates, prescribe renewal requirements, and revoke certificates.

All states now require at least the bachelor's degree for certification of secondary school teachers; two states (Arizona and California) and the District of Columbia have established 5-year preparation standards. All but four states and Puerto Rico are enforcing the bachelor's degree requirement for certification of beginning elementary school teachers. In addition, for classroom teachers, completion of the fifth year or master's degree, within a specified number of years of teaching on the initial certificate, is mandated in 18 states.

The requirements for administrative certificates have kept pace with the increase in standards for classroom teachers. For elementary school principals, the minimum requirement for certification in 46 states is the master's degree or higher. For secondary school principals, 48 states require the master's degree or higher. For superintendents of schools, 50 states require preparation at the master's degree level or higher.

All professional personnel in public schools are required by law to hold certificates. They are required for public nursery school teachers in 19 states, for public kindergarten teachers in 42 states. Ten states require public junior college teachers to hold certificates, and three states require teachers in state teachers colleges to hold certificates. There appears to be a trend toward elimination of certification for teachers in these colleges.

For teachers in private or parochial schools, the typical practice of states is to require state certification only if the schools seek state accreditation. But 18 states legally require such teachers, at some school levels or under certain conditions, to be certified. Twelve states have no certification requirements for private or parochial school teachers.

Twenty-seven states issue life or permanent certificates. Twelve states issue blanket or general high school certificates, without endorsed fields or subjects, but the holder must meet specified state requirements in given fields or subjects. Forty-four states issue endorsed certificates for high school teachers, with the fields or subjects authorized to be taught listed on the certificate.

As to state controls over the enforcement of teaching assignments, according to the teacher's qualifications, a variety of means are used. A total of 15 states use the possible loss of state accreditation; 14 states enforce assignment through endorsed certificates; 11 states may withhold funds to districts guilty of misassignment of teachers.

Teacher Education Requirements and Procedures

Through the years, the matter of accrediting or approving higher education institutions for teacher education has been a serious problem for state departments of education. What standards or criteria to use, what process for evaluating an institution to be adopted, what personnel to involve in the evaluation—these have been the persisting dilemmas. As a general rule, state departments of education have performed a haphazard hit-or-miss exercising of this important responsibility. All too often, no criteria have been developed. Instead, the resort has been to the criteria of regional accrediting associations, or in recent years, to NCATE standards. All too often, the evaluation of a teacher education program has been a one-man, cursory, and subjective appraisal. Under such conditions, political considerations and inadequate appraisals of institutions have frequently had their influences in approval of teacher education programs.

NASDTEC, recognizing the laxity of the situation, began about 1950 the task of deriving better procedures. Thus, in 1967, a total of 29 states had developed and were using formal standards for accrediting institutions for teacher education. Several other states are in the process of developing standards. Nine states now use the standards developed by a committee of NASDTEC, in cooperation with the U.S. Office of Education (67), while 14 states rely upon NCATE standards to some extent. Only two states now use the standards of regional accrediting associations.

As to the processes of evaluating institutions, 25 states use a special committee appointed by the state board of education as a visiting team. Sixteen states use only individual staff members, or a committee of staff members, of the state department of education to evaluate institutions.

In 1967, the number of colleges and universities approved by states for teacher education reached a near all-time modern high, totaling exactly 1,200, being exceeded only by 1,218 in 1957 and about 1,700 in 1938-39. According to function and control, there are 1,200 higher education institutions, including 19 teachers colleges (8 public and 11 private); 305 universities (151 public and 154 private); 805 general colleges (207 state colleges and 598 private liberal arts colleges); and 71 classified as miscellaneous (39 junior colleges and 31 technical schools, and 1 unclassified). To be noted here is the decline in the number of teachers colleges (from 126 in 1957 to 19 in 1967) and the decline in the number of junior colleges approved for teacher education (from 181 in 1957 to 39 in 1967).

The accreditation of the 1,200 teacher education colleges and universities is as follows: All are approved by their respective state departments of education; 1,062 hold accreditation of their respective regional associations; only 138 institutions hold only state approval. Among the 1,200 institutions, 449 are accredited by NCATE. These 449 institutions prepare almost 75 percent of the newly graduated teachers each year.

A persisting problem that still plagues state departments of education and the teaching profession is the incredibly large number of emergency certificates issued to teachers each year. The all-time high number of such certificates was in 1946-47 when a total of 127,016 teachers held emergency certification. This amounted to almost one in seven of all employed teachers, or 15.2 percent of the total teaching staff. This was reduced to one in twenty by 1964-65, or 5 percent of employed teachers; and that ratio has been maintained since.

The solution to this problem is at least twofold: (1) reorganization of the teaching job and (2) the reorganization of admission requirements to teaching. Both of these are dependent more on the teaching profession than upon state departments of education.

The Continuing Controversy in Teacher Education

A continuing controversy has beset teacher education almost from the moment of the founding of normal schools. This controversy has continued down to the present, but it has been ameliorated greatly in recent years, particularly since the Sputnik frenzy.

Through the years, state departments of education have consistently been caught up in this controversy. In fact, the departments have been the focus of the pressures arising from the controversy. Only prudent statesmanship in the departments has enabled them to guide the development of teacher education toward the goal of steadily improving the competence of teachers.

The controversy generally has grown out of two distinct philosophies of the education of teachers. The proponents of the liberal tradition believed that teachers should be liberally educated persons, above all, and that little or no instruction in methodology was needed. The protagonists of the normal school were equally convinced that methodology or pedagogy was paramount in the preparation of teachers, especially those in the elementary schools, and that a thorough mastery of the rudiments of learning should be the basic requirement in content.

These viewpoints were the extremes over the years; neither of their advocates won. Rather there has been, since 1900, a steady acceleration of the viewpoint that both content and methodology were essential for the proper education of teachers. The controversy in recent years has tended to focus on the proper proportions of each.

As a matter of fact, teacher education in the United States has four heritage strains that have profoundly affected the nature of the programs adopted by different institutions. First, there is the liberal tradition, which came down to us from the Renaissance, a liberalizing education dominated by the spirit of free inquiry. This tradition has been carefully nurtured and furthered by our liberal arts colleges, institutions uniquely American. Quite naturally, and quite logically, these institutions have tended to view the intrusion of any but the liberal studies as a dilution of their academic commitment.

Second, there is the strain of pure research, which our universities inherited or transplanted from the German universities. Many of our earlier universities tended to defend this overriding function from the inroads of professional curriculums and the utilitarian needs of society.

The third heritage strain, one homegrown but the essence of which was borrowed from Europe, was the normal school idea, an idea devoted to the practical aspects of teaching. These institutions tended to protect the professional aspects of teacher preparation from undue encroachments of the first two.

Finally, along the way, we added here in America our own unique contribution to higher education. This was the land-grant college idea, devoted to community problems and the application of scientific and other knowledge to the improvement of the day-by-day living of people.

For more than a century now, teacher education in the United States has been engaged in a persistent search for means to blend these four basic concepts—the liberal tradition, pure research, the practice of teaching, and service to the community—into meaningful, effective programs of teacher education.

On the thesis that teaching is simply an art, debates have generally focused on how many hours in the professional sequence could, by some sort of amicable consensus, be squeezed out to make room for more hours of so-called liberal education or academic concentration.

With the gradual disappearance of the single-purpose teacher education institutions (only 19—8 public and 11 private—remain in 1967), another debate has developed over the proposition that these four elements should be dispersed throughout the university, as separate entities, with no single unit assigned the responsibility for coordinating or unifying the diversity.

Education as an isolated, independent study divorced from its natural allies of pure research and the scholarly disciplines invariably will fail to achieve anywhere near its potential. Likewise, research and pure learning divorced from professional practice tend to be diminished in power and relevance.

The debate over professional courses versus liberal arts courses evolved with special vehemence out of the emergency of the degree-granting state teachers colleges after 1900. As long as the normal schools were predominant and largely restricted to the preparation of elementary teachers, higher education institutions generally paid little attention to the professional aspects of teacher education. But when the state teachers colleges began preparing high school teachers, the liberal arts colleges, which previously had preempted the field, reacted violently.

Later, in 1915, when the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools decreed that teachers in high schools accredited by that organization must have completed 12 semester hours of professional work, the battle shifted toward holding the line on that decree as a maximum.

Table 4 indicates the nature of state prescriptions in professional education in selected recent years. According to these data, the professional requirements of the states for degree elementary teachers in 1951 (when only 17 states were requiring this minimum preparation for beginning elementary school teachers but issued certificates at the degree level to those qualifying) ranged from 16 to 36 semester hours; the mode was 18; the median was 20; and the mean was 20.5. By 1967 (when 47 states required the degree for beginning elementary teachers), the professional requirements were changed little. The range was from 15 to 36; the mode was 20; the median was 21; and the mean, 23. In other words, the modal, median, and mean requirements of the states tended to cluster around 20 to 24 hours, or from 16 to 20 percent of the degree program.

Table 4—SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE STATES IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR DEGREE CERTIFICATES, FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS, IN SELECTED YEARS

State	Semester hours professional education in selected years			
	For elementary teachers		For high school teachers	
	1951	1967	1951	1967
Alabama	30	27	24	21
Alaska	. . .	24	. . .	18
Arizona	24	24	24	22
Arkansas	18	18	18	18
California	24	20	22	15
Colorado	20	AC[a]	20	AC
Connecticut	30	30	18	18
District of Columbia	. . .	. . .	. . .	15
Delaware	30	30	18	18
Florida	20	15	20	20
Georgia	18	20	18	18
Hawaii	. . .	18	. . .	18
Idaho	16	20	11	20
Illinois	16	16	16	16
Indiana	24	27	18	18
Iowa	17	20	15	20
Kansas	24	24	18	20
Kentucky	28	24	18	17
Louisiana	24	24	18	18
Maine	. . .	30	12	18
Maryland	32	26	16	18
Massachusetts	. . .	18	. . .	12

Table 4—SPECIFIC REQUIREMENTS OF THE STATES IN PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR DEGREE CERTIFICATES, FOR ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL TEACHERS, IN SELECTED YEARS (Continued)

	Semester hours professional education in selected years			
	For elementary teachers		For high school teachers	
State	1951	1967	1951	1967
Michigan	20	20	20	20
Minnesota	...	30	15	18
Mississippi	18	36	18	18
Missouri	18	20	18	20
Montana	...	AC	16	16
Nebraska	18	AC	18	AC
Nevada	18	18	18	18
New Hampshire	...	AC	21	18
New Jersey	30	36	18	24
New Mexico	24	24	16	18
New York	36	24	18	18
North Carolina	18	24	18	18
North Dakota	16	16	16	16
Ohio	25	28	17	17
Oklahoma	21	21	21	21
Oregon	20	20	22	14
Pennsylvania	36	36	18	18
Puerto Rico	...	20	...	24
Rhode Island	24	30	12	18
South Carolina	21	21	18	18
South Dakota	...	20	15	20
Tennessee	...	24	18	24
Texas	...	18	24	18
Utah	30	26	22	21
Vermont	18	18	12	18
Virginia	18	18	18	15
Washington	20	AC	16	AC
West Virginia	20	20	20	20
Wisconsin	18	26	18	18
Wyoming	20	23	16	20

Sources:

1951: W. Earl Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1953–64 editions). pp. 7–8.

1967: T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1967). pp. 53, 55.

[a] Approved curriculum.

For high school teachers in these two selected years (1951 and 1967), the range in state requirements in professional courses in 1951 was from 11 to 24; the mode was 18; the median was 20; and the mean was 17.9. In 1967, the range was from 12 to 29; mode, 18; median, 18; and the mean, 18.5. These figures reflect that states tend to require about 15 percent of the degree program for high school teachers to be in professional courses.

These requirements would seem to be

reasonable enough, but the critics point out, and fairly so, that these are minima and that institutions may require many more hours if they so desire.

To ascertain institutional practices, the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards made an analysis of the requirements of the 294 institutions accredited by NCATE in 1958. This analysis revealed the following institutional requirements in professional courses for elementary school teachers: range, 18 to 69 semester hours; mode, 36; median, 34; and average, 34.8. The central tendencies grouped about 27 to 30 percent of the degree program, almost twice the minimum required by the states (68).

For high school teachers the requirements were as follows: range, 10 to 51 hours; mode, 24 hours; median, 23 hours; and the average, 23.6 hours. The tendency here was for institutional requirements to cluster around the 18 to 20 percent proportion of the degree program (69).

Another study of the programs of 24 carefully selected institutions, chosen to represent types of institutions and geographic location, found that the requirements in degree programs for elementary school teachers varied from about one-fifth to two-fifths of the degree program—20 to 40 percent (70).

Cogan made a similar study of degree programs for the preparation of high school teachers by analyzing catalogue requirements of 114 institutions of all types. This study found that 20 to 26 semester hours of the degree programs in these institutions, or 16 to 21 percent, were devoted to professional courses, including student teaching. This analysis prompted Cogan to raise the question:

> Why then do so many laymen and teachers deprecate courses in education, yet look with admiration at the secondary schools of Australia, England, Germany, France, and Russia, whose teachers almost universally take more courses in education than the teachers of the United States (71)?

One of the prime causes of the controversy about the breakdown of the degree program for high school teachers arises from the conviction that state requirements tend to slight adequate preparation in the teaching fields and subjects. This charge has been especially bitter in the case of minor teaching assignments in given academic fields.

These minimum requirements have in the past been below the point of adequacy. For example, some states authorized the part-time teaching of mathematics, physics, and chemistry on as little as 6 to 8 semester hours. This was due largely to efforts of some states to adapt to the needs of small high schools in which a given teacher typically taught more than one field or several subjects in one field. The choice was between courses in physics and chemistry taught by the teachers most qualified to offer them or no such science courses at all. Under these circumstances, the backgrounds of those who several decades ago had such courses and were stimulated enough to become prominent in fields requiring some understanding of physics and chemistry seem in retrospect to justify offering the best possible courses as taught by the best teachers available.

The adverse circumstances that existed in the 200,000 predominantly rural local school districts in 1910, or even the circumstances in the 70,000 local school districts in 1950 which reflected much urbanization and technological progress, are found only rarely today. With only 21,000 school districts operating local schools in 1966, the problems of sparsity of population and facilities seem less urgent than those of urbanism and obsolescence. However, in many areas of the country there remains a gap between the training of available teachers and the specific needs of the schools. For instance, the reasonably well organized state of Iowa reported that only 31.5 percent of Iowa's 19,592 classroom teaching assignments in grades 9 through 12 were filled in the 1966-67 school years by teachers holding majors in the subjects taught (72).

Today, the cooperative arrangements of an adaptable National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education may be more than ever suitable for the preparation of a profession of competent teachers.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *The History of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1920), pp. 306-307.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 653-55.

3. Lawrence A. Cremin, "The Heritage of American Teacher Education," *Journal of Teacher Education,* IV, No. 2 (June 1953), 163-70.

4. States making constitutional provisions for public schools before 1800 were Pennsylvania and North Carolina (1776), Georgia and Vermont (1777), Massachusetts (1782), New Hampshire (1784), Vermont (for the second time in 1787), Georgia again (1789), Pennsylvania again (1790), and Delaware (1792).

5. Edgar W. Knight, *Education in the United States* (3d rev. ed.; New York: Ginn and Co., 1951), pp. 135-59.

6. Actually these states did not create a regular state superintendent of schools post, rather than an ex officio one, until the following dates: Illinois, 1854; Vermont, 1845; Louisiana, 1847; Pennsylvania, 1857; and Tennessee, 1867.

7. Knight, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-59.

8. Cubberley, *op. cit.*, pp. 676-79.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

10. Merrit M. Thompson, *The History of Education* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960), pp. 136-37.

11. Knight, *op. cit.*, p. 315.

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

13. Three normal schools were authorized in Iowa as early as 1849, but they failed because of lack of state funds. An 1847 law provided that the University of Iowa educate annually 50 teachers for the public schools. Subsequently, this law was modified to establish a normal department at the University, but not until 1876 was the Iowa State Normal School established at Cedar Falls. Wisconsin founded four normal schools between 1866 and 1875.

14. Horace Mann, from a speech presented at Bridgewater, Mass., August 1846, as quoted in *The Addresses and Journal of Proceedings of the National Education Association,* Session of the Year 1872, at Boston, Massachusetts (Peoria, Ill.: N. C. Nason, Printer, 1873), p. 31.

15. Ellwood P. Cubberley, "The Certification of Teachers," *Fifth Yearbook of the National Society for the Scientific Study of Education,* Part II (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 8.

16. Lucien B. Kinney, *Certification in Education* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1964), p. 40.

17. Alonzo Potter and George B. Emerson, *The School and the School Master* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1842); as quoted by Harvey J. Carmen, "The Historical Development of Licensing for the Professions," *The Educational Record,* XXXIX (July 1958), 268-78.

18. Quoted from John D. Philbuck, "Examining and Certificating Teachers," *American Institute of Instructions Lectures* (Boston, Mass., 1869), p. 113; as cited by Anthony C. Labue, "Teacher Certification in the United States," *Journal of Teacher Education,* XI (June 1960), 159 *et seq.*

19. Kinney, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

20. U.S. Commissioner of Education, *Report,* 1872, p. 188, as quoted by Edgar B. Wesley, *NEA: The First Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), p. 346.

21. Katherine M. Cook, *State Laws and Regulations Governing Teachers Certificates,* Bulletin 1921, No. 22 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Education, Department of the Interior, 1921), p. 7.

22. Benjamin W. Frazier, *Education of Teachers as a Function of State Departments of Education,* Studies of State Departments of Education Series, Bulletin 1940, Monograph No. 6, Federal Security Agency, U.S. Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), p. 85.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 2-5.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-13.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

26. T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual on Certification*

Requirements for School Personnel in the United States. Issued biennially and triennially after 1964 by the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1967), p. 17.

27. Anthony C. Labue, "Teacher Certification in the United States," *Journal of Teacher Education,* XI (June 1960), 159.

28. Stinnett, *op. cit.,* pp. 32-33.

29. *Ibid.,* adaptation of Table 4, p. 23.

30. Jim B. Pearson and Edgar Fuller, eds., *Education in the States: Historical Development and Outlook,* Vol. I, report of a project sponsored by the Council of Chief State School Officers (Washington, D.C.: The National Education Association, 1969), ch. 4. The materials that follow on Connecticut, Georgia, Kansas, North Carolina, and Utah are based on sections of chapters 7, 10, 16, 33, and 45, respectively.

31. Council of Chief State School Officers (Washington, D.C.), Resolutions adopted at the Annual Meeting, San Juan, Puerto Rico, November 16, 1967, p. 1, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XX, Part I, 1967-68. The Council, Washington, D.C.

32. Harvey J. Carmen, "The Historical Development of Licensing for the Professions," *The Educational Record,* XXXIX (July 1958), 268-78.

33. As paraphrased by Edgar B. Wesley, *NEA: The First Hundred Years* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), p. 23.

34. L. D. Haskew, ed., *State Councils on Teacher Education* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1949), p. 32.

35. Texas Education Agency, Division of Professional Standards, *Toward Professional Competence for Teachers* (Austin: The Agency, 1950).

36. Texas Education Agency, Division of Professional Standards, *Proposed Standards for Certification of Texas Teachers* (Austin: The Agency, 1951).

37. Texas Education Agency, Division of Professional Standards, "A Report on the 1951 Teacher Certification Conference," The Agency, Austin, 1951. (Mimeographed.)

38. Texas Education Agency, "Tentative Proposals for Certification of Teachers," submitted by the Proposals Writing Committee for use by the Reviewing Panel, The Agency, Austin, 1951. (Mimeographed.)

39. Texas Education Agency, Division of Professional Standards, "Summary of Hearing Panel Tabulations," for use of the Steering Committee, The Agency, Austin, 1952. (Mimeographed.)

40. Texas Education Agency, Division of Professional Standards, "Report of the Steering Committee on the Teacher Certification Study," The Agency, Austin, 1952. (Mimeographed.)

    Also see Texas Education Agency, "Recommendations from the Reviewing Panels," for use by the Steering Committee, The Agency, Austin, 1952. (Mimeographed.)

41. See W. E. Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual for Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1964), Appendix C, Glossary of Terms, p. 217.

42. U.S. Commissioner of Education, "Legal Provisions of the Various States Relating to Teachers Examinations and Certificates," *Annual Report, 1897–98* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1898), pp. 1659-61.

43. W. E. Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual for Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, 1955), p. 17.

44. R. C. Barrett, "Reciprocity in Licensing Teachers," *Journal of Proceedings and Addresses of the National Education Association,* 41st annual meeting held at Minneapolis, Minnesota (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1902), pp. 299-305.

45. W. E. Armstrong and T. M. Stinnett, *A Manual for Certification Requirements for School Personnel in the United States* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional

Standards, National Education Association, 1959), pp. 42-43.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 13.

47. See Armstrong and Stinnett, *op. cit.*, 1959, 1961, and 1964 editions, ch. 1.

48. Stinnett, *op. cit.*, (1967), p. 36.

49. These regional associations now serve the following states: New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools—Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Vermont; Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools—Delaware, the District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Puerto Rico, and the Canal Zone; North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools—Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, South Dakota, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Wyoming; Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools —Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, and Virginia; Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools—Alaska, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, Oregon, Washington, and Utah; Western College Association—California, Hawaii, and Guam.

50. John R. Mayor and Willis G. Swartz, *Accreditation in Teacher Education: Its Influence on Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Commission on Accrediting, 1965), p. 36.

51. H. B. Allman, recorder, "Accreditation and Development of Teacher Education Institutions," *The Education of Teachers—As Viewed by the Profession,* Report of the Bowling Green Conference, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1948), pp. 39-46.

52. Ruth A. Stout, "The Indiana Conference Charts a Course," *Journal of Teacher Education,* III (September 1950), 175-83.

53. Resolution adopted at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C., November 27-30, 1950, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," III, 191. The Council, Washington, D.C.

54. Resolution adopted at the Annual Meeting of the National Council of Chief State School Officers, Lake Quinault, Washington, July 6-9, 1951, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," IV, 20. The Council, Washington, D.C.

55. Minutes of Joint Meeting of Temporary Committee and National Council for Acreditation of Teacher Education, Washington D.C., November 14-16, 1952, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," V, 117-31. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

56. Letter to All Chief State School Officers, August 22, 1955, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," VIII, 41. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

57. See Helen Heffernan, "The School Curriculum in American Education," section on "Turbulence and Growth: 1940 to 1958," ch. 5 of this volume.

58. Address by W. Earl Armstrong at the Annual Meeting of Association of Teacher Education Institute, Chicago, Illinois, February 24, 1955. Entire speech included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," VII, 255b. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C. See Appendix B.

59. Letter to All Chief State School Officers from Edgar Fuller, executive secretary, CCSSO, February 2, 1956, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," VIII, 267-69. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

60. William K. Selden, Statement Regarding NCATE, March 7, 1956, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," VIII, 314-15. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

61. Minutes of the meeting of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, Chicago, Illinois, May 11, 1956, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," VIII, 386-87. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

62. See James Bryant Conant, *The Education of American Teachers* (New York: Mc-

Graw-Hill Book Co., 1963), pp. 15-41; *The Certification of Teachers: The Restricted State Approved Programs Approach,* Fifth Charles W. Hunt Lecture (Washington, D.C.: American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 1964).

63. James Bryant Conant, "The Role of State Governments in Education," an address given before the Annual Meeting of the Council of Chief State School Officers, New York City, November 18, 1964, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XVII, Part 1, 289-303. The Council, Washington, D.C.

64. James Bryant Conant, *Shaping Educational Policy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1964).

65. Mayor and Swartz, *op. cit.*, p. 215 *et seq.*

66. Stinnett, *op. cit.*, (1967), pp. 17-83.

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68. National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association, "Analysis of Quantities Requirements in Teacher Education Programs of 294 Colleges and Universities," *The Education of Teachers: Curriculum Programs,* report of the Kansas Conference (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1959), pp. 173-92.

69. *Ibid.*

70. L. O. Andrews and R. R. Palmer, "The Education of the Elementary School Teacher," *The Education of Teachers: New Perspectives,* report of the Second Bowling Green Conference, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1958), pp. 322-29.

71. Morris L. Cogan, "Professional Requirements in Collegiate Processes for the Preparation of High School Teachers," *The Education of Teachers: New Perspectives,* a publication of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Education Association (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1958), pp. 317-21.

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Appendix A

PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ACCREDITATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

(Adopted April 27-29, 1951, by the Temporary Committee[1]; amended at the meeting on September 22, 1951)

I. Goals to be Achieved by National Council.

A. Recognition of teaching as a major profession[2]

B. Provision by all institutions preparing personnel for this profession of programs, facilities, and other resources adequate to insure professional competence. Ability to achieve these goals within a reasonable time depends upon:

1. Clear designation of agencies responsible for legal accreditation and certification in the states and also of a representative voluntary agency to develop professional standards for all programs of teacher education.

2. Organization to insure full participation of the profession and laymen in the formulation of policies for accreditation and improvement of programs of teacher education.

3. Development of general public opinion in support of professional status for education.

II. Functions to be Served by National Council

A. To formulate standards for teacher preparation through continuous research and through consideration of the recommendations of all organizations concerned with the improvement of the preparation of teachers.

B. To devise ways and means of evaluating institutional programs of teacher education by the application of these standards on the request of an institution, or state authority responsible for the accreditation desired by the institution.

C. To publish lists of institutions accredited by this Council.

III. Membership of National Council

The Council shall be composed of 21 members to serve for three-year terms, no individual serving for more than two consecutive terms. Members of the Council shall be appointed as follows, each organization to arrange for the expiration of the terms of an equal number of its appointees each year.

A. *Legal state education agencies.* The National Council of Chief State School Officers shall name three members; the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification shall name three members.

B. *Practitioners.* The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards shall name six members, broadly representative of the profession in the field.

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[1] Members included representatives of American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, National Council of Chief State School Officers, and National School Boards Association.

[2] Teaching is to be interpreted broadly as the professional group.

C. *Teacher-education institutions.* The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education shall name six members, broadly representative of institutions engaged in teacher education.

D. *Boards of Education.* The National School Boards Association shall name three members.

IV. Proposed Transitional Steps in the Activation of National Council

The Temporary Committee proposes:

A. That target dates be established to achieve approval of the proposed National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education on or before March 1, 1953 and to achieve a beginning of its operations on or before January 1, 1954.

B. That until January 1, 1954, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education shall continue its work as a national accrediting agency based upon the concept of education as a major profession and make available its accreditation services to all teacher preparing institutions which desire such services.

C. That the legal accrediting agencies of the respective states continue to improve their standards for approval of institutions of teacher education.

D. That the program of all organizations directed toward development of education as a major profession be encouraged and strengthened.

E. That a subcommittee of the Temporary Committee explore sources of funds for the initial operations of the Council and report the results of such explorations to the Temporary Committee from time to time and recommend tentative plans for financing the continuing operation of the Council.

F. That the present Temporary Committee, pending approval of the formation of the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education by the National Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, and the National School Boards Association, offer its services in an advisory capacity to the previously named organizations and others concerned with preparation of professional personnel in education.

G. That (1) the above proposals serve as a basis for study and consideration by the previously mentioned organizations; (2) that the several members of the Temporary Committee lay the proposals before their organizations; (3) that reports of progress and of action and suggested modifications of the proposal be made from time to time to the Secretary of the Temporary Committee.

Appendix B

EXCERPTS FROM ADDRESS BY W. EARL ARMSTRONG, DIRECTOR OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ACCREDITATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION, ASSOCIATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS, FEBRUARY 24, 1955, CITING CHARGES BY OPPONENTS OF NCATE

1. *There is no need for a national accrediting agency for teacher education because state and regional accreditation are adequate for this field.*

This issue is placed first because it is basic to the whole problem. Everyone who has followed developments in this field knows that state accreditation generally is not adequate to provide the guarantees necessary. The Council is helping and will continue to help the states improve their standards and procedures, but it knows that for many years in most states the list of institutions with state approval will be much larger than the list that merits national recognition. With reference to the regional associations, the answer is just as obvious. They have wisely confined their accrediting activities to general accrediting and there seems to be no tendency for them to enter professional accreditation in any field.

The position of the Council is clear and firm on this issue. It believes that there is a need for a national accrediting body for the teaching profession just as there is a need for national accrediting bodies for other professions such as law, engineering, and the health professions. It believes also that the regional associations have not and should not point to accreditation of teaching education, just as they have not pointed to accreditation of institutions and programs for the other professions. The teaching profession sees no good reason for making teacher education the single professional program not accredited by a national body of its own choosing. There is a place for the regionals and a place for the Council, and cooperation beyond mere peaceful coexistence is not only possible but highly desirable.

Once you pass this issue of whether a national council is called for, most of the criticisms of the Council relate to its organization. The next two to be presented are very closely related but distinct enough to justify separate treatment.

2. *An accrediting body should be governed by and responsible to the institutions affected by it.*

This implies, of course, that the Council is to be criticized because its policies cannot be controlled completely by the institutions accredited by it.

Voluntary accrediting bodies constitute the American method of self-discipline among institutions of higher learning. This method is a substitute for government control which is the practice in most other countries. As this pattern has emerged in the United States, an appropriate distinction has been made between the relation of general accrediting bodies of the institutions affected by them. The pattern of control of general accrediting bodies such as the regional associations has been, and is, through some form of institutional representation. This has come about because: (1) these general accrediting bodies pass on the general excellence of the institutions such as the administration, the financial security, the general facilities, the salary scale, the qualifications of the faculty, and the general quality of instruction; (2) the total faculties of institutions are assumed to represent adequately the concern for general excellence, which is what the general accrediting associations are evaluating; and (3) these institutions are confined to a geographical region which makes institutional participation in policy formulation easy.

The pattern of control of professional accrediting bodies such as NCATE has been quite different in these respects: (1)

The groups that have a valid concern for standards in the specialized areas are readily identifiable; and (2) the institutions concerned are scattered over a wide geographical area thus making institutional cooperation difficult. The practitioners of any profession are obviously interested in the standards of preparation for those who will later join them. Both the quality of service which they can render and the status of all their members are at stake. The consumers of the product, whether it be business, industry, or the designated representatives of the public, are also properly interested in the quality of preparation for that profession. Likewise, the legal agencies, where such exist, are rightly concerned with the quality lying back of the quantitative requirements which they administer. All of these groups as well as the institutions themselves are represented on the Council.

Let us examine the Council with respect to this issue of *institutional representation* in comparison with some of the other major professional accrediting bodies whose structures seem to be acceptable. The Council has six institutional representatives in a total of twenty-one (2/7); Pharmacy, three in ten (3/10); Engineering, none in twenty-four (this is not to say that all 24 are without institutional affiliation); Dentistry, three in nine (1/3); and Architecture, two in six (1/3). Most of the others either have no fixed number from institutions or do not provide specifically for institutional representation. The Council, by comparison, therefore, seems to provide adequately for institutional representation. The Council would find it easier to consider this objection at face value if the same groups now objecting to it had not also objected to AACTE which was entirely institutional in official representation.

3. *Legal bodies should not be officially represented on national accrediting agencies.*

This objection is obviously aimed at the six representatives on the Council from state departments of education. Apparently, this is regarded as a serious defect of the Council by its critics because it has been pointed out by two of the regional associations, by representatives of the Association of American Colleges, and by the National Commission on Accrediting. The regional associations have not apparently found this practice objectionable within their own organizations as evidenced by the inclusion of state department of education members on many of their policy committees. Why should the representation of legal bodies be good for regional associations and so bad for the Council?

Before entering into a consideration of the merits of this objection, let us look at the Council in comparison with some of the other professional accrediting bodies from the standpoint of legal representation. The Council has six in twenty-one (2/7); Engineering, three in twenty-four (1/8); Dentistry, three in nine (1/3); and Pharmacy, three in ten (3/10). These legal representatives are in three other professional accrediting bodies and, the Council thinks, appropriately so. Yet these accrediting bodies appear on a list which denotes tacit approval by the National Commission on Accrediting while questions are being raised about the Council.

Appendix C

RESPONSE OF T. M. STINNETT TO NCATE CRITICS IN THE SIXTEENTH YEARBOOK OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF COLLEGES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION (1963)

The best answer to the future, concerning policy-making controls, seems to be found in the history of other professions. Without exception the predominant (in fact, almost the exclusive) influence in the lifting of standards and status for the respective professions has been that of three groups: (1) the licensing authorities; (2) the professional associations of practitioners; and (3) the association of professional schools.

We ought to remind ourselves that this great association (AACTE) of professional schools (and its predecessors) has been for almost a century the bearer of the one clear, distinct, and unwavering light searching out the road, despite resistances or indifferences and even contempt, to respectable academic and professional standards for the education of teachers. . . . In 1946, the fledgling NCTEPS became a sympathetic torch bearer; and NASDTEC, a more or less moribund organization in its earlier years, began to make its great influence felt at the national level about the same time; and in 1948 the Council of Chief State School Officers, under the vigorous leadership of Edgar Fuller, began to take a new and aggressive posture toward raising the standards of teacher education.

This is a perfectly natural and logical fact of life, and I expect it to continue to operate. These are the groups with a direct concern; or if one wishes to express it harshly, these are the groups with a vested interest. . . . To argue as many sincere people do, that NCATE should somehow be divorced from these three groups and responsibility lodged exclusively in institutions educating teachers is to forget recent history. How short is our memory? Have we forgotten that that is precisely the process we had from 1927 to 1952? Have we forgotten that when AATC developed in 1923 the first accrediting standards for teacher education, not a single regional accrediting association would permit a teachers college to dilute the pure stream of its membership? Have we forgotten that in 1927 when AATC began accrediting teachers colleges, only then did the North Central Association relent and begin accrediting teachers colleges? Have we forgotten that a plea for admission of teachers colleges lay pigeonholed before the Middle State Association for 47 years (from 1887 to 1934) before favorable action was taken? Have we forgotten that only in the last decade, or since NCATE was formed, has the Eastern States Association admitted teachers colleges to membership? And above all, have we forgotten the disdain which the vast majority of institutions engaging in teacher education exhibited toward the accrediting process exclusively sponsored by institutions for a quarter of a century? Is it a return now to a process as ineffective as to be meaningless? Is it the weakness of NCATE or its strength that impels the suggestion for a new structure? We ask again, How short are our memories?

To argue, as many sincere people do, that NCATE should somehow be divorced from these three groups and responsibility lodged exclusively in institutions educating teachers is to ignore accepted practices in most other professions. Of some 23 major professions with recognized national professional accrediting processes, about 12 maintain joint councils of one kind or another including representatives of the practitioners, the professional schools, and in several instances licensing boards.

Appendix D

NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR ACCREDITATION OF TEACHER EDUCATION

CONSTITUTION

(In full effect and without overt
opposition since March 31, 1966)

ARTICLE I

NAME, PURPOSE, AND PRINCIPLES OF OPERATION

Section A

This organization shall be known as the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, hereinafter referred to as the Council.

Section B

The purpose of the Council shall be the accreditation of college and university programs of teacher education in the United States.

Section C

The Council shall seek to accomplish this purpose essentially through the application of standards to programs of teacher education. The work of the Council will include:

1. Adoption of standards and continuing development of policies and procedures for accreditation;
2. Establishment of channels through which the constituent organizations, teacher education institutions, and other groups may recommend changes in Council policies, standards, and procedures;
3. Determination of accreditation of programs of teacher education;
4. Annual publication of a list of institutional programs of teacher education accredited by the Council, together with the institutions in which they are located;
5. Establishment of an appeals board to hear institutional appeals from decisions of the Council;
6. Adoption and amendment of bylaws by a majority vote of a quorum at any official meeting.

Section D

The Council will refrain from developing, between itself and the institutions it accredits, organic relationships comparable to those generally found in membership organizations which carry on accrediting functions.

ARTICLE II

CONSTITUENT ORGANIZATIONS AND COORDINATING BOARD

Section A

The constituent organizations of the Council shall be:

1. The American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE)
2. The Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO)
3. The National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC)
4. The National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards of the National Education Association (NCTEPS)
5. The National School Boards Association (NSBA)

Section B

The constituent organizations shall exercise their responsibilities for accreditation of teacher education by:

1. Participating in the development of Council policy and procedures. budg-

etary review and constitutional changes through their Coordinating Board as indicated in Section C of this Article.

2. Naming members and providing consultants to the Council.
3. Providing financial support for the operation of the Council.

Section C

A Coordinating Board of the constituent organizations (hereinafter referred to as the Board) is hereby established and shall be composed of sixteen (16) members selected in a manner and for terms of office determined by their respective constituent organizations.

1. *Membership:* The membership of the Board shall be constituted as follows:
    a. 7 members to be selected by the AACTE
    b. 3 members to be selected by the NCTEPS
    c. 2 members to be selected by the CCSSO
    d. 2 members to be selected by the NASDTEC
    e. 2 members to be selected by the NSBA
    f. The Chairman and the Director of the Council shall be *ex-officio* consultants to the Board.
2. *Voting:* The voting of the Board shall be constituted as follows:
    a. 7 voting members for the AACTE
    b. 3 voting members for the NCTEPS
    c. 1 voting member (and one alternate) for the CCSSO
    d. 1 voting member (and one alternate) for the NASDTEC
    e. 1 voting member (and one alternate) for the NSBA
    f. Actions of the Board shall be taken by no less than a three fourths (3/4) majority vote.
3. *Functions*: The Board shall exercise all the functions of the constituent organizations with respect to accreditation of teacher education by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education not reserved to those organizations by Section B of Article II, Articles VII and VIII of this Constitution, and shall:
    a. Establish its own procedures within the limits set by this Constitution.
    b. Review the operations of the Council and receive an annual budget presented by the Council, and establish an amount of financial support to be provided by or through the constituent organizations, or from other sources, for the operations of the Council. Within the total amount of funds available, the Council shall determine the allocations of funds to its operation.
    c. Establish procedures for the selection of three members of the Council on a rotation basis from among learned societies in order to assure membership on the Council over a period of time of scholars from the various disciplines involved in the education of teachers.
    d. Review biennially the policies and bylaws of the Council.
    e. Approve changes in the Constitution of the Council.
4. *Meetings*: The Board shall hold an annual meeting and such other meetings as may be called by the Chairman or by petition of eight (8) or more members. Expenses for attendance of voting members at meetings shall be paid by their respective constituent organizations.

Section D

The Council shall consider all proposals from constituent organizations and the Board and set forth in writing its disposition of them.

ARTICLE III

MEMBERSHIP

Section A

This Council shall be composed of

twenty-two (22) members, selected in a manner to be determined by the appointing organization or agency, as follows:

1. Ten (10) by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. These shall be members of college and university staffs broadly representative of the various types of collegiate institutions and staff and faculty positions.
2. Three (3) by learned societies, at least two (2) of whom shall be faculty and staff members from institutions of higher learning. The Board will choose the societies which are to name Council members, rotating the choices so as to assure on the Council, over a period of time, the presence of scholars from the various disciplines involved in the education of teachers.
3. One (1) by the Council of Chief State School Officers (CCSSO).
4. One (1) by the National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification (NASDTEC).
5. One (1) by the National School Boards Association (NSBA).
6. Six (6) by the Executive Committee of the National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards (NCTEPS). These shall be broadly representative of various fields and types of positions in teaching and administration.

Section B

The term of membership shall be three (3) years except for appointees for unexpired terms. Regular terms shall begin on November 1 and end on October 31. Initially, the terms shall be staggered to provide continuity of Council membership.

Section C

No appointee may serve more than two (2) consecutive terms. A term is defined as a full three-year appointment or as the unexpired portion of a term to which he may be appointed.

Section D

Vacancies shall be filled by the appropriate organization or agency.

ARTICLE IV
FINANCE

Section A

The Council shall establish appropriate policies and procedures to provide a financial basis in order to implement its purposes.

Section B

The Council shall present an annual budget to the Board. The Board shall decide the amounts to be sought from each constituent organization and from other sources.

Section C

The Council may, with the approval of the Board, seek support from foundations and other sources to supplement funds provided by the constituent groups. It may, with the approval of the Board, require visitation and/or sustaining fees.

Section D

Within the limits of the resources assured by the Board and by other sources, the Council shall adopt and administer its own budget.

Section E

The Council shall make an annual financial report to the Board within a reasonable time after the close of each fiscal year.

ARTICLE V

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES

Section A

The officers of the Council shall be a Chairman and a Vice Chairman. The Council shall appoint a Director who shall be the chief administrative officer of the Council and shall serve as Secretary-Treasurer and shall appoint such other staff members as required.

Section B

There shall be an Executive Committee consisting of the Chairman and the Vice Chairman and six (6) additional members elected by the Council. Every constituent organization shall be represented on the committee. At least four (4) members of the committee shall be representatives of colleges and universities.

Section C

The Chairman, Vice Chairman, and members of the Executive Committee shall be elected at the annual spring meeting of the Council and shall hold office for a term of one year beginning November 1, or until their successors are elected and take office. The Chairman and the Vice Chairman shall be eligible to succeed themselves once. The term of office for officers and Executive Committee members shall be one year subject to re-election at annual spring meetings. The term shall begin on November 1 and end on October 31.

Section D.

The Chairman shall preside at all meetings of the Council and the Executive Committee and shall enforce the Constitution and Bylaws.

Section E

It shall be the duty of the Vice Chairman to preside over meetings of the Council and the Executive Committee in the absence of the Chairman.

Section F

The Executive Committee shall implement Council policies and transact the business of the Council during the intervals between meetings, and shall prepare and present recommendations to the Council. It may establish other committees to carry out the Council's business.

Section G

The Director shall be the Secretary-Treasurer of the Council. He shall keep complete and accurate records of the proceedings of both the Council and the Executive Committee. He shall transmit to each member of the Council, to the Chairman of the Board, and to the executive officer of each of the five constituent organizations a copy of the minutes of each meeting of the Council and the Executive Committee, and shall report on the status of the budget to the Council and to the Board. He shall be bonded and shall issue checks upon the account of the Council as authorized by the adopted budget.

ARTICLE VI

COUNCIL MEETINGS

Section A

The Council shall meet at least twice each year on dates to be determined by the Executive Committee or the Council.

Section B

Special meetings may be called by the Chairman on approval of the Executive Committee by providing each member of the Council with a written notice.

Section C

Roberts' Rules of Order, Revised, shall govern the meetings of both the Council and the Executive Committee in all matters to which they are applicable and in which they are not inconsistent with the Constitution and Bylaws.

Section D

Thirteen (13) members of the Council shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business at a regular or a special meeting.

ARTICLE VII

STANDARDS

Section A

The Council shall be responsible for the adoption of the standards it applies in the accreditation process.

Section B

Responsibility for carrying on a systematic program of evaluation of standards and development of new and revised standards shall be allocated to the AACTE. The AACTE shall insure the participation of representatives of institutions, organizations and fields of study concerned with teacher education, and the Council. The AACTE shall receive and consider recommendations about existing or revised standards from institutions which prepare teachers and from individuals and organizations concerned with teacher education.

Section C

The Council shall adopt changes (other than editorial) in standards only after consultation with the appropriate representatives of AACTE.

ARTICLE VIII

MEETINGS WITH REPRESENTATIVES OF ACCREDITED INSTITUTIONS AND RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

Section A

The Council shall, through the good offices of the constituent groups, make systematic provision for communication with institutions, organizations, and individuals having a stake in the accreditation of teacher education.

Section B

The AACTE shall assume the responsibility for providing at its annual meetings opportunities for representatives of accredited institutions and other interested institutions and organizations to discuss problems relating to the accreditation of teacher education.

Section C

The constituent groups may collaborate with the Council in holding additional regional or national meetings on accreditation of teacher education.

Section D

The Council shall consider all formal proposals coming from such meetings and make known in writing its disposition of such proposals.

ARTICLE IX

JOINT MEETINGS

A joint meeting of the Council and the Board shall be convened at any time upon the request of three fourths (3/4) of the membership of either organization.

ARTICLE X

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

Section A

Proposals for amending the Constitution, (except as indicated in Section B below), must be approved by at least three fourths (3/4) of the members of the Council and by three fourths (3/4) of the members of the Board.

Section B

If a proposed amendment would eliminate a constituent organization, such amendment shall not become effective unless ratified by that organization.

Chapter 10

Educational Facilities

Thomas C. Holy
Richard F. Tonigan

The subsections on "State Departments of Education" and "U.S. Office of Education" were written by the staff of the Council of Chief State School Officers.

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Educational Facilities

INTRODUCTION

Entwined with American public education at the turn of the century were several predominant socioeconomic developments. The population was increasing at a staggering rate, largely because European immigration continued unabated (1); industrial innovation was creating higher rates of productivity and an income basis for higher standards of living; pragmatist philosophers (e.g., William James, John Dewey) were encouraging educational development of the masses; labor was gaining new social rights and assuming more responsibility for self-direction; the nation's residential population was shifting from rural to urban America; and communication capability was rapidly advancing.

Concurrently, government was responsively moving to deal with the socioeconomic educational problems confronting the growth of the nation; the U.S. Labor Department was formed to aid labor; long-term, financial credit programs were developed to aid farmers; antitrust programs evolved to control the monopolistic growth of industries; educational assistance was provided to meet more of the vocational interests of students; immigration restrictions were imposed to help control the growth of the population and simultaneously the size of the laboring class; and monetary measures were instituted to thwart national financial depression and panics such as those which had occurred in 1873, 1893, 1907, and 1921.

These were years of both unrest and growth, years in which the United States expanded internationally—it acquired Guam, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and the Panama Canal; it engaged in war with Spain over Cuba; it landed troops in Mexico; it mediated the crisis between Japan and Russia; and it displayed extremely sound organizational and financial ability in playing a major role in World War I.

This was the setting of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a period when American public education began to develop dramatically. At this time, hundreds of multistoried, stock-designed school buildings were constructed in the cities, and rural America was also building new facilities for an increasingly diverse educational program. Small rural schools were just beginning to be abandoned, and a move to consolidate small rural school districts began to emerge. Secondary education was beginning to be accepted as a reasonable public expense (2); the upper grades began to demonstrate some holding power. The need for more technologically educated youth was a concomitant of the acceleration of industrial inventions. The likelihood that youth differed in aspirations and attitudinal characteristics was being studied and discussed in the colleges and universities. Experimental school programs had been started at the Laboratory School of the University of Chicago and at the Horace Mann School of Teachers College, Columbia University. The teacher training movement was gaining momentum.

Facilities to house America's schoolchildren increased in number and in quality during the late 1700's and throughout the 1800's. Several principles of design and construction were continued in practice well into the twentieth century. Often these concerns included heating, ventilation, and visual conditions. The source and nature of several of these principles are worthy of illustration.

As early as 1777, Lavoisier, after studying the properties of air in crowded quarters, attributed its poor quality to an excess of carbon dioxide, rather than to a lack of oxygen. This "carbon dioxide-oxygen theory" prevailed for more than 100 years. In 1837, Horace Mann of Massachusetts, a pioneer chief state school officer, noted that little thought had been given to the ventilation of schoolhouses. He found buildings that allowed less than 40 cubic feet of air per person. Mann set up standards of mechanical heating and ventilating, insisting that open doors and windows should not be relied upon as the sole source of building ventilation.

In 1838, Samuel Lewis, the first state superintendent of common schools in Ohio, published, by authority of the state's General Assembly, a broad statement on school buildings almost as relevant at the early part of the twentieth century as at that time. The following are excerpts from this statement:

> A good school house is as necessary to the prosperity of a school as a good dwelling house to the comfort of a family.
>
> A lot should afford unobstructed light and air on all sides. This is much more necessary than is commonly supposed. If the house is dark, and ill ventilated, the children may be expected to be dull, and careless, and disorderly, and probably unhealthy. These rules should be carefully observed, at any pecuniary expense.
>
> Not one school house in a hundred is at all properly constructed; yet this is a matter of primary importance.
>
> It is very common to build school houses too low, and to make the windows still lower. This is a great error; the story should be rather high, especially in towns—ten or twelve feet; and the windows should be well raised from the floor and reach nearly to the ceiling and be so hung that the upper sash can be let down several inches in warm weather. The warm, damp, vitiated air of a low, close room in which 30 or 40 children are confined for several hours, is very hurtful to body and mind.
>
> Windows and doors should be placed at least in three sides of the rooms, in order to give sufficient light and air; and in the fourth side there may be shelves and closets to receive hats, bonnets, outer garments, water vessels, etc.; and likewise books, slates, and any apparatus for illustrating the instructions of the school, when not in use.
>
> Every scholar should have his separated seat, and each seat placed so far from another that there will be room to pass between, and so made that he can sit with either his face or his back to the desk, and it should be firmly fastened to the floor. This can be effected either by having no back to the seat, or, which is much better, making it with a back and to turn on a pivot in the center (3).

In 1854, Henry Barnard, superintendent of common schools in Connecticut, also set up standards for heating and ventilating school buildings, including diagrams of different types of heating plants, movements of air, and ventilation ducts, based on the knowledge of the day. He proposed that in every furnace and on every stove a capacious vessel should be placed, well supplied with fresh water and protected from the dust.

During most of the nineteenth century schools were innovating. Folding doors, sliding partitions, multipurpose rooms, auditoriums, and instructional spaces for large and medium-sized groups appeared in many schoolhouses. Schools of many different capacities existed; in New York City, the capacity varied from 48 to 2,500 pupils in 388 school buildings, while in rural areas it was common to see schools which housed grades 1-8, each with 10 to 20 pupils, all taught by one teacher.

As the nineteenth century drew to a close, school design by laymen gave way to the skill of architects. At first, architects designed classically styled facilities which perhaps brought more attention to architecture than to education. In effect, box-like classrooms were piled together like blocks and encased with marble, limestone, granite, bricks, or wood. The design of exterior details received more attention than the functional needs of teachers and students (4). It was not until the 1920's that major changes in design came to the fore. An affluent America, a high and rising birthrate, new industrial technology, and increased interest in the power of education were contributing national concerns. They gave impetus to the development of broad and complex educational programs and a resulting opportunity for the development of new educational design. The Crow Island School, constructed in the 1930's in Winnetka, Illinois, most dramatically illustrated the departure from previous programs and buildings.

SCHOOL PLANNING SERVICES

In almost every state, the legislature has assigned the authority for approving public school construction to the chief state school officer or the board of education. The duty to furnish the necessary buildings for public schools rests primarily on the state (5). Legislatures have delegated certain responsibilities to local educational agencies as well (6). Each step of the school building program has legal implications and is governed by the terms of statutes (7). These responsibilities reside not only with school officials, but also with other state and local agencies, departments of public safety, and fire marshals. State and local inspectors for plumbing, sanitation, electricity, and safe construction may also become involved. The primary evidence of progressive improvement in the construction of school buildings since 1900 can be inferred from the growing number of fire-resistant structures as opposed to primarily untreated, wooden structures of combustible materials.

Improvements in school construction came as a result of legislative action which ensured building inspection for safety and reviews of educational specifications by departments of education. The reviewing process alone stimulated the efforts and conscience of architects, local school officials, and taxpayers to present better plans for school construction. New Jersey established the first unit for school plant services in 1911; by 1916, Minnesota, New York, and Pennsylvania established units for school plant services. In ten years (1926), there were 10 states with units for school planning. By 1940, departments of education in 22 states had staff members that devoted full-time to school building work (8). The postwar construction boom caused 38 states to provide for school plant services. All the states had someone who rendered school planning services when needed (9). Services varied considerably among the states, but 35 states could furnish guides for planning and designing new school buildings.

Authorization for establishing units for school plant services varied from express statutory mandates to general constitutional authority for educational responsibility. Many departments of education approved all plans, sites, specifications, and could stop construction or withhold funds for constructional deficiencies. Other departments relied on coordinate agencies responsible for enforcement authority of standards for construction, fire, or health to condemn unsafe buildings.

Rating or grading buildings used to be an effective way of improving facilities because many local communities were proud of their schools. The chief state school officer in Connecticut reported improvements in heating, ventilation, and sanitation resulting from the use of standardization (10). In Illinois, the ratings appealed to the pride of the community, school officials, and teachers (11). Iowa initiated the first great effort to prevent children from dropping out of school by condemning obsolete school facilities and ensuring the employment of teachers with more education (12).

During the first year of school rating, 10,000 pieces of equipment were provided in Oregon, where the highest percentage of attendance in the nation was achieved in rural schools (13). Inside sanitary facilities became available in 20 percent of the schools in South Dakota when the state rated the school facilities (14).

Much has been accomplished in many of the areas where standardization ratings were used. Today, however, few departments of education rate the condition of existing school buildings in a state without an invitation from local officials. By statute, planned new construction undergoes vigorous appraisal in most departments of education and coordinating state agencies for health, safety, or fire protection. State inspections, ratings, and dissemination of improved constructional practices in this century have given the nation many outstanding school facilities.

There are approximately 2 million classrooms in use—1.8 million in public and 220,000 in nonpublic school buildings. The 70,000 centralized school libraries comprise the largest number of single-purpose, general-use facilities.

When combinations of facilities are added to single-purpose, general-use facilities, 85,000 auditoriums, 84,000 cafeterias, and 74,000 gymnasiums are provided for our students in public and nonpublic schools.

Language laboratories, science laboratories, art and shop facilities are commonplace in most secondary schools and standard requirements according to the rulings of most departments of education.

- Nearly every high school has a library.
- Over 90 percent of the teachers today have at least four years of college education.
- The average length of school terms is about 180 days.
- Indoor sanitation facilities are generally provided.
- Electricity and fresh water are taken for granted.

Yet, in a survey of public schools conducted in 1965, we still had—

90,000	teachers with less than the standard certification
518,000	children still using outdoor privies
51,000	children attending schools without electricity
185,000	children in schools without water
109,000	academic classrooms less than we needed to eliminate overcrowding, which impaired the education of over 12 million children
141,000	classrooms in buildings with combustible stairways, of which 60,000 additional classrooms are needed to eliminate "oil-soaked" combustible construction built before 1920
232,000	existing classrooms requiring major renovation or remodeling (15).

Acceleration of improvements in school design also resulted from technological advances in materials and improved educational programs for the preparation of architects, engineers, and particularly from a new professional staff member of departments of education in this century —a school plant planner. As states employed school plant officials to review plans, to coordinate inspections, and to establish "standards," construction improved. State standards have now become so outdated that they are easily exceeded. Professional school plant planners and architects continually strive for perfection, limited only by scarcity of funds. Local educators perform their state-delegated roles well by encouraging new functional arrangements within and between instructional spaces. Publications by state and other educational agencies, by the Council of Educational Facilities Planners and other professional groups, and by news media have greatly improved dissemination of new ideas in construction.

Requirements by legislatures that bidding procedures must be adhered to are almost universal, and the lowest "responsible" bidder has reduced costs to some degree and has improved the construction of school facilities. Bids for construction of school facilities must comply with statutory requirements as to form (16) and specifications (17).

Financing limitations on bonded indebtedness, many of which were established by legislatures in the Depression-ridden thirties, still remain to haunt the progress of school construction in 1968. As a result, at least $10 billion is necessary for the backlog of construction required to eliminate overcrowding and obsolescent and unsafe facilities. Overcrowding results from shifting of mobile populations and normal increases in population. The obsolescent and dangerous facilities are principally combustible buildings constructed over 50 years ago.

Initial costs of buildings have increased in direct relation to the inflationary spiral of wages and improvements in construction techniques utilizing fire-resistive materials. As a result, statutory bonding procedures permit local districts to use school buildings while they are paying for them. More and more states are establishing financial aid to local districts to hold down sharp increases in local tax rates to pay for new school construction. The problem is critical in 1968 and will become even worse in the seventies unless new revenues are made available.

Individuals Work for Improvement

In the first decade of this century, school building planning was heavily based on the knowledge and experience which had been acquired by local lay-administrator-school board building committees, although a minor amount of knowledge input was beginning to be made available to school planners by national agencies concerned with population projections, urban growth, and language barriers. Influenced by the number of immigrants pouring into New York, the movement of immigrants inland, high birthrates, the extension of the school to upper-grade levels and the resulting need for many new schools, educators and their boards then began to rely more heavily upon their architects, the planning and design experience of America's expanding colleges and universities, developing interest of a few federal agencies, and the actions of other boards of education. By the beginning of the third decade, the volume of available written resource planning materials had greatly increased and was continuing to grow. Some of the information that school planners sought could now be secured from textbooks; much material could be found in school district survey reports; periodicals were increasing their activity in printing articles; and both individuals and organizations in considerable numbers were sharing their professional facilities planning and management knowledge.

Among the individuals who early contributed heavily to development of the school plant field was Fletcher B. Dresslar. Following service at the Universities of California and Alabama, he was appointed in 1911 to the staff of the U.S. Bureau of Education; from 1912 to 1930 he served as a special agent of the Bureau, with offices in Nashville, and concurrently worked with the George Peabody College for Teachers. There he offered courses to qualify men for leadership in planning and constructing school buildings, including instruction in school hygiene, rural sanitation, planning, and school building service. A strong proponent of educationally oriented architects and architectural services to rural school districts, he was credited with stimulating the founding of the Interstate School Building Service.

A contemporary of Dresslar's in the architectural field, John J. Donovan of Oakland, California, in 1921 cooperated with others in writing a monumental book of 711 pages entitled *School Architecture* (18). Undoubtedly, he was among the first of the nation's architects to realize that the school building is the means to an end rather than an end in itself. He concluded, therefore, that the architect can function best in cooperation with the school people who develop the school program to be housed.

In the light of that conclusion, he utilized the knowledge of not only architects in preparing this book, but also that of school administrators, teachers, college professors, and engineers. It contained illustrative materials and the floor plans of 186 school buildings in 19 states, and for many years it had a profound influence on school building design, planning, and construction. A contributor to the book, Frank

Irving Cooper, a Boston architect and chairman of the Committee on Standardization of School Buildings, assisted the committee in developing a "candle of efficiency," based on the actual measurements of 80 school buildings. From these data, the committee set standards for the distribution of all of a school's floor space using six categories: (1) walls and partitions, (2) flues, (3) stairs and corridors, (4) accessories, (5) instruction (which should not be less than 50 percent of the total building floor space), and (6) administration. These guidelines were used extensively before World War II, particularly those guidelines related to the percentage of floor area to be utilized for instructional activities.

In the years following 1925, significant contributions were made to the school plant field by several professors and administrators at Teachers College, Columbia University. N. L. Engelhardt, a professor of education who later became assistant superintendent of schools in the New York City public school system, was the most prolific. One of an illustrious family of school managers and educational planners, Engelhardt authored and edited numerous school planning and school business management publications with several associates, but especially with George D. Strayer, another Teachers College professor, and Fred Engelhardt of the University of Minnesota (19).

Engelhardt's facility planning and managing successor at Teachers College was one of his students, Henry H. Linn, a Teachers College graduate who had been assistant superintendent in charge of business affairs for the Muskegon, Michigan, public school district. From 1934 to 1962, Linn became the outstanding national figure concerned with the operation, maintenance, and insurance of school buildings. Dedicated to the development of educationally functional school plants, he placed special emphasis on long-range planning and the economy of both design and operation (20).

The writings of these men, along with others in institutions of higher education, clearly illustrate in their bibliographies the limited scope and nature of educational information that was available for facilities planners and managers during the first quarter of this century. The primary historical source appears to have been school surveys and agency bulletins.

In later years, two Teachers College administrators, Thad L. Hungate (21), controller and later professor of education, and Richard F. Tonigan (22), plant manager and assistant to Hungate, wrote of their concerns for improving business management in the nation's schools and colleges.

As might be expected, the writings of Linn and Hungate reflect reaction to the results of their intimate experience with facilities management during the years of the Depression. Their writings placed emphasis upon economy of design and operation, a popular topic of the period from 1930 to 1950. It was not until the end of World War II, when prosperity had firmly returned to the United States, that the planning and building of schools began to repeat the school building boom of the 1920's. The return of war veterans and a gradual and continuing rise in the birthrate from its all-time low in 1938-39 to the high point attained in the early 1960's were major contributing factors in the nation's renewed interest in school planning. Arlington County, Virginia, a "bedroom" community of Washington, D.C., was recognized as one of the most active school districts, signaling the resurgence of building of new schools for American youth.

As a result of building inactivity during the years from 1930 to 1945, the United States fell far behind in planning, constructing, and rehabilitating schools. Despite considerable increase, both nationally and locally, in the amount of money spent and the number of educational facilities units constructed, the U.S. Office of Education repeatedly reported in the 1950's and 1960's the existence of a large school building backlog at the elementary and secondary levels. This report represented the current building backlog as 519,300 classrooms (938,000,000 square feet of floor space to adequately house 12,208,000 pupils). It was stated that these facilities were needed to eliminate makeshift classrooms, defective buildings, defective sites, and to lower the pupil/room ratios (23).

State departments of education increasingly retained employees in school plant housing sections; many became good planners, including such men in the 1950 decade as William Clapp of Michigan, Frank Gilson of New York, John Cameron of North Carolina, Charles Gibson of California, and A. L. Beck of Washington. In the following decade some of the above men continued to serve, and new members joined their ranks, including George J. Collins in New Mexico and Massachusetts, Cleve Westby in New Jersey, and Carroll McGuffey and Harold Cramer in Florida.

It is interesting to note how a representative sample of other school planners performed service in several categories of employment, all related to school plant planning. Anthony Adinolfi, assistant superintendent in charge of school facilities for Detroit in the late 1950's later became director of the gigantic New York State University Construction Fund, an organization with a building program approaching $2 billion. James Thrasher, first director of the school plant planning laboratory and then dean of the School of Education at the University of Montana, later became director of the Rocky Mountain Regional Laboratory, president of the Council of Educational Facility Planners, and director of the Institute of Educational Management at the United States International University. John Cameron left the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction to become the head of the Construction Services Division in the U.S. Office of Education and served a term as president of the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction. Many professors doubled as school planners. Included at various periods between 1960 and 1968 were Professors Merle Stoneman of the University of Nebraska; Merle Sumption of the University of Illinois; Henry H. Linn of Teachers College, Columbia University; Wallace Strevell of the University of Houston; Paul Seagers of Indiana University; Donald Leu, Floyd Parker, and Dick Featherstone, all of Michigan State University; Russell Wilson of the University of Michigan; Harold Moore of Arizona State; Richard F. Tonigan of the University of New Mexico; and Arnold Tjomsland of Washington State University.

Four educators who performed the outstanding service of inspiring both curriculum and facility planners to be more creative were J. Lloyd Trump, author of a plan directed toward getting the teachers out of the way of learners; Archibald Shaw, superintendent of schools, Scarsdale, New York, who co-authored the Random Falls Idea, a revolutionized concept of diversified curriculum and facilities; Walter Cocking, who wrote, lectured, and edited the *School Executive* magazine for Buttenheim Corporation; and Harold Gores, head of the Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc. These four educators excelled in stimulating educational planners with their far-sighted proposals for modernizing physical provisions for teaching and learning.

During the 1950-68 period, many architects, some of whom were in private practice and others employees of institutions and agencies, established themselves as thoughtful school planners. Early arrivals to the group included William Caudill of Texas, John McCloud of the District of Columbia, Larry Perkins and William Brubaker of Chicago, George Wright of California, and Stanley Sharp of New York. Toward the end of this period, a large number of architects also became prominent in the field of school planning. This group included such men as Alan Green of Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute; Spender Cone, chairman of the American Institute of Architect's Committee on School and University Architecture in 1968; John Shaver, a Kansas architect who brought a new fluidity to school design in the 1960's; Joseph St. Cyr of Michigan; Warren Ashby of Connecticut; William Corbett of California; and many others. A number of these architects participated in presenting lectures and workshops at universities throughout the country.

Although there were relatively few school planning consultants available during the 1930-55 period, the experience gained in the school boom that started in the late 1940's produced many such experts. By the hundreds, professors, leading educational practitioners, architects, and federal and state employees specializing in school plant were commissioned to provide both short- and long-term consultative advice and technical assistance to the U.S. Office of Education, to state and local school boards, to other affiliated personnel or agencies of schools, and to related industry. This field service consultation has had great and lasting impact on thousands of planning, research, and building programs. It has been of sufficient volume to cause the expansion of older, as well as the development of a number of new, private educational planning organizations. Best known in the former category has been the firm of Engelhardt, Engelhardt, & Leggett of New York, and perhaps the best known among the most recently developed firms has been McConnell, Davis and Ralston of California. Most of the men mentioned in this chapter have frequently functioned as school planning consultants in the United States, and many in other countries.

Educational Surveys

The local school survey has been a very significant development in the school plant field. Jesse B. Sears, a survey pioneer, defined the technique as follows:

> As developed so far, the school survey is a research procedure applied to a school or school system, or to a group of either, in whole or in part, the purpose of which is to evaluate the service and to propose and explain alterations or extensions by which the service may be improved. At the outset emphasis was upon evaluation; this was promptly changed, however, and the survey has been developed as an instrument for improving schools (24).

Boise, Idaho, conducted its first survey in 1910, and others followed. For example: Baltimore in 1911, New York City in 1912, Portland in 1913, St. Louis in 1939, New York's Great Neck in 1948, ad infinitum. These were called "comprehensive surveys" because they included detailed studies of the major divisions within a school system—enrollment, instruction, personnel, finance, and school plant. Since this section deals only with school physical facilities, further discussion is limited to this aspect.

The practice of carefully analyzing school plants and possible future enrollments, generally guided or conducted by university or private firm consultants, grew rapidly. Not only did such surveys deal with inventorying existing plants and estimating enrollments, they also examined financial status, with particular attention being given to bonding capacity, bonded indebtedness, and tax rates.

Score Cards. The need for some measuring instrument with as much objectivity as possible became obvious quite early. Only in this way could it be determined satisactorily that individual buildings were suitable for continued use for school purposes.

In 1910, George D. Strayer of Teachers College, Columbia University, another pioneer in the school survey movement, published a score card for evaluating school buildings. In succeeding years he, with his colleague N. L. Engelhardt, developed and refined this technique for evaluating school buildings, with the inclusion of a set of standards to fit these score cards.

Additional score cards were developed by others, such as Julian E. Butterworth, P. R. Stevenson, E. J. Asbaugh, T. C. Holy, Henry Linn, Felix McCormick, and W. E. Arnold.

These score cards were based on 1,000 points for a so-called "perfect" elementary school building and included subdivisions on sites, building, academic classrooms, general service rooms, and service systems, with maximum scores for each.

Score cards for secondary schools had two additional subdivisions for special classrooms and administrative rooms. Specifically, the purpose of the score cards was to determine whether or not a building should be abandoned, rehabilitated, or accepted as satisfactory. Five categories of scores were allotted to buildings: excellent, good, fair, poor, and very poor. It was generally assumed that a building scoring 500 points or less should be abandoned. The range of scores given elementary school buildings in Louisville in 1943 ranged from 885 to 394 points. Of the 50 elementary school buildings scored, 27 had scores of less than 500.

After 1920, such score cards were used extensively. Although the standards which accompanied them were not highly objective, they did, and still do, serve a very useful purpose in classifying the school buildings within a given school district.

Estimates of Enrollments. Two of the basic components in any school building survey are current and estimated enrollment and the utilization of the existing plant.

Over the years, several methods of predicting future school enrollments have been developed and widely used. These include the use of total population, the use of analysis and analogy, the application of straight-line progression, the multiple-factor method, the employment of the Bell Telephone method, and cumulative percentages of survivors in school. The latter method has been widely used, particularly since 1940. That method, as applied in 1947, has been explained as follows:

> Take the actual number of resident births in the school district between the years 1934 thru 1946. Those born in the years 1934 to 1940 would become six years of age in the years 1940 to 1946, and should, therefore, be enrolled in school during those years for which actual enrollments are now known. For each of these years calculate the percent of survivorship between the number of births and the enrollment in the first grade of the public schools for the known years, which in this case would be 1940 to 1946. Take the average of the percents for the known years and apply it to the actual number of births which occurred during 1940 to 1946 to get the estimated enrollments in the first grade for the years 1946 to 1952 during which time those children born between 1940 and 1946 would enter school.
>
> In a similar manner calculate the percent of survivorship from Grade I to Grade II and so on and apply those to the known figures to get estimates in the years immediately ahead. In this connection, it should be remembered that children born during 1940 thru 1946 will enter school during the years 1946 thru 1952 and will affect the total school enrollment twelve years beyond the latest day of entry, that is, from 1952 thru the year 1964 (25).

This use of this technique by the Bureau of Educational Research of The Ohio State University over a period of several years allowed opportunity to check its accuracy. Generally, it was found to be reasonably accurate. One of the troublesome items in making such projections is how to deal with in- and out-migration in the district. By using each grade enrollment for a given year as the basis for providing the next year's enrollment in that grade, that item is automatically dealt with.

One of the methods mentioned above was to relate school enrollment to total population by applying a percent to the total estimated population for several years ahead. In 1940, a population study on a nationwide basis used a series of assumptions regarding fertility rate, mortality rate, and emigration rate, concluding that the 1940 population would increase to 144 million by 1950, and that the total population would continue to increase at reduced rates to 1985, when it would reach 165,385,000 (26).

To show the inaccuracy of these estimates, made by two distinguished men in the population field, note that in 1967 the Census Bureau estimated that the total population of the United States was approximately 200 million, or about 40 million more than predicted in this study through the year 2,000. Certainly the lesson to be drawn is that long-range estimates need to be continually checked.

For many years, the Bell Telephone Company has followed the practice that no money actually be spent for expansion until all study findings have been carefully reviewed. That is a sound practice for school boards as well as a commercial organization.

Utilization of School Buildings. One of the complaints frequently heard, particularly when school bond issues are to be voted, is that the present school plant is poorly used. This raises questions of how the actual use of school buildings can be measured accurately and what reasonable standards for such use are. The first question lends itself to a statistical approach, including actual room use during the school day and the degree to which occupation of the rooms is at capacity. These are designated as room and pupil-station use.

In 1927, Edgar L. Morphet developed a formula for measuring the use of instructional space (27). It was based on a careful analysis of the use of 58 junior and senior high school buildings with enrollments ranging from 80 to 3,365, all of which were regarded as overcrowded. By application of this formula, percentage of room and pupil-station use is calculated on the basis of 100 percent representing the use of every room at full capacity for every period of the school day.

The principal purpose of studying utilization of any school building is to determine whether it is overcrowded. A second purpose is to ascertain the additional number of pupils the building might accommodate. Both of these purposes imply a definite capacity against which overload or underload can be measured. Unfortunately, there is no absolute measure of capacity, especially in a junior or senior high school. In an elementary school with a fixed pupil-teacher ratio, the capacity was long regarded as the ratio times the number of regular classrooms. In a high school, even in 1930, the program did not lend itself to that simple formula. In practice, the capacity of a high school building was seldom, if ever, realized because the size of classes could not be controlled and some leeway had to be allowed for program making. All school buildings, whether elementary or secondary, have become more difficult to measure for percentage of utilization, since the furniture and even the walls have become increasingly movable.

What does constitute satisfactory room and pupil-station use in such buildings, and when is a building overcrowded? A general answer to the second part of this question is that a building is overcrowded when the effectiveness of the instructional program suffers because of the overload of pupils. Just when that point has been reached is difficult to determine. In a large city school, built to house a maximum enrollment of 1,800 pupils, it was necessary to increase the enrollment to 2,900 during construction of another building. Although the administration of the school was greatly distressed with the heavy pupil load, it was unable to give objective evidence, after continued effort, that the quality of education was lowered because of this overload of more than 60 percent.

The question of what constitutes satisfactory use of a school building cannot be answered objectively. The best answer that can now be given is that of judgment based on current practice. In larger schools, a room use of 80 to 85 percent and a pupil-station use of 65 to 70 percent are regarded as reasonable standards to be attained. In small high schools, where class size is less subject to control, the pupil-station use is somewhat lower.

Survey Personnel. To carry on the work of the early pioneers in the school survey area, it was necessary to train other persons for this responsibility. Teachers College, Columbia University, as early as 1915-16, offered a course in this field; Stanford University offered a similar one in

1918. Such courses have greatly increased during the intervening years, and many textbooks have been written in this field.

With the broad expansion of public school programs since 1910, school systems have employed more technically trained people. Among these are educational consultants and school plant specialists. The consultants aid in determining the educational program to be offered, and the plant specialists contribute to the calculation of the space requirements for that program. Then architects and engineers translate these requirements into building plans and specifications that permit the contractor to build the structure.

Personnel for school building surveys are usually recruited entirely by the board's own staff, or entirely by outside personnel, or by some combination of these methods. A cooperative combination is most likely to get best results. State department of education staff members and city regional planners frequently participate in such surveys.

Concern for reorienting the school's role in the community has been an emerging development in the late 1960's. Sociologists and other behavioral scientists seemingly have come to the conclusion that schools are only one of many institutions operating in American communities, and although the schools play a major role, it is not the only dominant role, and it is not a role which is to be exercised far afield from other major community concerns. Thus it appears increasingly evident that colleges and universities with colleges of education and departments of educational administration will educate the public school administrators in the politics of education and sociological implications of educational policy. This concern for appropriate sociological development will, no doubt, increasingly affect the school survey and school utilization and all major aspects of school activity. In the area of school planning in larger, urban-type settings, the school planner is not going to be the only planner, and often not the dominant planner. There will be urban, county, community, federal, and highway planners, and a large number of other specialists cooperating with what we have known as educational and school plant planners.

State Departments of Education

State department of education activities in the field of school facilities began concurrently with their establishment. Gideon Hawley became superintendent of common schools for New York state in 1813; similar positions were assumed by Horace Mann in Massachusetts in 1837 and by Henry Barnard in Connecticut in 1838. School buildings were among the most critical of their concerns, as they were for those who followed as chief state school officers in other states throughout the nineteenth century. These officers persuaded local communities to build and maintain schools for many decades during which the curriculum was elementary and most pupils left school after finishing the eighth grade, if not before.

When high schools began to serve the needs of a more complex society, the need for more comprehensive schoolhouse planning, construction, and management became apparent, and the states entered the field on the basis of legal authority and staff work.

Many states became very active in these ways by 1900, when school buildings had become key factors in local school district organization. Unfortunately, no accurate nationwide census of local school districts was taken until 1937, when nearly 128,000 were counted. It had been estimated that in 1900 there were perhaps 200,000 such districts. It is clear that, although the population was increasing rapidly, the movement toward fewer and larger schools began soon after 1900 and has continued since that time. At present, there are probably no more than 20,000 local educational agencies within which public schools were operated, and the number is decreasing each year. Local school structure was maintained in perhaps 2,000 other small districts, but only to conduct the transportation and tuition functions necessary to send pupils to operating schools in other districts. Surprisingly enough, there was more ferment in 1968 over breaking up a few very large city districts into smaller units than there was over new programs of consolidation.

The early state laws mandated standards to meet specific needs in regard to school facilities, following the pragmatic patterns of state action in other areas of education. As the number of specific requirements increased, however, they became confusing and quickly obsolescent because they were not adaptable enough to apply under ever-changing circumstances. The result was that within a few years general legal responsibility to regulate school facilities was specifically vested in state departments of education, or inferred from their general authority to supervise public schools. These responsibilities called for flexible administrative rulemaking, which became a function of the state board of education, the chief state school officer, or both.

In 1948, the National Council of Chief State School Officers sponsored a study to develop a guide for nationwide use in planning rural community school buildings. Professor Frank W. Cyr of Teachers College, Columbia University, and his colleague Henry H. Linn conducted the study and in 1949 published their report (28).

This report reveals many of the concerns of the post-World War II period in the field of school facilities. It featured floor plans for both elementary and secondary rural schools, with drawings of the schools, sites, classrooms, and special facilities. Surprisingly enough, many of the viewpoints of the authors appear to be applicable today. Buildings should be functional, flexible, and adaptable to multiple uses. Planning should be concentrated on anticipating the probable changes in school programs to meet rapidly changing educational needs, and school housing should facilitate such changes. The floor plans illustrated were not intended to be uniform in application, but were presented only as starting points for adaptation to the individual needs of each school program at the time and for the foreseeable future. Among the illustrations, drawings were used from state departments in New York, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, Tennessee, Connecticut, Mississippi, Maine, West Virginia, Pennsylvania, Oklahoma, California, and Alabama. Architects included the famed Walter Bogner of Harvard, who had for years been interested in teaching school architecture, Eliel and Eero Saarinen, and leading firms of practicing specialists in school architecture of those years.

The state departments gave special attention to their school plants during the 1951-55 period because of their participation in the national survey of school facilities. Their school facilities staffs were augmented. Their statewide surveys constituted the most comprehensive state-by-state planning ever undertaken on a nationwide basis. Tentative plans for a nationwide federal-state program of school construction were in view as the school facilities needs of each state were detailed. The documentation on this survey is contained in the section of this chapter on the U.S. Office of Education.

Just as all state departments of education were involved in the Cyr-Linn study, the Office of Education team of Nelson Viles and Ray Hamon responded to the request of the National Council of Chief State School Officers and its designated developer of state educational policies, the Council's Study Commission, in conducting a status study of state school plant services in 1955. They found that all state departments provided some school plant services, although there were wide variations in the amounts of state assistance given local educational agencies in planning school facilities. State departments also varied in their regulations, but most were legally responsible for approval of local school building plans (29).

In 1958, the Council of Chief State School Officers published a policy statement prepared by its Study Commission on the basis of the Viles-Hamon status study, other literature, advice of expert consultants, and their own experience in the state departments of education throughout the country (30). It urged that all state departments provide leadership in school plant planning and services. The areas of responsibility specifically recommended for action included surveys and comprehensive long-range planning; local plant surveys; administration of school plants; functional planning services; school plant design service; planning, remodeling, rehabilitation and modernization programs for school facilities; supervision and approval of construction plans from the state department; and information services about community and state programs for school facilities.

Rejection of General Federal Aid for School Facilities. Congress continued to reject general school construction aid in 1956 and 1957. In addition to the opposition of ineligible private schools, there was even stronger opposition in 1956 from Chairman Adam Clayton Powell of the House Education Committee and other civil rights proponents who feared that federal construction aid would entrench racial segregation (31). In 1957, the civil rights and private school opposition continued, and opponents of federal aid in principle joined in defeating a similar bill by a narrow margin (32).

Disagreements about formulas for distribution of federal funds to the states were also a factor in the defeat of general construction aid bills, a field in which most states tend to influence their Congressional delegations largely according to how each proposed formula affects them individually. The 1956 bill (H.R. 7535) favored federal sharing of construction costs in needy districts to be selected by the states themselves, with a per-school-age pupil distribution of federal funds to the states. The Eisenhower Administration's 1956 bill (S. 2905) proposed a steep equalization provision in the federal distribution *among* the states. Another proposal would have merely returned one percent of federal taxes collected in each state and of course provided no equalization at all (33).

The Soviet Union resolved the legislative impasse in Congress when it launched Sputnik in October 1957. It gave Congress a politically popular alternative to all general school construction proposals. The National Defense Education Act was passed on September 2, 1958, with federal funds as incentives for educational concentration on science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, guidance and counseling, and other areas considered to be American answers to Sputnik. The state departments concentrated their attention on their administrative responsibilities to implement the new laws. Some groups of professionals had at last received federal aid to assist in well deserved promotion of their subjects. Public and private school administrators gained public support and new sources of financial assistance. Activities such as school housing quickly faded from the legislative limelight. In any case, the delay on general federal school construction legislation for more than a decade had facilitated increased appropriations for schools in federally affected areas under Public Laws 815 and 874 in 1950. The need for school construction remained critical in many large cities and rural areas, but a leveling birthrate and a high level of construction for many years had taken the edge off public clamor for federal and state financing for school facilities.

State services for planning and construction of school facilities fared quite well under the circumstances, and perhaps improved somewhat from 1958 to 1965. Then came passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, a tremendous concentration of federal funds and policies on disadvantaged children and youth, and the Johnson Administration's emergency "war on poverty," both in schools and in other agencies attacking welfare problems through educational means. Competition for personnel and funds within divisions of state departments of education, together with the sharp decline of Office of Education consulting services to the states, tended to deemphasize the relative importance of state department provisions for school facilities services.

Effects of Categorical Aids in Other Fields. Federal categorical aids in 1958 (NDEA) and 1965 (ESEA) became landmarks in strengthening the relative emphasis on some functions and weakening it on others in state departments of education. Moreover, there was a tendency after 1958 to have small new categorical aids spawned each year as amendments to the basic laws. To illustrate, NDEA Title III in a decade has led from subsidies for science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages to subsidies for essentially all basic subjects in the curriculum. In a single year, ESEA stimulated new bilingual, dropout, and other programs. Even earmarking of funds, such as 15 percent for the handicapped, created new special programs at the behest of Congressional sponsors. Categorical aids are extremely vulnerable to such proliferations of good causes, which tend to lead to smaller programs and increased administrative costs and paper work.

Annual near-emergencies arose in the states as new categorical aids each year typically were relayed to them by the Office of Education for their planning and implementation after the school year and fiscal year in which the legislation became effective had begun. In the tight personnel market, state department functions lacking the emergency element, glamour, and federal funds tended to become relatively less important, especially those in such fields as school facilities, pupil transportation, and school food services. About $12 billion of state funds were spent annually for support of elementary and secondary education not specifically funded and sloganized from Washington. This is the realistic context within which particular state department functions such as those affecting the planning and services of school facilities should be evaluated. State services for school facilities had relatively low priority after 1958.

Organization of State School Plant Directors. In 1963, when no fewer than 30 other special fields were represented by nationally organized associations of state department professional personnel, the Association of State Directors of Educational Plant Services was organized. Its purposes were to exercise active leadership in improving state and federal educational plant services; to exchange ideas and programs among the members; to act on problems and issues concerned with state department services; and to strengthen educational plant services generally. Besides meeting annually with the Council of Educational Facility Planners, the state directors also exchanged much information among themselves throughout the year. By 1968, the Association of State Directors of Educational Plant Services had become one of more than 40 such nationally organized groups of state department professional personnel.

This situation is significant from the standpoint of state departments of education, whose units must compete for funds, personnel, office space, and other factors affecting their relative abilities to perform more thoroughly and extensively in their respective professional assignments. This has long been clear. Nearly a quarter of a century ago, vocational education and vocational rehabilitation accounted for almost one-half of all professionals in the departments on a nationwide basis and had already demonstrated the power of federal incentive aids in special fields.

A 1967–68 Study. In July 1967, the Council of Educational Facility Planners sponsored a nationwide survey of plant practices and procedures, using funds supplied by the Pentagon's Office of Civil Defense. The project was related to the national policy for fallout protection, a longtime interest of the Office of Civil Defense because school buildings are the nation's most widely distributed public facilities that can become usable for such purposes.

The report was designed to cause questions to be raised, issues to be created, and controversy to be provoked in order to create a dialogue among persons believed to be in positions from which improvements in planning and constructing schools could be made. The project director was James L. Theodores, and the summary report on "Crisis in Planning" was prepared by Karl T. Hereford of the Office of Education and Burton D. Friedman of the Public Administration Service of Chicago (34).

The survey summary and point of view indicated that city school governments are preoccupied with their own bureaucratic concerns and lack the voluntary organizational strength of the suburbs that are beginning to employ technical planning staffs. The suburbs do quite well through their momentum of capacity for self-serving social and political action and plentiful funds. Other local districts, however, typically decline to invest in school planning, so they are said usually to plan on the basis of folklore—an undisciplined, nonprofessional, haphazard, and largely noncreative practice. Neither suburbs nor other local districts appear to be willing to reorganize themselves to share in the problems of the city. The conclusion is that there are not sufficient outside forces at work to introduce both technical and political improvements in the local school facilities planning process. Universities and professional associations are said to be unsuited for the task; only state departments of education among the agencies and institutions that impinge upon local district planning are in a good position to assist.

State departments of education, it is said, could order the research needed to displace folklore as a basis for school design. They could give technical information and assist in research, supply improved financial support, moderate inhibiting building codes, coordinate professional plant planning, and assist in locating buildings to integrate rather than separate socially differing neighborhood populations. The survey was reported to reveal, however, that the state agencies, with few exceptions, lack either the capacity or the intention to do so. Most of them are said to be neither responsive nor serious, as well as understaffed and undercommitted in the school plant field.

The survey summary concludes that treating the basic problem of school district organization is the most useful and promising role of the state education agency, and that it might well relinquish to other agencies and institutions such activities as approval of local building plans and consulting services to local districts, in order to concentrate on reorganization of school districts. Broad policy planning, however, such as a segregated versus an integrated society, would best be left to the university community, which the survey said is precisely designed to accomplish it.

The survey did not deal with the facts or the questions of state leadership and state legal compulsion in state-local educational relationships. It left unmentioned the policies of state legislatures and state departments of education favoring as their principal state role the development of effective local educational agencies primarily through state services and assistance rather than through state mandates. The wisdom of the survey recommendations remains to be evaluated within the context of the position of the states and their educational agencies in organizing, coordinating, financing, and serving education in the United States (35).

U.S. Office of Education

The federal education office was established by Congress in 1867 and operated as an independent agency until 1869, when it became attached to the Department of the Interior as the Bureau of Education. In 1929, its name was changed to Office of Education, and in 1939 the office, with all its functions, became a unit of the Federal Security Agency. In 1953, the Federal Security Agency was replaced by the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, with the Office of Education continuing as one of its units (36).

From the early 1920's to about 1945, Office of Education leadership in the area of school housing was provided by Miss

Alice Barrows, who either by herself or with others conducted several studies dealing with various aspects of the school housing program.

During World War II, school building construction was almost at a standstill because of material shortages. In anticipation of meeting a large backlog of need accumulated during the period, U.S. Commissioner John W. Studebaker in 1945 reorganized the Office of Education and established a School Housing Section. This unit was developed and staffed to provide information and consultative services on school housing problems to state departments of education and through them to local school districts. For several years, Ray L. Hamon served as chief, and N. E. Viles, Sr., served as associate chief of the new unit. Both men spent considerable time in the field from 1945 to 1956, developing and providing information on building needs, trends, construction, cost levels, and cost indexes. Hamon specialized in planning and Viles in operations, maintenance, and safety. Hamon was succeeded by James L. Taylor, the author of numerous Office of Education plant planning booklets (37), and then by John L. Cameron, who had recently headed the North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction's School Housing Section.

As construction rapidly increased during the post-World War II period, school housing attracted the attention of people in other divisions of the Office of Education, the newly organized National Council of Chief State School Officers, and other groups, both public and private. The school housing section of the Office of Education was only partially successful in its attempt to be the liaison agent with other organizations in making estimates of needs and developing cost data in anticipation of federal legislation to provide financial assistance for school construction. The section limited its efforts largely to these areas for several years after 1950.

National Survey of Public School Facilities. No firm data were available on school building needs in 1950 when Congress enacted the federal assistance laws, laws primarily intended to relieve local school districts from the impact of national defense activities on their financial resources for housing and instructing defense workers' children, who overcrowded the local schools. Public Law 815 authorized funds for school construction, and Public Law 864 authorized funds to pay for current costs of education. Title I of Public Law 815 provided for a nationwide public school facilities survey, both elementary and secondary, to be conducted under the immediate supervision of the state educational agencies. The school housing section of the Office of Education, with a staff headed by Dr. Hamon, administered the survey program at the federal level, with 46 states and territories participating.

This was the most extensive survey of elementary and secondary public school facilities ever undertaken and received a great deal of public attention because of the continuing conflict over federal aid for school construction that had engaged the attention of Congress for several years. It was hoped by many that the school facilities survey would show such need that the Congress would eventually pass a general school construction bill in addition to the special aid to the federally affected areas covered by Title II, Public Law 815 of 1950.

Such was not to be. A controversy over the real needs for federal construction aid broke out as the interim reports of the survey appeared. On the one hand, there was leeway in the federal guidelines for the exercise of considerable judgment by each state department of education in setting its own standards and judging its level of need. This resulted in somewhat different standards for each of the states. Comparisons between states raised arguments about the standards used in some states. In any event, adding the needs of all states gave a total national need based on as many different standards as there were states, and the foes of federal aid for school construction exploited the resulting "numbers game" to the fullest extent. Paradoxically, some of the federal guidelines, such as the suggestion that listing an entire school plant as unsatisfactory if it had a seriously inadequate site, distorted the returns somewhat in states with large urban areas. Instead of providing broad federal aid for school construction, Congress merely expanded both the construction in federally affected areas under Title II of P.L. 815 and aid for current operations in these areas under P.L. 874 of 1950.

Two progress reports of the status phase of the survey were published in 1952 and a final report in 1953 (38). The report of the long-range planning phase in which the state agencies projected their facilities needs for the future was published in 1955. In this exhaustive and excellent report, U.S. Commissioner of Education S. M. Brownell commented as follows:

> States differ in the plans they have for reorganization of districts, and for financing school construction. They do not necessarily agree on such policies as the optimum number of pupils per classroom, or when buildings should be replaced. These and other differences among States affect their building needs and plans. Comparison between States may lead to erroneous conclusions unless one examines the bases used by the States in arriving at their figures. Although the Office of Education supplied broad criteria, each State set and applied its own standards in developing its plan. The data reflect honest attempts by the States to plan ahead. However you interpret the facts, it is clear that there is a big classroom deficit (39).

While several staffing changes followed completion of the nationwide study, the School Housing Section developed a program in the following seven major areas: long-range planning of school plant programs, school plant administration, educational planning of school buildings and grounds, educational planning of school furniture and equipment, school plant management, school facilities technology, and a clearinghouse on school facilities research.

In keeping with its original purpose to develop information and provide consultative services in the area of school housing, the Section has maintained a close working relationship with other federal government agencies; state education agencies; and national, regional, and state organizations and associations interested in school facilities. The relationship included assisting them to develop various standards; preparing technical publications; providing speakers and panelists for conferences and conventions; advising on research proposals; reporting trends in school building design; responding to requests for information; sharing with other nations professional concepts relating to facility planning, construction, and operation; and providing national leadership in the area of school facilities.

Reorganization and Ferment. On July 1, 1965, the U.S. Office of Education reorganized for the stated purpose of discharging its responsibilities under Public Law 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Services to the states and other educational activities prized by educators throughout the country suffered wholesale abandonment. Many traditional divisions, branches, and sections, including the school plant section, were abolished. Its staff members were either assigned to or allowed to volunteer for other positions in the Office of Education. Those who remained continued some of their former functions, either as a part of their regular duties or in addition to them, but the policy of the agency was to bring in large numbers of new personnel for administration of the new categorical aids.

In 1967, a new facilities unit, the Office of Construction Service, was established under the direction of a new assistant commissioner, Walter Mylecraine, who had been active in the reorganization. The new unit was intended to have far more comprehensive responsibilities than had been assigned to earlier school housing units. These included (1) the Office of the Assistant Commissioner, to provide administrative services and to serve as the principal school building adviser to the commissioner of education; (2) the Division of Facilities Development, to conduct planning guides; to inventory needs; to provide consultative services to local, state, regional, and private nonprofit planning groups; to establish a clearinghouse of facilities information and workshop activities; and to evaluate and inaugurate school facilities research; (3) the Division of Construction Support, the third subunit, to provide architectural and engineering services to all bureaus; to administer all phases of construction projects supported by the U.S. Office of Education programs; to develop architectural and engineering construction policy, procedures, and reporting systems (Up to this time, most of this activity had been provided to the U.S. Office of Education by the Department of Housing and Urban Affairs, an arrangement not strongly favored by American educators administering federally supported construction programs.); and to provide technical direction to regional organizations. At the beginning of 1968, much of the activity assigned to the new Office of Construction Service had not been initiated, primarily, it has been said, because the war in Vietnam was draining funds away from federal use at home.

The new Office of Construction Service has taken some small steps toward fulfilling its initially assigned responsibilities. Some staff assignments have been made. Cooperatively with the Educational Facilities Laboratories, a special exhibit on "schoolhouses within the city" was constructed and widely exhibited throughout the United States. A school planning computer-orientated simulation exercise was developed and made available for the training of selected groups. Monetary limitations have adversely affected its performance, however, and the categorical federal school construction program for the administration of which it had prepared itself has not materialized.

In the 1960's, there were many more fundamental reasons for this than the "numbers game." The policy of the Office of Education was to use its federal funds primarily for disadvantaged people, as was the obvious intention of Congress. The private schools had never been eligible for construction funds under most state constitutions and their eligibility under the federal Constitution was at least dubious, a fact which had for many years accounted for their opposition to federal construction aid, especially if administered by the states. Finally, the chief state school officers heard a complete description of the plans of the new unit of the U.S. Office of Education in June 1967 and responded negatively because of the extensive federal controls that had been projected if and when federal construction aid might become available.

Federal Legislation Affecting Public School Facilities. Other federal legislation has indirectly affected the kind and amount of school facilities planned for the public schools. During the last decade Congress passed the National Defense Education Act, which stressed science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and guidance, counseling, and testing, along with several activities affecting higher education; the Office of Economic Opportunity Act, designed to bolster education in low economic areas; the Appalachia Program, designed to rush job training programs into large, rural, and well populated areas needing extensive economic uplifting; and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, which contains broadscale provisions primarily for upgrading general and special education for disadvantaged pupils and includes provisions to establish numerous supplementary education centers and a number of regional laboratories. The results of these laws have been considerable, although all extensive state or local construction with federal funds has been discouraged in connection with their administration. Hundreds of new programs and studies have been initiated to benefit persons, and several have had some influence on school planning and management. Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act has assisted state education departments to enlarge, reorganize, and develop new services, including some staff for school housing units. Other federal authorizations have stimulated the development of new teaching and learning devices and techniques and have assisted in training of teachers and other personnel. Changing pupil-teacher ratios, more team teaching, the addition of teacher aides, the development of ungraded schools, preschooling, and the extension of the school day and the school year are among the most important general developments that have affected school planning and construction.

More than any federal legislation other than construction aid for federally impacted areas under Public Law 81-815 of 1950 as amended, the Vocational Education Act of 1963 and the basic reorganization of federally supported vocational education enacted in the Vocational Education Act Amendments of 1968 (Public Law 90-576) promise to make the most important contributions to public school facilities and equipment. Since 1963, some 500 new vocational schools have been constructed, largely as a result of the 1963 Act, and the impact of the far more comprehensive 1968 amendments is expected to be greater.

A number of lesser federal aids for school facilities have been authorized since World War II in connection with various federal programs. Some of the more important of these are listed in Appendix A.

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Some of the professional associations, foundations, and other privately organized groups that have been important factors in the school facilities field are briefly noted here.

Council of Educational Facility Planners

The Council of Educational Facility Planners, an organization called the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction until 1967, was founded in March 1921, through the efforts of three school building men seeking answers to complex educational problems: Samuel A. Challman of Minnesota, Frank H. Wood of New York, and Charles McDermott of New Jersey. Each was responsible for approving state department plans for new school buildings in his own state. As they conceived it, one of the purposes of this new organization was to promote the establishment of reasonable standards for school buildings and equipment, with due regard for economy of expenditures, dignity of design, utility of space, healthful conditions, and safety of human life. They expected it to combat wastefulness, poor planning, questionable equipment, and other undesirable features. And they also intended the organization to "disseminate such information with regard to school buildings as may be of value to the public and school officials" (40). From its beginning in 1921, this organization has grown to a total membership of over 1,300 in 1968, consisting of approximately 1,000 individuals and 300 consulting firms.

The Council has had great impact on the quality of school buildings during this century. It brought continuous improvement for decades through the issuance of school building standards, which were continually modified as conditions warranted. In recent years, the Council has received considerable grant funding from the U.S. Office of Education, the U.S. Department of Defense, and the Educational Facilities Laboratories. In 1968, it had a full-time executive secretary with a staff of 10 persons and headquarters offices on the campus of the Ohio State University. In earlier years, its offices were first located at Peabody College and then at Michigan State University. All three of the institutions contributed significant resources to the Council.

A series of major efforts were made in the early and mid-1960's and are continuing, all directed toward making the Council a more vigorous, actively involved professional association of school planners. The efforts included raising dues and creating new categories of membership and making possible an annual operating budget of significant size to pay for a central headquarters facility and related staffing. In 1966, a program of identifying outstanding school buildings in the United States was jointly undertaken with the *Nation's Schools* magazine. In 1967, a joint program of the Council and the *American School and University* magazine was started to identify the "planner of the year." Charles Gibson, head of the School Plant Section of the California State Department of Education was designated as the first winner, and William D. McClurkin, former secretary-treasurer of the Council, was selected as the 1968 designate. Between 1964 and 1968, the annual budget of the Council grew from approximately $18,000 to over a quarter of a million dollars.

Interestingly, the prime leaders of the Council during the 1960's were many of its presidents, including Arnold Tjomsland of Washington, Francis Darby of California, A. L. Beck of Washington, Merle Stoneman of Nebraska, John L. Cameron of Washington, D.C., Richard F. Tonigan of New York and New Mexico, and Jane Thrasher of Montana, Colorado, and finally, California. During this period, the Council undertook to become a major publisher in the school plant field and supplemented its periodic and most important publication, the *Guide to School Plant Planning,* with many new books and booklets. It is a major producer of school plant planning books and other planning materials and conferences.

The Council has many informally affiliated regional organizations. These regional organizations were started by its members to provide in-service training opportunities in each major region of the country to school building planners who either did not have funds to attend the Council's national meetings or who wanted to concentrate on regional problems. The Council has sought for years to affiliate formally with these regional organizations, but to date has not found the cementitious ingredients.

Interstate School Building Service

After considerable preliminary work by Dresslar and S. L. Smith, who managed the Julius Rosenwald Fund in its efforts to improve Negro school buildings in the South, the first meeting of the Interstate School Building Service was held in Nashville, Tennessee, in June 1929. Its purposes were then, and still are, to provide school boards with illustrative materials, including general specifications for school buildings; experienced persons to examine and make suggestions on preliminary sketch plans; and a clearinghouse for the exchange of blueprints and other school building materials.

Located on the Peabody College campus, the Service's charter membership included 16 southern states. Subsequently, Kansas, Nebraska, and West Virginia were added. W. D. McClurkin, director of the Division of Surveys and Field Services at Peabody College, carries much of the responsibility for continuing its services. This is one of the regional school planning organizations maintaining close liaison with the Council of Educational Facility Planners.

Julius Rosenwald Fund

Although the Julius Rosenwald Fund was a private enterprise, a brief discussion of it is presented here because of the tremendous influence it has had on school buildings for Negroes in the South. Its founder, Julius Rosenwald, was one of the great philanthropists of the first quarter of this century. One of the firm conditions he set for the Fund, worth $40 million in 1928, was that its resources be expended within 25 years after his death, which occurred in 1932.

Incorporated on October 30, 1917, the Fund established an office two years later in Nashville, Tennessee. S. L. Smith, who directed the activities of the Southern office from 1920 to 1938, described the work of the program to improve the housing of Negro pupils in the South as follows:

> By this administrative act (approval of the plan for distributing the Fund) Julius Rosenwald, president of the Fund he established, set in motion a program destined to become the largest and most dramatic rural school building program ever launched by a philanthropic agency in the world, resulting in the building of 5,358 modern rural Negro schools with a pupil seating capacity of 663,795, located in 883 counties of 15 southern states, costing $28,424,520. Of this amount, the Negroes raised 16.64 percent, their white friends 4.27 percent, public welfare agencies 63.73 percent, and the Julius Rosenwald Fund gave 15.36 percent. The total cost of the Rosenwald Schools was equal to the total value of all Negro public school property in these states in 1920. This program created appetites which produced an enormous crop of by-products in Negro health; elementary, high school, college and county library service; Negro colleges and universities; teacher education; fellowships; race relations; and many other activities (41).

American Association of School Administrators

Several other organizations have made contributions in the school facilities field. The American Association of School Administrators has published the results of several studies, including its 27th Yearbook, entitled *American School Buildings,* and a definitive report on planning school buildings in 1960 (42). In 1967, the Association published *Schools for America* (43); the authors of this book were members of the American Association of School Administrators' School Building Commission, including both educators and architects. It was edited by Shirley Cooper and, after his death, by Forrest E. Conner. The building-plan exhibits, as well as numerous panel discussions and television presentations, at each annual meeting of the Association feature improvements and opportunities for consultation and in-service training on school construction activities of both the United States and Canada. For years, Cooper, as assistant executive secretary of the American Association of School Administrators, guided the organization through the preparation of many interesting school planning activities.

Association of School Business Officials

The Association of School Business Officials has been one of the leading organizations in promoting the improved management of educational facilities. Two of its members, Henry Linn, professor emeritus of Teachers College, Columbia University, and Frederick Hill, former assistant superintendent of schools in Minneapolis and currently assistant superintendent of schools in New York City, have been the leading school plant management members of this organization. The Association's annual proceedings and numerous special publications contain useful school planning and school management information as an in-service education to its membership.

American Council on Education

Another agency concerned with school building problems is the American Council on Education, which for many years had a standing committee in this field. T. C. Holy served as its chairman for several years immediately preceding and during World War II. Much of the committee's effort, strongly supported by Council President George F. Zook, was to identify urgently needed research and to secure the necessary funds to carry it out. Although some money was secured from foundations, most of the committee thought that research such as this should be done with public funds. The committee also successfully encouraged colleges and universities to offer more courses in the school building field.

Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc.

An organized effort to stimulate change in school (and college) planning and design emerged in 1958, when the Ford Foundation established the Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc. (EFL) and funded it with an initial $4.5 million five-year grant. EFL was set up as an independent, nonprofit corporation whose mission was to help American schools and colleges with their physical problems. The charter was amended in 1965 to extend the EFL's activities to Canada.

Behind the Foundation's action were two prime considerations: First, the nation's school systems were confronted by a large and chronic shortage of classroom space, and an enrollment boom was forecast for the colleges and universities. New ways were needed to build educational space, build it faster, and, if possible, more economically. Second, and perhaps more significantly, the Foundation and other agencies were actively promoting innovations in the educational process, such as educational television and team teaching. But they were discovering that the traditional school building of equal-sized classroom boxes did not lend itself to the new teaching arrangements and hardware and, because the walls were inflexible, inhibited change. Ways had to be found to provide teaching spaces for the new education and to provide flexibility to meet unknown future changes.

EFL took two broad approaches to the solution of these problems. Most important, in terms of dollar outlay, was the support of research and experimentation in the design of school and college buildings and facilities. This support took the form of modest grants to institutions to cover the extraordinary costs involved in trying new design approaches or to underwrite research in the field.

The second key effort was the dissemination of knowledge in the field. Here, EFL undertook an extensive publications program that, to date, has produced 53 reports, nearly 2 million copies of which have been distributed to architects, educators, governing boards, and the public. The publications include three series: "Profiles of Significant Schools," "Case Studies of Educational Facilities," and "Technical Reports" (44).

Another publication, the EFL College Newsletter, is issued periodically to college administrators. In addition, EFL publishes individual reports on major areas of concern in educational facilities planning and development. Other agencies have published and distributed more than 66 reports on EFL-sponsored projects or research activities, and EFL's assistance has helped to bring into print a number of important works by individual authors in the field.

In May 1964, EFL released its first major film, *To Build a Schoolhouse*. The 28-minute color documentary, narrated by Chet Huntley and outlining trends in school design, has been used in 484 telecasts and 6,416 showings before appropriate audiences.

In general, EFL's activities fall into several major areas. Many of its grants and projects are concerned with overall institutional planning to facilitate orderly growth of institutions at all levels. Others are concerned with the design and construction of special elements of education's physical environment—classrooms, laboratories, libraries, dormitories, auditoriums, gymnasiums, and the like. Still others aim at the development and selection of the equipment, apparatus, and aids which support instruction.

In 10 years of operation, EFL has committed more than $9 million to American schools and colleges in support of 420 projects and has conducted 54 self-administered programs at a cost of more than $2.4 million. Its emphasis at first tended to be on elementary and secondary school projects, shifting later to meet the enrollment boom in the colleges and universities. Additional Ford Foundation grants of $5 million in 1961 and $10 million in 1965 brought EFL's total support to $19.5 million and extended its life to 1970.

EFL's grants and self-administered projects range over all levels of education and treat with a variety of physical problems, some large and some very small. At the end of its first decade, the organization cited the following as areas of major interest:

1. Industrialized building systems for education
2. Schools for the central cities
3. Schools for new towns
4. Applying the computer to the problems of planning and design
5. Joint occupancy—schools and colleges sharing site or structure with compatible, noneducational tenants
6. Conversion
7. Remodeling
8. New products—helping to translate educational needs to speed industrial response
9. New tools—helping education to capitalize on the new tools of communication.

EFL operates with a professional staff of eight at 477 Madison Avenue, New York City, under the direction of Harold B. Gores. It supports a Western Regional Center at the School Planning Laboratory, Stanford University, and a Southeast Reginal Center at the School Planning Laboratory, University of Tennessee.

Colleges and Universities

Throughout the middle of this century, an increasingly large number of colleges and universities became engaged in providing a variety of school plant planning services. The early colleges and universities in this field included Teachers College, Columbia University; The Ohio State University; University of Illinois; University of Georgia; George Peabody College for Teachers; Indiana University; Colorado State College; University of Denver; and Stanford University. More recently, Arizona State College, University of New Mexico, Northwestern State College, Florida State University, University of North Carolina, and Rutgers University became active in this field.

The nature of the school plant service rendered by these colleges and universities has varied. Some of them have conducted courses and school plant surveys and written educational specifications; others have held consultation meetings with administrators and school boards which did not require written reports. Still others have become much more involved by cooperating with school districts in developing community-school surveys. Of all their activities, the one which contributed most to American public education has been the development of school planning and managing specialists. A large proportion of the school planners working in the school plant sections of the country's state departments of education received their training in a college and university program which included taking course work, performing in on-the-job internships, and helping professors to conduct educational surveys.

The school plant training program of each college and university has always been conducted with very small professional staffs on very low budgets and with little intermixing with the other segments of the collegiate program. Each institution's program usually has depended on the interest and drive of a single professor, or perhaps two or three at the most. Typically, courses have been offered in school plant planning and school plant administration, with the more active institutions adding courses in advanced school plant planning, survey techniques, and custodial services. Not a single college or university has yet offered a comprehensive, educational planning program for the training of graduate students.

THE FUNCTIONAL PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION OF SCHOOL FACILITIES

Although there have been significant developments in all the areas involved in the housing of educational programs since the turn of the century, none has been as broad and intensive as that in the area of functional planning. The goal of functional planning is a school plant designed to facilitate and to stimulate the attainment of educational objectives. The most important areas in an educational facility are the spaces where planned learning takes place. One of the criteria of functional planning for current curriculum requires spaces which are flexible to use. The rapid pace of curriculum changes requires that educational facilities possess structure, equipment, and utilities for quick and economical adaptation of spaces to new uses.

Authors of an authoritative planning guide in 1964 evidenced the great importance of instructional space by devoting 32 of 147 pages to that topic (45). The material discussed in this chapter includes general purpose classrooms, special purpose instructional spaces, art rooms, business education rooms, instructional materials centers (libraries), kindergarten rooms, language laboratories, instrumental rooms, choral rooms, practice rooms, regular classrooms, the music library, storage spaces, physical and health education facilities, science facilities, junior high science facilities, multipurpose senior science facilities, industrial arts, vocational shops and laboratories, and agriculture facilities.

In the early part of this century, the common practice in building a new school was for the school board to authorize a bond issue and, subject to the approval of the bond issue, to appoint an architect. In that situation, the architect assisted in estimating the cost and often helped in the bond campaign, knowing that if it did not pass he would get no pay for the services already performed. Frequently, by the time he started developing the plans, summer vacation came and most, if not all, of the educational staff, including the superintendent, left for the summer. The result was that the architect had to determine as best he could specifically what facilities should be included in the building.

During the earlier years, some building department staffs, particularly those located in cities where the department was not coordinated with instructional departments, regarded the school buildings as an end in themselves, rather than a means to the end of housing the educational program. During the 1920's, one of the writers, T. C. Holy, served as director of housing and equipment in the instructional department of the St. Louis schools. He found difficulty in convincing the building department that the prime issue in planning a school building was to plan so that it would house the approved educational program satisfactorily. Since that time, schools more and more have been administered on a unified basis, with a superintendent directly responsible to the board for all departments.

In the early days of the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction, most of its active members held the school planning responsibilities in the state departments of education. The state departments found that Council standards were most useful and effective if expressed in specific numerical terms rather than in such flexible words as *adequate, sufficient,* and the like. Consequently, the earlier standards were nearly all thus expressed. The 1964 *Guide,* however, devotes much more space to the factors involved in planning each building area and the reasons for the conclusions reached, and contains far fewer specific numerical standards than earlier editions. This modification is in harmony with a trend in school planning directed toward balancing numerous environmental considerations to achieve the best total results through compromises in some areas to gain advantages in others. It is also in accord with the need for flexibility to house flexible programs of instruction. Facilities do not lend themselves well to modern, flexible programs when rigid numerical imperatives control their design, however well they were used to raise standards in simpler times.

Even when numerical standards are included—as for size of sites, for example—the Council's 1964 *Guide* lists suggested minimums rather than definite requirements:

> While it is recognized that for many schools much larger areas are preferred, the acceptance of the following suggestions will be an improvement for many of the schools throughout the country (46).

Building Construction

The various steps involved from the beginning of a building project until it is actually occupied by pupils consume much time; therefore, building schedules are important facets in school construction programs. An account of the major steps in such a schedule will be illustrative. The chronology which follows is for the Northland Junior-Senior High School of Columbus, Ohio, first occupied in September 1966. During 1963-64, the staff of the Columbus public schools, in cooperation with the Bureau of Educational Research of The Ohio State University, made a comprehensive school building survey for the district. Recommendation No. 71, in the list of 98 recommendations included in the study, was for this school. The steps cover nearly a 7-year period:

December 1960
  Board of Education tentatively established future site.
January 1961
  City Planning Commission approves future site.
February 1961
  Board of Education officially established future secondary school site and purchased the site.
June 1964
  The 1963-64 Study of Public School Building Needs of Columbus, Ohio, included a recommendation for the construction of a new Junior-Senior High School.
June 1964
  Educational specifications in preliminary draft form.
October 1964
  Architectural firm designated for the project.
October 1964
  Educational specifications presented to and reviewed with the architect.
November 1964
  Voters approved $34,650,000 bond issue.
December 1964
  Staff review of general site plan and proposed schematic first- and second-floor plans.
December 1964
  Staff approval of preliminary plans.
December 1964
  Building Committee approval of preliminary plans.
January 1965
  Board of Education approval of preliminary plans.
January 1965
  Sale of $12,650,000 in bonds. Funds for this building included.
March 1965
  Staff approval of working drawings and specifications.
March 1965
  Building Committee approval of working drawings and specifications.
April 1965
  Board of Education approves working drawings and specifications and the establishment of a date to receive bids.
May 1965
  Contracts awarded for construction.
September 1966
  Occupancy by pupils.
October 1967
  Board of Education approved the closing of construction contracts.

Obviously, the concept and implementation of functional planning of school buildings is beginning to receive the attention which its importance in the educational world justifies. Very likely it will continue to expand as more planners are prepared.

State Regulations and Related Items

Amendment 10 of the U.S. Constitution as ratified in 1791 states, "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or the people." Since there is nothing in the Constitution about education, it has been a primary responsibility of the states since 1791. Public education, however, began in local towns and townships nearly 300 years ago in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, long before the Constitution became effective. As the Northwest Territory and the Louisiana Purchase were developed and new states created out of these areas, most of these states adopted the township as the local unit in the development of their program of public education.

Since public education in this country originated in the local community, it was only natural that the local district should be the unit of organization and control. In Ohio, for example, the typical procedure in communities was for teachers to draw up agreements binding themselves to teach school in specified houses for specific hours, days, and weeks. For these services, the patrons agreed to pay teachers small stipulated sums, supplemented by agricultural commodities available in the neighborhood. As further compensation, teachers boarded with the patrons of the school. Teachers were highly regarded, so their coming to a home was an important event.

So firmly was the practice established for schools to develop within the local communities that 45 years elapsed between the time Ohio became a state in 1803 and the time when legislation was passed setting up the machinery for school organization on a statewide basis. One would expect that with this kind of development there would be a very large number of separate school districts in the nation, and such was the case. In 1937, there were 127,000 districts guided by more than a half million school board members and containing about one million teachers.

One of the most significant developments prompted by state departments of education in American education in recent decades has been the very great reduction in the number of school districts. That number in 1966-67 was 23,335, which was 12.1 percent fewer than in 1965-66 (47), and more than 100,000 fewer than in 1937. The early school districts were laws unto themselves, but as the population increased, it became evident that there must be some state regulations on such school issues as teachers' qualifications, school attendance, financial support, building requirements, and safety. Slowly the states began to shoulder the responsibilities which were theirs.

The Southern states generally adopted the county unit plan of district reorganization, which had a great impact on school plant needs. Other states began to give financial support to what were then called "weak" or "state-aid" school districts. Other developments after 1900 included the enactment of compulsory attendance laws, state school building codes, and state certification of school teachers.

On March 4, 1908, a tragic fire at the Collinwood High School in Cleveland, Ohio, resulted in the death of 173 children and 2 teachers, most of whom died from suffocation because the exit door at the foot of a stairway opened inward rather than outward. This event had a great influence on school safety legislation throughout the nation. One result was the enactment of Ohio's first general school building code. The code placed major emphasis on safety in school facilities. As a result of these precautions, Ohio had very few subsequent school fires in which lives were lost. The code, as then enacted, gave little attention to educational requirements in school buildings or to use of newer building materials, so in 1951 it was amended to cover more adequately requirements for seating, stairways, heating and ventilation, lighting, and sanitary facilities.

Another example of school safety legislation was enacted after a tragedy occurred in California in 1934. A severe earthquake in the Long Beach area badly damaged a high school and caused considerable loss of life. Shortly thereafter, the California Legislature passed the Field Act. This law required that school buildings and all other public buildings must be of earthquake-proof construction. In a later earthquake in 1953, there was much damage done in the city of Bakersfield, California. Subsequent examinations showed that school buildings erected after the Field Act suffered little damage, while some erected before that date were completely destroyed.

Other states followed by enacting safety legislation. Most of the larger cities also have their own school building codes, many of which require annual fire inspection of school buildings by city officials. The common pattern in state safety legislation has been to place responsibility for its enforcement in the state departments of education. This responsibility has resulted in the inclusion in these departments of qualified staff for this purpose.

Another great impact on school site and plant requirements came partly as a result of the physical examination of men called into service in World War I, which disclosed that an average of 468 of every 1,000 had physical defects. These statistics created widespread discussion and concern among educators. Subsequently, 36 states passed laws which required that physical education be offered in the public schools (48).

In addition to the foregoing, other aspects of the school plant have health and safety implications, e.g., location of buildings with respect to traffic hazards; structural safety throughout each building; sanitary provisions, including care in the handling of food; suitable furniture; and safeguards for power equipment. All of these facets are under continuous examination with a view toward making school plants the most healthful, the safest, and the most functional that have been designed.

Comparatively few small rural school buildings remain. Most are used as community meeting places, grange halls, or modest homes. Although one of the significant eras in rural public education in the United States is coming to an end, Collins reported in 1962 that there were still 11,000 one-room buildings in use for school purposes (49).

At the beginning of the century, cities and towns had two- and three-story buildings. They were constructed of wood or brick, heated with stoves, and utilized open window ventilation and outside toilets. They had few lights and no running water. Most of the buildings were so well built structurally that they have stood for a century or more. Many have now been replaced, not because they were worn out but because they were obsolete; others have been modernized. Their ultimate replacement is still a major problem confronting the nation's big city school districts.

CREATING HEALTHY, COMFORTABLE, AND EDUCATIONALLY STIMULATING FACILITIES

A growing trend during this century has been an increasing concern for providing educational facilities which were not only safe and adequately sized but also made it possible for school users to become healthier, to work and study in modern comfort, and to be stimulated to explore their interests and to perform their studies effectively and efficiently.

At the turn of the century, the countryside was dotted with one-room school houses, typically with one large coal- or wood-burning stove, outdoor toilets, an outdoor well with water bucket and common drinking dipper, and reflectorized kerosene lamps bracketed to walls. At present, schools typically contain 15 to 200 or more teaching stations; numerous indoor toilets; indoor drinking water distribution systems; heating, cooling, and ventilation systems; lounges; special rooms of many kinds; and kitchens and cafeterias. It is obvious that the central effort has been to care for more and more of the needs of students, faculty, and supporting staffs.

During the past two decades, the expansion of the nation's school plant has taken shape largely in the newly developing suburbs. As the cities have become difficult places to raise families because of the lack of comfortable environments with good educational programs, as the population of the nation has increased greatly, and as fewer farmers were needed, new suburban housing areas have been built for middle class America.

Thousands upon thousands of new and modern one-, two-, and three-level school buildings have followed as a portion of this suburban movement. For many children, this has meant first-quality educational housing; for the big cities, it has spelled trouble. The cities have lost much educational and community leadership and considerable tax revenue. Their educational problem has become one of taking care of a small number of students of the very wealthy who go to private schools and a very large number of poor minority group children and youth. These problems, coupled with big city politics and bureaucracy, have thus far prevented any large-scale rebuilding of big city educational facilities. In the 1960's, these problems of the cities have resulted in teachers' strikes, disorderly pupils and parents, and black America's storming against white society.

Thoughtful educators and lay citizens have sought redress for the big city school districts. The Ford Foundation financed and Educational Facilities Laboratories established the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement; the U.S. Office of Education joined with EFL in creating and routing throughout the land an exhibit of creative school developments taking place in American cities; the New York City Board of Education established a quasi-public agency to seek new ways to finance new facilities in joint venture with private interests; educational agencies, associations, and institutions began to discuss possible large-scale solutions to the big educational dilemma, including the creation of educational parks and magnet schools; and federal agencies developed programs for school improvement such as the Model Cities Program and the Urban Renewal Program.

While the large-scale, national concerns smoldered, the nation continued to build new rural consolidated schools, new vocational-technical regional schools, more suburban schools, and, proportionately, a small number of big city schools. Perhaps only in Pittsburgh was a public high school program of adequate size being marshaled to update the city's antiquated school plant. Grave concerns centered around widespread deficiencies in heating, ventilattion, sanitation, safety, and lighting during most of the middle of the century. Only in the last few years have year-round thermal conditioning, acoustical design, extensive equipment programs, and comfort conditioning come into general use, even in new construction.

Heating and Ventilation

Between 1913 and 1931, the New York Commission on Ventilation made several notable studies. Some of its general conclusions are summarized below:

1. The major objective of school room ventilation is the provision of such atmospheric conditions as will facilitate the elimination of heat from the body surface without the production of objectionable drafts. In practice, this means the maintenance of a room temperature of 68 to 70 degrees with moderate air humidity. Under such conditions special control of humidity is not essential except perhaps in certain northern regions where humidity is exceedingly low in cold weather. A minor objective should be the provision of sufficient air change to avoid unpleasant body odors.
2. The avoidance of overheating is of primary and fundamental importance for the promotion of comfort and efficiency and the maintenance of resistance against disease.
3. Desirable conditions may be obtained by at least three methods of ventilation. For the average school, favorably located, window-gravity ventilation seems to be the method of choice on grounds of comfort and of economy.
4. The present laws and regulations requiring a supply of thirty cubic feet of air per pupil per minute in the school room have no justification in theory; and in practive may involve a serious handicap to progress in the art of school ventilation (50).

Some of the earlier controversial issues were whether air could be safely recirculated, how many cubic feet of air per pupil per minute were required for ventilation purposes, the economy of recirculating air in colder climates, and the value of washing air to be recirculated.

Another issue was that of humidity and its relation to a comfortable temperature. The general observation is that a room temperature of 68 to 70 degrees, with humidity in the range of 40 to 50 percent, is a comfortable combination. As humidity is lowered, a higher room temperature is required for comfort.

Despite the many studies made in the field of heating and ventilation during the past half-century, several major questions have not yet been answered satisfactorily. Among these are the questions raised by the New York Commission Report of 1931, previously quoted, together with others on whether air conditioning is feasible and economical under typical school conditions, the extent to which air can be safely recirculated, and whether air sterilization is desirable and feasible.

Sanitation

Sanitary facilities in the rural schools in the early 1900's consisted of two outside toilets, a water bucket, dipper, wash pan, soap dish, common towel, and a well on the school site, or access to a well of a nearby farmer. Although the more permanent school buildings in the cities and towns had somewhat better quality sanitary provisions, they were essentially the same kind.

Two-thirds of a century later, all in this field has drastically changed. Outside toilets have been replaced with modern, well equipped, well lighted, and well ventilated inside toilets with separate rooms for the teachers and administrative staff. The water bucket, dipper, soap dish, and common towel have been replaced by attractive, easy to clean wash bowls, soap dispensers, paper towels, and mirrors.

Lighting

The illumination conditions of classrooms have long been of concern to school building planners. Although schools have always depended largely on natural light, particularly in those parts of the country where there is an abundance of sunshine, there was little discussion and practically no controversy about this kind of light until the 1950's. The important factors affecting natural lighting are weather conditions, architectural design, orientation, fenestration, foliage, color of walls and ceiling, window shades, seating arrangement, and types of building materials used. The ratio of glass area in classrooms was usually fixed by state law at about 20 percent, but again, since the middle 1950's, there has been a great variation from no natural light at all in windowless classrooms to one or two full-window walls.

There appears to be no conclusive proof that poorly lighted classrooms have an injurious effect on the eyes, but at least such rooms are very uncomfortable and contribute significantly to lowering learning potential. Consequently, there have been continuous efforts to improve schoolroom lighting, the measuring devices of which are the footcandle and the footlambert. The footcandle is defined as the amount of direct light thrown by one international candle on a square foot of surface every part of which is one foot away.

In February 1938, the American Standards Association approved a revision of the 1932 Standards of School Lighting. This revision was made under the joint sponsorship of the Illuminating Engineering Society and the American Institute of Architects, with the collaboration of a sectional committee representing 13 other organizations. These organizations included architects, engineers, eyesight specialists, physicians, public health officers, and research workers. The recommended intensities, in footcandles, of this revision (American Recommended Practices of School Lighting) and those of the 1932 minimum standards are given in Table 1.

Table 1—RECOMMENDED LIGHTING INTENSITIES FOR SELECTED AREAS, IN FOOTCANDLES—1932 AND 1938

	1932 Minimum standard	1938 Minimum standard
Classrooms, study halls, lecture rooms, and libraries	5	15
Offices	5	15
Sewing rooms, drafting rooms, art rooms, and rooms where fine detail work is to be done	8	25
Shops and laboratories	5	15
Gymnasiums	3	15
Auditoriums, cafeterias, and other rooms in which people congregate for an extended period, but not for study	2	6
Locker rooms, stairs, corridors, and toilets	1	4
Sight-saving rooms	. . .	30

Sharp disagreement about these standards was evident. The National Council on Schoolhouse Construction, at its 1937 and 1947 meetings, withheld its approval of these recommended increases in lighting intensities and recommended further study on the lowest possible intensities of properly distributed and diffused artificial light for correct visual acuity and favorable effects on the eyes of the pupils.

One of the results of this disagreement was the organization of a school and university lighting task force, jointly developed by the American Institute of Architects, Illuminating Engineering Society, and the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction. The task force met periodically over a period of a decade. A jointly developed document was ratified by the general assemblies of all three groups and then published (51). The booklet is now considered the most useful and worthwhile tool on school lighting in the nation. A less technical treatment of the subject was published in the 1964 edition of the *Guide* (52). Recently, the American Standards Association has organized a group to update its periodic publications on school lighting.

In recent years, there has been considerable shift from an emphasis on footcandles to reducing the range of brightness within the visual field. Since lighting, especially artificial lighting, is a highly technical subject, more and more uses have been found for illuminating engineers in school building projects.

Building Design Changes

The changes in building design which have occurred in the twentieth century have been the outgrowth of the major concerns and ideas of the early school planners. Naturally, the pattern varies for rural, suburban, and urban districts, but a number of relatively common changes have occurred and merit some attention.

School buildings have continued to become larger. County schools found it advisable to consolidate to reduce per-pupil operational costs and to widen educational opportunity. Suburban schools found land more scarce and costly; hence the concept of the comprehensive high school was catapulted to the fore. Suburban education aimed at schools to house 400-600 elementary pupils, 600-1,200 junior high pupils, and 800-2,500 senior high students. These were considered sufficiently large to offer an interesting and varied program. Urban schools found the price of city property to be excessive and were forced to build larger schools with more levels on very limited sites, foregoing parking and physical educational and recreational site provisions. In the main, American rural schools have progressed from small, one-story buildings with one or two classrooms to two-story buildings with four to twelve classrooms. Urban schools vary from one to five stories in height and from 20 to 200 or more classrooms.

Schools have grown in size during this century not only because more students have been grouped on each site, but also because new techniques of scheduling and programing have required many new types of spaces and more freedom to move about. A new concept of mobility of furnishings, structural components, and occupants has created new space demands. So have expanded community use of school facilities, adult education, and increased years of required schooling for most youth. School sites also have become larger to care for the great number of cars used by faculty, students, and visitors.

During most of this century there has existed a tendency to keep educational buildings compact, but in the late 1940's and throughout the 1950's there evolved a strong tendency to develop "finger plan" buildings of one- or two-story construction. It exemplified an effort to improve natural ventilation and to unite the school with the out-of-doors. Perhaps the "finger plan" building for schools was modeled after World War II military hospital designs; at any rate, it was accepted as being reasonable, although great battles raged over the cost of one-story construction versus two-story construction. Many districts conducted local studies to ascertain the facts. In the end, it was realized that there were no clear-cut answers; whether one-story or two-story school construction was relatively more economical depended on many factors. The size of a project, the number of toilet rooms, the distribution of stairwells, the time of bidding, the number and experience of bidders, and other factors proved to be predominantly important.

> As a study by the American Association of School Administrators pointed out, both types have advantages and disadvantages according to location and climate. Multi-story construction may be desirable in the interest of conserving site, particularly if land values are high and the size of the site restricted. In large one-story buildings, increased travel distance, increased runs for heating and plumbing lines, increased roof areas to be constructed and maintained, and increased foundations, all must be weighed against such advantages as greater safety thru avoidance of stairways, possible savings thru lighter construction, greater possibilities for use of bilateral and multi-lateral lighting, and the more home-like and non-institutional appearance of the one-story building (53).

As educational programs became more flexible, school buildings were adapted to them. To make the buildings more flexible, architects and engineers, with the aid of industry, developed new, skeleton-type structural framing systems to replace wall-bearing construction. Exterior walls, as non-load-bearing building components, then became light in construction and permitted greater design flexibility in utilizing "chin" or "curtain" construction of prefabricated metal, glass, and masonry systems. Modular design gained importance with larger buildings and with the efforts of the manufacturing and construction industries to assemble increasingly large building components in factories prior to delivery of materials to school sites. Concurrently, electrical, heating, cooling, and other utility systems became more massive, and efforts continue to the present to provide a more sophisticated product for use and re-use in truly flexible buildings.

The exterior of buildings began to stress simplicity of design, a reversal from the "gingerbread" of the earlier monumental and classical structures. This concept of simplicity reigned in the period from 1945 to 1965, but by 1968 there was substantial evidence of a recycling of the exterior design concept, and buildings are now again being built along monumental and classical lines. It was observed at the 1968 American Association of School Administrators annual architectural exhibit in Atlantic

City that perhaps as many as one-fourth of the 200 to 300 new schools shown in the exhibit contained some return to the design lines of the previous generation.

The 1960's were a period of considerable experimentation with building and room shapes. Round, square, triangular, hexagonal, octagonal, and various pie-shaped rooms and buildings were constructed across the nation. Arguments could be found for supporting each design: Reduced perimeters cost less money; odd-shaped structural systems cost more money. As in the case of one-story versus two-story buildings, the ultimate answers depend upon many interwoven and quite diverse factors, too complicated from district to district to allow the development of conclusive answers.

Attempts to make multiple use of space in educational buildings has continued throughout the century. Efforts to design for multiple use intensified as construction costs continued to climb at about 5 percent per year in the 1950's and 1960's and as programs broadened and buildings became larger. There are continuing efforts to use satisfactorily, for multiple purposes, such areas as gymnasiums, auditoriums, cafeterias, instructional material centers, and playrooms.

With the advent of fluorescent lighting systems in the 1940's, planners began to design school buildings with lower ceilings. School classroom buildings for many years had been averaging 12 to 13 feet in height to permit natural light to reach to the corridor sides of classrooms. With the improvement of lighting systems, natural lighting has become less desirable, both because it constantly varies in quantity and because the quality of light can change so greatly and so rapidly with the presence of clouds or the changing position of the sun.

By the late 1960's, it was common to have 8-foot ceiling heights in small group areas and 8- to 9-foot ceiling heights in middle-sized group areas, such as typical classrooms.

As the school building boom of the 1950's and 1960's gathered momentum, there arose greater concern for economy of design. Ornate exteriors were cast aside, economy of operation and maintenance became grave considerations, and the unit cost of construction was compared from project to project. Such economy considerations met with much success. While the cost of general building construction rose 100 percent in the latest decade, the cost of school construction rose only 60 percent.

A major proponent of true economy—getting what is needed at the lowest possible overall cost—was the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction. The Council enunciated nine principles of economy which it recommended be followed by all school planners:

> Develop a long-range master plan for the most efficient location of new school plants and additions; consider future population growth and community expansion.
>
> Obtain adequate and appropriate school sites well in advance of need.
>
> Prepare a long-range financial plan as a basis for the expenditure of anticipated resources for school plant construction, and implement financial practices designed to prevent their wasteful use.
>
> Tailor the school plant to facilitate the functioning of the educational program, with provisions for future adaptations to changing conditions and needs.
>
> Economies in school plant design are in part dependent upon the cooperative efforts and the know-how of the technical planning team.
>
> Plan for the most economical provision of those physical environmental factors that contribute to the effective performance of the pupils.
>
> Prepare complete and accurate working drawings and specifications that portray clearly what is to be done and how.
>
> Use materials and equipment that minimize future maintenance and operation costs.
>
> Develop and follow sound practices and procedures for administering the school construction program (54).

REHABILITATING AND MAINTAINING SCHOOL PROPERTY

The subject of school building rehabilitation continues to receive very little attention from educators. This has always been the case and perhaps always will be. The topic is not as stimulating as many other pressing problems of education. It always seems possible to forego many of the expenditures until *mañana* and to use the funds for other purposes. And thus, in the normal year-to-year operations, school rehabilitation funds are seldom budgeted by local or district units and almost never by state or federal units. The exception is that requests for rehabilitation funds are quite often tacked on provisions for local, new school construction and resulting bond issue referendums; without these occasional efforts, the nation's school plant would indeed be in poorer condition.

One may hope that public concern for the development of a more organized approach and for more adequate school rehabilitation funding will grow. Certainly it is becoming increasingly clear that the value of the country's school plant will soon exceed $150 billion and that a majority of the buildings already need major rehabilitation, both because maintenance programs continue to be so inadequate and because rapidly changing educational methodology, coupled with technological advancement, rapidly render obsolete even the best designed newer facilities.

Since the middle of the century the question of "What are we to do about modernizing our school buildings?" has been receiving the increasing attention of state education departments. New York, Washington, and California have perhaps been most vocal on the subject (55). In 1968, the dialogue on the topic began to change from the view that "We have to do something about taking care of our old buildings" to the view that "Educational effectiveness is too impaired in obsolete teaching-learning facilities to permit them to continue in use without frequent updating."

School planners need to do much to get ready for an increasing volume of rehabilitation activities. Several helpful steps have already been taken. Booklets have been published to highlight the problem, national inventories are being periodically conducted, and evaluation models are being developed and published (56).

Most dramatic of all rehabilitation efforts has been the recent work of the Research Council of the Great Cities Program for School Improvement. For several years, it has been conducting big-city school rehabilitation workshops; it has developed and distributes at cost the film *New Life for Old Schools,* and it publishes a periodic newsletter (57). Each newsletter features the rehabilitation of at least one major education facility. Member cities of the Council in 1968 were Baltimore, Boston, Buffalo, Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Memphis, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, St. Louis, San Diego, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C.

Operation and Maintenance

Early efforts in the field of school plant operation and maintenance were fragmented and primarily oriented toward improving housekeeping, making schools safer and more sanitary, economizing on labor and materials, and making time and motion studies. Operation and maintenance, until very recently, has remained largely under the immediate supervision of nonprofessionals—the only area of education that observes that practice.

Operation and maintenance programs for America's school plant are of no less importance than the planning and construction of new facilities. The support which operation and maintenance activities can give to the curricular programs has been frequently cited by Linn (58), Finchum (59), and Tonigan (60).

Finchum reported that the combined cost of operations and maintenance represented about 13 percent of the current operating budget in the schools in 1955-56 and that the percentage was slowly declining, principally because the proportion of new buildings to old was rapidly increasing. In comparison, Finchum reported in 1964 that current expenditures for all public schools totaled $12,460,955,000, of which 2.7 percent was spent for maintenance and 6.9 percent for operations, for a total of 9.6 percent or $1,507,622,000 (61). Since the value of the public school plant has increased from about $30 billion in 1958 to about $60 billion in 1968 and may far exceed $100 billion by 1980, and since the value of current operating expenditures has been increasing even more dramatically, it appears that American schools will soon have to budget over $2 billion a year to pay annual operation and maintenance cost.

The relationship of the cost of caring for school plants to the total cost of education remains relatively constant from year to year, whereas the cost of caring for school plants, as it relates to new school construction, does not remain relatively constant. The cost of operation and maintenance, during each of this country's depression periods, greatly exceeded capital outlay expenditures, but in building growth periods such as the 1950's and 1960's, the cost of operation and maintenance approximated one-half the annual outlay for capital expenditures.

Although U.S. colleges and universities have been graduating larger numbers of educators and architects who are prepared for the planning and designing of educational facilities, no college or university has maintained a complete program for educating graduate students to become professional school plant managers. The development of such managers is one of the greatest needs of the current school business administration field.

The history of recent years, as well as speculation about the not too distant future, indicate a need for American educators to formulate realistic policies concerning the support to be both given to and secured from a comprehensive plant management program (62).

School Property Insurance

Three developments since 1900 have had a great impact on school building insurance. These are (1) the replacement of wood structures, particularly those in rural areas and smaller towns, with fire-resistive brick and ordinary brick buildings, thereby greatly reducing the fire hazard; (2) the Depression period of the early 1930's, which triggered a whole series of studies of the ratio of insurance premiums to losses sustained; and (3) the establishment in Alabama, North Carolina, North Dakota, South Carolina, and Wisconsin of state-operated insurance programs which include public elementary and secondary school buildings. Similar programs were also developed in many of the larger cities in other states. Among these were Boston, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Kansas City, Detroit, New York City, Philadelphia, San Francisco, St. Louis, New Orleans, and Washington, D.C.

In 1932, one of the writers, T. C. Holy, then on the staff of the Bureau of Educational Research at The Ohio State University, studied the relationship between the amount of premiums paid by Ohio school boards for school plan insurance and the amount of losses sustained by Ohio public school property. The results for the 5-year period from 1930 to 1934 showed that insured losses were 6.2 percent of the insurance premiums in the cities, 2.9 percent in villages under 5,000 population, and 9.5 percent in rural schools, with an average of 6.5 percent for all school districts in the state. Thus, for every $100 paid by Ohio school districts during that period to insurance companies for premiums, $6.50 was received by these school districts for school property losses.

The National Association of Public School Business Officials made two extensive studies of this problem between 1921 and 1937. The first covered the period from 1921 to 1930 and included 345 cities in 33 states and 35 Canadian cities. It was found that 28.7¢ of every premium dollar paid was returned to the insured to cover fire losses that had been suffered. A second study, covering the period from 1931 to 1937, showed essentially the same ratio (63).

The experience of Cincinnati with self-insurance from 1912 to 1934 demonstrated its practicality. For each year from 1912 to 1924 inclusive, the Board of Education appropriated $25,000 from the general fund to the replacement fund. This totaled $325,000, to which was added the earnings of the fund, making a grand total of $360,742. In 1925, the Board fixed the maximum of the fund at $350,000, so the difference was transferred back to the general fund. In 1928, the Board decided that the fund should be allowed to increase to $500,000. After that date, the income from the fund was added to it, and by 1934, the fund totaled $450,568.64, consisting of $432,000 in Cincinnati school bonds and the balance in cash. Between 1928 and 1934, expenditures amounting to $19,348 were made from the fund to cover 21 losses, the largest of which was $3,367.

A South Carolina state insurance plan was set up in 1900. It provided that when the surplus reached $1 million, buildings insured for 5 years or more would be continued in the fund without further premium payments, so long as the surplus did not drop below that amount. This surplus was reached in 1926. Between that date and June 30, 1934, only one assessment, amounting to 75 percent of the regular annual premium, was levied against the property carried on free policies. In other words, 84 percent of the public property of South Carolina insured in this fund had protection for 8 years for less than the normal cost for 1 year.

In view of the unanimity of the findings of these and other studies, school officers sought a separate classification for school property, so that rates might be based on actual losses. A separate classification for school buildings was adopted in 1947. The change established one classification for public and private educational institutions, including libraries, museums, and auxiliary buildings on the premises.

Under the 1947 Standard Classification plan, the educational buildings class is divided into three groups, according to type of construction. Each of these groups is reported separately for protected or nonprotected areas, indicating whether or not the buildings are located in areas having approved fire protection. On this basis, the reports sent back to the state insurance departments covered six different groups of school buildings (64).

Although a completely separate classification for school buildings was not attained, the 1947 Standard Classification was a significant achievement. Since then, rates of school plant insurance have become more reasonable.

Perhaps the best currently available book on school plant insurance is the one written by Linn and Joyner. The authors thoughtfully analyzed major school plant insurance risks and related policies, including fire, public liability, automobile, workmen's compensation, bonding, burglary, robbery, theft, boiler, glass, and inland marine (65).

Instructional Furniture and Equipment

For many years after 1900, furniture and equipment in schools followed a plain, utilitarian style. Typically, one combination desk-chair, bolted to the floor, was provided for each student. There was much discussion concerning the proper design of pupils' desks and chairs. In 1928, Henry E. Bennett, then director of research for the American Seating Company, made a study based on the actual measurements of 3,6[illegible]5 pupils and published the results in a book entitled *School Posture and Seating* (66). Bennett began a similar study of pupil seating in 1929, as part of a statewide study of school buildings in West Virginia. Detailed forms were filled out and processed for 10,524 individual pupil seats, and an analysis of the results showed that school seating was ill-adapted to the needs of pupils. A large majority of the seats were too high for kindergarten and elementary pupils. The seats in 30 percent of school desks, and practically all chairs, were considered too deep. Few desks, and virtually no chairs, provided the lumbar back support essential to good posture. Finally, the gloomy conclusion was that since the seating was nearly stationary and nonadjustable, the situation could not be materially relieved with available equipment (67).

Fixed Versus Movable Seating. In 1926, the director of housing and equipment for the St. Louis public schools, T. C. Holy, was directed to gather information on the relative merits of fixed and movable seating. To some school districts, the use of movable seating was an indication of a forward-looking, progressive school system, while to others it was considered a nuisance. In 1926, the nation's teachers colleges favored movable seating and generally arranged for their students to practice teach in schools using it. Consequently, the younger teachers in school systems favored movable seating; however, the older teachers, whose college work and practice teaching occurred before the advent of movable seating claimed it was noisy, distracting, and generally objectionable. They favored straight rows of fixed seats because their methods of teaching did not require the flexibility offered by movable seating. Fixed seating practically disappeared, except in extremely old buildings, by the middle of the century.

With the school building boom of the 1950's and 1960's came a surge in interest in school equipment. As educational programs expanded, many facilities were added to the schools. Furniture and instructional equipment were not only needed for classrooms, but also for auditoriums, gymnasiums, laboratories, libraries, learning material centers, various kinds of shops, cafeterias, audiovisual facilities, and many other areas. As a result, the manufacturing and supplying of instructional furniture and equipment became a big business. The cost of equipping schools, previously ranging between 5 and 10 percent of the total cost of construction, began to rise to a 10- to 40-percent range as more expensive and complicated furniture and equipment was purchased for school use.

By 1960, practically the only new furniture and equipment being attached to the walls and floors of school buildings were those pieces requiring rigid utility connections. The big surprise of this decade was the acceptance by the public of carpeting throughout entire schools. Often "sold" to the public as "acoustical floor covering," carpeting contributed significantly to deinstitutionalizing many of the more affluent public schools. The carpet did much to reduce noise from the moving of feet and equipment.

The federal government began, in the late 1950's, to make considerable funds available to the states and local districts for the purchase of school equipment. Many new manufacturers were enticed by federal funds, the growth in size of the school market, and encouragement from professional groups which sensed that new manufacturers were needed to translate space age technology into school equipment. The industry responded vigorously, creating thousands of new teaching and learning devices. As the 1960's drew to a close, education had profited materially, but manufacturers were almost unanimously beginning to voice concern over their inability to make reasonable profits in the school equipment field. Perhaps too many firms had jumped into the market, with too little advance study of school market demands and distribution processes. Often their "hardware" had outrun the "software," or curriculum materials, that were available for transmission in the teaching process.

FINANCING OF CAPITAL EXPENDITURES

At the turn of the century, financing of the one-room school buildings which dotted the landscape from coast to coast was simple. Each building cost a few hundred dollars, mostly for materials. That is in marked contrast to the typical contract price, exclusive of site and equipment, of perhaps $2 million in 1966 for a rural or suburban 1,200-pupil-capacity high school building. The increase of costs in the cities has been even more marked.

Major factors in this enormous change are (a) larger, better planned, and better constructed buildings; (b) larger and better equipped sites; (c) extensive provisions to accommodate the many major changes in educational programs; (d) rising building and land costs; and (e) the declining purchasing power of the dollar.

Table 2 shows the amount of these expenditures for a series of selected years from 1920 to 1964. It will be noted from this tabulation that in 1934, when building costs were very low, capital outlay expenditures as a percentage of total educational expenditure amounted to only 3.5 percent. The cost of construction in 1968 comparable to the statistics listed above was $3.3 billion.

Methods of Financing Capital Outlay

There were three principal methods used for financing capital outlay in the first half of this century: (1) bond issues to be liquidated from property taxes; (2) pay-as-you-go plans (including bond levies); and (3) a combination of (1) and (2). In addition to these three, there has been expanding activity in certain state and federal subsidies, in quasi-public housing authorities and holding companies, and in private leasing companies. Over the years there has been, and still is, much discussion of the relative merits of (1) and (2).

During periods of prosperity and high prices, it is easier to gain the approval of voters for bond issues to construct schools. When money is easy, it may be used more freely. The high incomes of taxpayers render taxpaying less painful. The argument is whether school buildings should be erected in prosperous times, in spite of high costs, and not erected during times of depression when building costs are low.

School buildings have a lifespan which overlaps fluctuating periods of economic prosperity and depression. Voters approve in a year of prosperity the erection of buildings which will be used for many years, and most school building construction is financed by bond issues to be retired over a period of years. Often, when bonds are issued in times of high prices, much of the debt must be paid when values have changed and the dollar is worth considerably more. The money spent for a school when costs were high must then be repaid at a time when the same building could be replaced at a much reduced cost and when the economic stimulus of the construction is needed.

For many years, Cleveland did most of its school building on the pay-as-you-go plan. Between 1904 and 1910, 60 percent

Table 2—CAPITAL OUTLAY EXPENDITURES FOR SCHOOLS, 1920–64[a]

Year	Capital outlay expenditures	Percent of total expenditures for capital outlay
1920	$ 153.6 million	14.8
1930	370.9 million	16.1
1934	59.3 million	3.5
1940	280.0 million	11.0
1950	1,014.0 million	21.7
1960	2,662.0 million	21.6
1964	2,978.0 million	17.8

Source:

T. C. Holy and John H. Herrick, "School Plant," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research*, Walter S. Monroe, ed. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950), p. 1099; U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1967*, prepared under the direction of Edwin D. Goldfield, House Doc. 94, 90th Cong., 1st sess., 1967 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), p. 204.

[a] For public elementary and secondary schools only.

of that construction was financed by tax levies. A graduated tax levy of 0.2 to 0.5 mill for building purposes was voted for 5 years in 1925, and repeated at the 0.5-mill rate for the same purpose in 1930.

Chicago used the pay-as-you-go plan exclusively for many years. In 1932, school bonds outstanding amounted to $43,500, which represented debts assumed in territory annexed to the Chicago school district (68). Unfortunately, however, the schools of the city had outstanding bonds and warrants amounting to $32,543,500, which had been issued for current operating expenses. The payments on principal and interest of this debt gradually increased until 1935, when the peak payment was slightly more than $7 million.

Obviously, small districts cannot raise enough money to pay for a large building at the time of construction by direct taxation. Their only alternatives are those of bonding or establishing a sinking fund. In some states, the latter plan is prohibited, but even where permitted serious difficulties are often encountered in protecting it from transfers, withdrawals, or diversions. Bonding is the best plan for such districts. In the case of large cities, where there is a continuous annual outlay for buildings, the pay-as-you-go plan is usually the most satisfactory method.

Although the relative amount of school building construction done under the pay-as-you-go plan, as contrasted with that done by issuance of bonds, is not available for the period from 1900 to the present, it is probable that much more than half of it was financed by bonds. It has been considered equitable to let the families of the pupils who use new buildings help pay for them. Table 3 shows that in Ohio the approval of school bonds by the electorate depended largely on economic conditions. It also indicates that both the amounts authorized for buildings and the index of building costs declined during the period shown, the former at a much more rapid rate than the latter. The amount approved in the prosperous year of 1928 was 142 times that approved in the Depression year of 1932.

Legal Priority of Bonds

The courts have generally held that payments for principal and interest on school bonds are prior claims on all school revenue. As a consequence, particularly during the Depression years, funds which would normally be used for teacher's salaries and other operating expenses were diverted to debt service.

As an illustration of how the prior claim for debt service affected the current revenues of a school district, take the actual case of an Ohio city of 50,000 population for the year 1932. The debt service in this city took about 45 percent of the tax revenues allocated for the school district, leaving 55 percent for current expenses. Tax collections in this city for that year were about 85 percent of the amount assessed. When the debt service of 45 percent was taken from this amount, only 40 percent was left for the current expenses, instead of the 55 percent anticipated. This amounted, then, to a 27 percent reduction in the funds expected for current operating

Table 3—SCHOOL BUILDING BONDS APPROVED IN OHIO IN SELECTED YEARS

Year	School bonds approved	Building cost index on October 1
1928	$24,368,000	191
1929	11,090,000	187
1930	4,835,000	185
1931	1,184,000	173
1932	171,000	166

4

costs, which obviously presented a very serious problem.

At the turn of the century, most if not all of the states permitted the issuance of term bonds for school building purposes. These bonds usually matured in 20 to 30 years 40-year bonds were not uncommon), and ordinarily there was a provision for sinking funds to be increased each year, so that when the bonds reached maturity the funds would be on hand to pay them. Unfortunately, the safeguards to see that the fund was actually increased each year and the money in the fund kept for its intended purpose did not work well. School boards faced with no money to pay the teachers often "borrowed" from the sinking fund to meet these current obligations. As an illustration of how that worked, T. C. Holy, one of the writers, participated in a school building survey in 1923-24 of an Iowa city of about 25,000 population. The survey staff found that a frame elementary school building, financed by 30-year-term bonds, had been built nearly 60 years before. However, when these bonds matured, no sinking fund had been established to liquidate them, so they were renewed for another 30 years. Subsequently, a sinking fund was established, and the bonds were liquidated at the end of the renewal period. Here was a case where the public paid interest on bonds for 60 years on a building the survey staff recommended be replaced.

Because of such experiences throughout the country, all states have now enacted laws requiring serial bonds which are so recorded that the annual payments for principal and interest are approximately equal for each year until the bonds are entirely paid. These laws further provide that the school board must levy taxes sufficient to meet these annual payments.

Another item which has been much discussed is the percentage of favoring vote for the passage of a school bond issue. Although most states require only a majority vote for approval of a state bond issue, all states, so far as the writers know, require a higher percentage for school and other local bond issues; this often is 55 to 65 percent. At one time, the state of Michigan required a two-thirds majority vote, based on the total number voting in the last general election. Failure to vote then was a vote against the issue. In recent years, there has been continued effort to reduce the percentage required for the passage of bond issues to a majority. Although the present status of those efforts is not at hand, it is believed that most states require more than a majority for passage.

Another legal factor in the bonding situation is the statutory or constitutional limitations on the amount of bonds a school district can issue. For example, the Indiana Constitution limits the amount of school bonds to 2 percent of the assessed valuation. On the other hand, Ohio law permits school districts to issue bonds up to 9 percent of the assessed valuation.

Professor Merle Stoneman of the University of Nebraska, who has conducted numerous school surveys, reported to a group of superintendents and state department of education officials assembled at the University of New Mexico in 1963 that states usually established bonding limits of about 10 percent of assessed valuation, but since formulas for what is being called "assessed valuation" differ so much from state to state, the percentage comparisons are almost meaningless.

State Assistance for Capital Outlay

At the turn of the century, school funds for both current expenses and capital outlay were raised locally and generally expended as the local school boards saw fit. Since that time, each of the states makes contributions to the operating costs of the schools. The percent of the cost thus contributed gradually increased to nearly 40 percent by 1950 and has remained at about that proportion of total costs since (69).

The support by the states for capital outlay purposes has always lagged behind that for current expenditures and has varied widely in amounts among the states. School facilities have traditionally been regarded as a local obligation, and many states have comparatively nominal sums available for use in catastrophies or other situations when educational services might be impossible without them. Temporary state aid for facilities has sometimes been made available as an incentive to build larger and more centrally located buildings and thus lead to reorganization of school districts.

In 1959, Clayton D. Hutchins and Elmer C. Deering reported that the costs of public school facilities on a national basis were paid from the following sources: local educational agencies, 79 percent; states, 9 percent; state and local school building authorities set up especially to avoid violation of impossibly low legal limits on bonded indebtedness, 8 percent; and the federal government, 4 percent. They reported in detail on the activities of each state in this field (70).

In 1906, Ohio enacted a law whereby funds were contributed to so-called weak school districts under these conditions:

> If upon the examination of the situation in any school district the [state] director of education is satisfied that any adjustments or changes in local school policy and administration should be made as a condition of participation in the state educational equalization fund, he may order such adjustments and changes to be made. For this purpose he shall have power to order any local board of education or any county board of education to exercise any power of whatsoever character in them vested by law, and such order shall be complied with forthwith, as a condition precedent to any participation in such fund (71).

In 1929, the Ohio Legislature made a separate appropriation of $1 million to be used at the discretion of the state director of education to assist weak school districts with their building programs. T. C. Holy, one of the writers, had responsibility for administering this fund, subject to the approval of the director of education and the State Controlling Board.

The major factors considered in determining the amount of state funds which would be provided were (a) the taxable wealth of the district, (b) the wealth per child enumerated, (c) the outstanding school bonds, (d) the total tax levy, (e) the tax levy for school purposes, (f) the educational opportunities which the proposal would make possible, and (g) the economy which would be effected thereby. Definite proposals were then prepared and sent to 192 different school districts. Supplementary proposals were made to 16 additional districts. The improvements needed were outlined in each proposal, costs were estimated, and the amount of the rehabilitation fund to be allowed the district and the conditions under which it could participate were stipulated. Of the 208 proposals submitted, 168, or 81 percent, were accepted by the boards having such authority. Sixty-seven of those accepted had as a condition the submission of a bond issue at the election in November 1929.

Largely through the efforts of Edgar L. Morphet, to whom reference has already been made, the Florida Legislature enacted in 1949 a law which contained this provision: "Multiply the number of instruction units determined for each county according to law by $400 and the product shall be included in the Minimum Foundation Program for capital outlay and debt service" (72). Regular distribution of state funds for school facilities as part of state foundation programs was found in only 6 states in 1957: Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Michigan, South Carolina, and Tennessee (73).

During World War II, the state of California accumulated a large surplus in its state treasury. Shortly thereafter, legislation was enacted to distribute a large part of that surplus to aid school districts to meet their building needs. This legislation provided that under certain conditions school districts would repay the state in part or in full. It has been estimated that the state might eventually get back about 60 percent of these grants. The policy of making these grants and loans available to the districts for school building purposes still continues in that state.

RESOURCES FOR PLANNERS, RESEARCH, AND INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

These items are mentioned briefly because they are important in developing planning personnel and in expanding the boundaries of knowledge about the school facilities field.

Resources for Planners

Only a few planning resources had been developed by the 1930's. They were principally the products of the efforts of professors at Teachers College, Columbia University, and Peabody College, a few independent architects, and school building specialists in state departments of education, including those in New York, California, Florida, New Jersey, and Colorado. In the 1930's and 1940's, activity increased, especially in the form of booklets, newsletter memoranda, and consultation services from the state departments of education, U.S. Office of Education, state universities, and a few private colleges and educational consulting firms. By the mid-1960's, an increasing number of federal and state governmental units, colleges and universities, and numerous professional associations and foundation-supported organizations were acting on the national concern for more and better planning assistance. In addition, individuals in several professions had written numerous books and articles (74).

Recently the problem of identifying, organizing, and disseminating the available school planning and management resources media has appeared. The Council of Educational Facility Planners, first through a U.S. Office of Education grant and now with its own funds, periodically publishes research abstract journals. As already mentioned, the University of Wisconsin operates an educational facilities clearinghouse for research on school facilities and has a major responsibility for disseminating school planning information. Numerous federal, state, college, and university offices prepare and distribute bibliographies, conduct workshops, provide consulting services, develop professional planning personnel, and encourage both influential and newly emerging educational community action organizations to support school planning services.

Most school plant officers, agencies, and professors maintain school plant material libraries, the largest two being at the U.S. Office of Education and Teachers College, Columbia University. In 1968, the Council of Educational Facility Planners took steps to form a school planning library collection at its Columbus, Ohio, headquarters that should soon be among the best in the country. It will be made available to planners the world over. Among the best professional resources for school planners are doctoral dissertations in the field. Several hundred of these studies exist, relatively unused.

The major organizations distributing school planning publications and periodicals in the 1950's and 1960's were the U.S. Office of Education; the state departments of education of Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Michigan, North Carolina, Florida, Texas, California, Utah, and Washington; the Educational Facilities Laboratories, Inc. and its supported units; and magazines such as *American School and University, Nation's Schools, School Management,* and *Architectural Record.*

Research

Historically, American educators have found it very difficult to secure funds for research. This has certainly been true in the school plant field. Almost without the use of funds, however, several state departments of education, especially in New York, North Carolina, Florida, California, and Washington, have made it possible for their school housing sections to perform and publish modest studies. Concurrently, public and private universities alike have promoted research studies by doctoral students, and associations and agencies also have carried on school plant research on a small and seemingly "hit or miss" basis (75).

Very recently, this research activity has increased greatly, with grants from the U.S. Office of Education, Educational Facilities Laboratories, the Department of Defense; income from association activities; and other resources. In the mid-1960's, the American Institute of Architects and the Council of Educational Facility Planners jointly utilized a $25,000 grant to develop a guide for upgrading the preparation of educational specifications. The Council of Educational Facility Planners conducted its study of the school plant planning practices of state departments of education under an $80,000 Department of Defense grant. During the 1957-68 period, the Educational Facilities Laboratories awarded many grants to universities, associations, and school districts for research studies. There are indications that many more of the future practices in school plant planning and management will be based upon research knowledge than was the case in the first part of this century.

International Involvement

As the United States increased its international developmental activities in a hundred-plus emerging countries during the late 1950's and the 1960's, many of its school facilities specialists were called upon as technical experts to assist overseas agencies and foreign governments with the surveying of conditions, the inventorying of national capabilities, and the establishment and attainment of education goals. For example, Paul Seagers from Indiana and Don Leu from Michigan assisted Thailand; Francis Darby of California inventoried school building needs in Jordan; Richard Tonigan of New Mexico, one of the writers, helped Colombia in developing an administrative planning organization and in writing educational specifications for 19 comprehensive high schools; and John McCloud helped to plan a new university in Ethiopia. Other planners assisted other countries, including Brazil, Ecuador, and Peru.

U.S. planners are also being called upon to participate in regional planning conferences. Both John Cameron and Richard Tonigan have attended Latin American regional conferences conducted under the auspices of the "Centro Regional de Construcciones Escolares Para America Latina." Known as CONESCAL, the organization uses funds from the Organization of American States, UNESCO, and Mexico to operate an educational planning center devoted to assisting Latin American countries in school facility and economic planning.

It is evident that international school planning activities will increase; more planners from foreign lands will tour U.S. facilities, attend classes in our colleges and universities, seek copies of our publications, and employ the assistance of our educational facilities planners, educators and architects alike. It seems entirely possible that the scope of foreign activities in the planning, equipping, and building of educational facilities could surpass that of the United States before the turn of the twentieth century.

PROJECTIONS OF THE FUTURE

Both the results of long-term historical trends and the recent concerns of society provide guidelines for making projections about forthcoming developments.

The ferment in the educational world, resulting in part from "Sputnik," "Johnnie can't read," "television potential," "civil rights," and "new educational research," will undoubtedly continue to alter public education output in the years ahead. Two changes are likely to be a much greater increase in the use of both individual instruction and independent learning. This, in part, is a return to the rural, small school program of the early part of the century. The November 11, 1967, issue of the *Des Moines Register* carried an Associated Press release under the caption, "Revolution in Education: Each Student Works Alone." That release reports that—

> Researchers have come up with a new concept of learning which Federal officials are convinced has the potential

> for revolutionizing the nation's educational system in the years ahead. It's called Individually Prescribed Instruction (I.P.I.), and it means that each student works mostly on his own with materials specially suited for him.

The same article also includes a statement by John W. Gardner, former Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare: "Within 25 years, virtually all instruction in the schools will be individualized instruction." Naturally, new educational facilities will have to be designed differently and existing facilities will have to be extensively remodeled if individualized instruction and independent learning are to become principle techniques in educational methodology.

Another relevant statement on likely societal changes is found in a 1967 publication entitled *Curriculum Handbook for School Administrators*:

> Geneticist Bentley Glass, at the 1967 convention of the American Association of School Administrators, pointed out that by the year 2000 the fund of scientific knowledge available to mankind will be 100 times as great as it was in 1900. Our latest science textbooks on the market today will be out of date in five years, and our science teachers must completely overhaul their knowledge every five to eight years just to keep ahead of obsolescence. This knowledge explosion is only slightly less severe in the nonscientific disciplines, Dr. Glass added. The implications of these developments for the school curriculum are staggering (76).

The effects on education of the knowledge explosion, as well as the educational effects of technological advancement, will become increasingly widespread. The implications for curriculum change and development are manyfold. Educational facilities will need to be designed and remodeled to permit greater flexibility in terms of changing curricular programs, in terms of personnel mobility, in terms of multi-usage, and in terms of mechanization and automation. Educational learning activities which speed and ease the transmission of information will need to be developed; information retrieval systems, dial access media centers, and computer-controlled instruction are necessary developments to permit America's public schools to take advantage of new scientific and technological knowledge.

Increasingly, American educators have been calling for more functional school facilities and for the training of teachers in the effective utilization of school and community facilities. Teacher training institutions are just beginning to respond to this demand. It is logical to presume that this movement will continue and that it will result in the planning of more functional educational facilities. As the brainpower of America's educators is directed toward planning better facilities, school planners can expect to see many innovative designs which will more constructively support teaching and learning than have facilities in the past.

In recent years, educational administrators have been pushed into greatly improving administrative processes. Many business functions have been mechanized, program budgeting and performance evaluation have begun to become realities, and the social sciences have begun to effect the actions of public school administrators. The results of these new administrative techniques should give better direction to the development of new educational programs, better utilization of resources, and a closer tie between classroom teachers and educational administrative specialists. In unison, these two groups will find ways to implement improved teaching and learning opportunities and to better "humanize" environmental features of the elementary and secondary schools of the nation. It will be interesting to see whether or not administrative studies foster a continued reduction in the number of the nation's school districts, or whether the "humanizing" effect will lead to subdividing the large city school districts to such a degree that the number of school districts in the nation may indeed again start to rise.

Most studies of class size have shown that, within reasonable limitations, class size has little impact on measurable pupil achievement; however, the belief still exists that the smaller the class the better the results. Such being the case, there will be continued efforts to reduce class size to about 20 to 25 pupils. Obviously, class size has an important bearing on the planning of functional school buildings.

It is predicted that in the forthcoming decade the industries which produce for educational consumption will readjust their previously anticipated roles in the educational market. This adjustment will be in reaction to the failure of many of the giants in American industry to sufficiently capitalize on the educational growth of the 1960's and, in some instances, because development of suitable curriculum materials has failed to keep pace with the technological "hardware" for their transmission.

Community utilization of school facilities will increase at a more rapid rate in the future than it has in the past two or three decades, even though community utilization of the schools has advanced to a considerable degree in suburban America. As a result of riots in the cities, the development of a special concern for salvaging dropouts, and a greater willingness on the part of the American public to become more intimately involved in the politics of local life, the American public school will increasingly become the community center of each neighborhood for an increasing number and variety of youth and adult activities.

Likewise, it is expected that current events will cause governmental agencies and local school boards to give more consideration to increasing the size of new school sites and to the complete development of these sites for recreational and social purposes. So many problems of the big city, as well as of the small city downtown area, are linked to the lack of adequate local youth facilities that it seems impossible for educational agencies and school boards any longer to ignore this responsibility—regardless of the skyrocketing cost of land and the complexities of securing an adequate site. The American public has far too long put the dollar value of school sites ahead of the value of developing American youth.

There will continue to be efforts at obtaining a better racial balance in American schools. These efforts will continue to require the development of unique transportation, housing, and facility design, all directed toward obtaining a better, cross-culture mixture for the youths of American society.

One of the most significant attainments of the 1960's has been the development of over 500 new regional vocational-technical schools and the birth of an interest in the comprehensive high school to better meet the vocational-technical needs of all youth. This program is bound to have much success and will foster, for at least another decade, an expansion of the vocational-technical movement. The activities of these vocational-technical institutions will greatly expand curriculums, and they will become more entwined with community resources. Educational planners will have a difficult task in adjusting their past experiences to the newly emerging needs of youth which are being identified in the vocational-technical schools.

It has been said that the United States is moving from an industrial phase to a postindustrial society and that our interests are shifting from industrial through service to educational activities. There is widespread evidence in the military, in industry and commerce, in government, as well as in the schools and colleges of this country, that the American citizen has become increasingly aware of the values of an increasing amount of continuing education for adults. It is difficult to project the implications of these factors on the future development of educational facilities. It is reasonable, however, to believe that the public schools will be urged not only to take over much of the educational activity now conducted outside its sphere of influence, but also to greatly expand program offerings to citizens of all ages. There is every reason for school planners to believe that the volume of school planning activity will substantially increase as kindergarten and prekindergarten programs develop, as the dropout rate is lowered, as continuing youth and adult education expands, as America renews its interest in developing rural education, and as involvement in the educational systems of other countries increases.

FOOTNOTES

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Appendix A

ADDITIONAL SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION FEDERAL AID SOURCES FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The Federal Property and Administrative Services Act of 1949 (Public Law 81-152), as amended, provides for the transfer of surplus real federal property to eligible health and educational applicants. Land, as well as on-site buildings, may be assigned by the General Services Administration to the Surplus Property Division of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare for conveyance to public and nonprofit health and educational institutions.

Under Title III, Public Law 85-864, the National Defense Education Act of 1958, as amended, the federal government will pay from each state's allotment an amount equal to one-half of the sums expended for the purchase of laboratory equipment and materials used for such instruction and for minor remodeling of laboratory or other space used for the equipment, under an approved state plan.

Under Public Law 89-4, the Appalachian Regional Development Act of 1965, supplemental grants are authorized for up to 80 percent of project costs where Appalachian communities lack the fiscal capacity to participate equitably in existing grant-aided programs. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare is authorized to make grants for construction of school facilities needed to provide vocational education in areas of the region in which such education is not now adequately available. Both the supplemental grants and the grants for vocational education facilities are made in accordance with provisions of the Vocational Educational Act of 1963.

Title III of Public Law 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, provides for planning grants to local education agencies for supplementary educational services and centers, including plans for facilities and pilot projects designed to test the feasibility of innovative designs. The same title also authorizes grants for the establishment, maintenance, and operation of programs, including the lease or construction of necessary facilities and the acquisition of necessary equipment, designed to enrich the programs of local elementary and secondary schools.

Under Title I of Public Law 89-10, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, local educational agencies are authorized to receive basic grants or special incentive grants for the education of children of low-income families, including the acquisition of equipment and, where necessary, the construction of school facilities. This authorization has been greatly restricted by federal legislation.

Public Law 89-313 of 1965, Assistance for Public Schools Affected by Major Disasters, authorizes the U.S. commissioner of education to provide financial assistance enabling local school authorities to restore or replace educational facilities destroyed or seriously damaged as a result of a major disaster.

Public Law 81-815, School Construction in Areas Affected by Federal Activities, provides assistance for the construction of urgently needed educational facilities in school districts which have or will have substantial increases in school membership as a result of new or increased federal activities. The law authorizes payments to school districts for construction of minimum school facilities or, if the federal impact is temporary, provision of either temporary school facilities or of federal funds equivalent to the cost of such temporary facilities. The law also authorizes the construction on federal property of school facilities for children living on federal property where state and local educational agencies are unable to provide suitable free public education, and it provides assistance to school districts which have a substantial percentage of children living on federal property (primarily Indian lands).

Public Law 89-77, School Facilities Construction Amendments of 1965, amends Public Law 81-815 of 1950. It authorizes school construction for children in federally impacted areas in Puerto Rico, Wake Island, Guam, and the Virgin Islands for whom local educational agencies are unable to provide education and for whom English is not the primary language of instruction. The children of federal employees not living on federal property affected by these conditions may be counted in determining the needs for minimum school facilities to be constructed on federal property.

Public Law 88-210, the Vocational Education Act of 1963, sections 8 and 11, provides federal funds for the construction of area vocational education school facilities. These funds must be equally matched from state or local sources.

Chapter 11

Impacts of Federal Programs on State Departments of Education

Jay D. Scribner

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Impacts of Federal Programs on State Departments of Education

INTRODUCTION (1)

The American people long have been concerned with who should assume primary responsibility for an educated citizenry. And throughout their history, one of the oldest, most perplexing questions surrounding this concern has focused on the extent to which the control of their educational system should be centralized. The issues evolving from this seemingly eternal dilemma have played a dynamic role in influencing contemporary patterns of federal, state, and local government relations in education. This chapter deals with only a small but crucial area of these relationships: the impacts of federal legislation and policy on state departments of education in the twentieth century.

If a rationale for delving into history is necessary, it should be stated at the outset that a twentieth-century perspective of federal-state relations in education can be understood only in the historical setting that shaped the American educational system from the early Colonial period to the present. These precedents—these significant events—and the unique contributions of certain individuals provide a basis for the development of various opinions, biases, and principles pertaining to the nature of the government's role in education today. In short, historical events are considered of major importance in any discussion of intergovernmental educational arrangements in the United States, for they provide the antecedents for current practice.

SOME HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS FOR FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONS

The fact that education in the United States is a community responsibility, a state function, and a federal interest seems axiomatic. However, it was not until the twentieth century that the federal government began to play a major role in American education. To be sure, under the Northwest Ordinance the federal government was responsible for directing education in the territories; and with the Land Grant Acts of the 1860's, it received *potential* power over education in the states. Indeed, under the Morrill Act, state institutions of higher learning were induced to establish military science as part of the curriculum. However, it was not until the twentieth century, after the demise of laissez faire, that this potential influence was actually invoked.

Today it is accepted that the federal government may participate in educational decision making at the state level and, in some instances, even at local levels when federal funds allocated for special purposes are spent. For the most part, the federal government exercises considerable self-restraint in controlling the expenditures of federal grants-in-aid. But this self-restraint involves more than just a desire to avoid time-consuming political disputes; it is predicated on two very real factors in American political history: the federal government's unwillingness or inability to legislate in education because of the traditional issues of church-state relationships, and the persistent distrust of centralized control of education. Thus, what we have, historically, is 50 state school systems (2).

Early Colonial Foundations

Of all the groups that came to America, the Puritans, dissenters from the Church of England and settlers of the New England Colonies, had the greatest impact on the development of educational philosophies in America. For the Puritans the tasks of education were twofold: to qualify the young for church membership and to prepare the ministry to disseminate the truth of the Bible as interpreted by the ministers of "God's word." Hence, during the Colonial period, religion was the basis and the content of education (3). For Protestants, the ability to read the Bible was essential for salvation. The Puritans found it necessary to promote an educational system that would support their ideal government—a religious government, a theocracy. Consensus among the New Englanders was to preserve the "truth" and to resist the threat of ideas that would foster changes in the cultural and religious patterns of their time (4).

If God's laws were stated in the Bible and interpreted by the ministers and magistrates rather than by the people, then how, with this obvious attempt to resist the temptation to inculcate new ideas or values, was the seventeenth century important to later developments in American education? The answer is clear: Although the educational system in the wilderness of New England was an instrument of the church, when it became apparent that some families were neglecting their children's education, the church appealed to the state. As a result, the Massachusetts Law of 1642 provided the basis for enforcing education. For the first time in the English-speaking world, a law required that children be taught to read (5).

After a 5-year trial period had elapsed, the New Englanders found that enforcement was unsatisfactory, and the General Court ordered in the Law of 1647 "that every town having 50 householders should at once appoint a teacher of reading and writing, and provide his wages in such a manner as the town might determine . . ." (6). The Laws of 1642 and 1647, therefore, set the precedent for education as a local and secular responsibility, and they established the right of the state to compel communities to establish and maintain school systems. This precedent, as we will see later, laid the groundwork for much of the current controversy over church-state relationships in education (7).

At least one notable historian of the intellectual developments of the seventeenth century has concluded that out of the conflict of the early Colonial period "came not so much final agreement as a clear formulation of rival theories respecting the nature of man and his institutions" (8). V. T. Thayer aptly categorized these controversies into six areas: (a) government by the elect for the many versus the common man's direct participation in government; (b) local autonomy versus central control; (c) orthodoxy and rigid conformity versus the theory of dissent; (d) education for utilitarian value versus scholarship for theological and religious value; (e) the concept of God's direct relationship with all individuals versus the concept of the religious aristocracy of the chosen few as recipients of God's word; and (f) the development of external criteria to govern human behavior (e.g., the Diety or the monarch) versus criteria derived from human experience (9). Each of these factors has played an enormous role in molding American education, but none has played a greater role than the issues of local autonomy versus central control and the relationship between church and state.

These issues, however, varied in intensity within the different Colonies probably as a result of their different historical experiences. At the time of colonization in the New World, the idea of a single, established church was popular in Europe. Europeans believed that the welfare of their societies was dependent upon the authority of the state to enforce and promote certain religious doctrines, and these notions carried over to the Colonies. Thus, in all but a few Colonies—Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, and later Delaware were the exceptions—the state supported the church financially and enforced its doctrines. (The Reformed Church and the Church of England in the Middle and Southern Colonies and the Congregational and Presbyterian churches in New England are examples of "established churches" of the Colonial period.) Yet, although there was conformity in the idea of an established, single church, there were diverse and even rival conceptions over how these churches should be governed (10).

For instance, the controversy of local autonomy versus centralized authority resulted from "the conflict between a Congregational (local autonomy) and Presbyterian (centralized authority) form of church government" (11). Since the beginning of American history, this conflict has reverberated from the politician's platform; today we call it states' rights. This conflict has been described as follows:

> In a theocracy, however, this concerned the merits of local autonomy versus central authority, a conflict between the Democratic and Republican forms of government, and a problem that still divides America under the captions of "state rights" versus a "bureaucracy" in Washington. Out of the original debate came, eventually, the unique solution of direct representation of the people on all levels—local, state and federal. In the field of education emphasis upon local autonomy in education has been of first importance in setting the pattern early for local initiative and local control under general state supervision in the administration of schools (12).

Toward the end of the seventeenth century, the theocratic form of government that pervaded the Colonies—especially significant in the development of educational thought in America—began to lose control. The trend of government by the few, structured in such a way that the civil authorities were arms of the church, was indeed the subject of popular dissatisfaction. No longer were the ministers and magistrates of the church able to maintain their former power. Even the threat of witchcraft or personal condemnation and banishment could not restrain the frontier spirit and dedication to individualism that were developing throughout the Colonies during the late seventeenth century. Powerful interest groups, such as the cohesive group of small farmers and the increasingly important merchant group, suddenly emerged. A new social order that tended to shift the political power vested in the theocratic form of government to new reference groups sprang to life. Theocratic rule subsided at the close of the seventeenth century as a capitalistic economic system came into being, having profound implications for the patterns of governmental relations that were to develop in the future (13).

The Rise of the American Federal System

During the period between the late seventeenth century and the final adoption of the Constitution in 1789, Americans began to rebel not only against the stringent economic sanctions imposed from abroad, but also against strict and unyielding religious doctrines. Progressive values were being expressed reflecting the interests of many eighteenth century revolutionaries. Optimism prevailed, and it was fashionable to believe that the potentialities of *all* men could be developed if they were given equal opportunity. And, in this context, a high degree of national unity slowly developed, but not at the expense of states' rights, for the federal government then, as now, was considered necessary for stability and order, and, at the same time, one of the most serious threats to the preservation of American values (14).

These people were convinced that the excesses of the British government existed because England did not know what the real needs of her Colonies were—Parliamentary leaders were just too far removed to be familiar with American Colonial needs (15). Thus, out of their experience, the Americans were forced to conclude that that government which functions least functions best; simultaneously, they knew that some government was necessary. They came to believe, therefore, that if it must exist, government should be close to the people so that the people could keep it in check. Moreover, they held that only a government close to the people could know its people's real needs. As a result, they decided no "supergovernment" would ever be imposed on them again (16).

However, historical events denied them. The Americans were not to be allowed the luxury of merely serving their respective states, for there were other nations with which they had to deal. State leaders knew that they could not defend their commonwealths separately—they needed the strength brought about only through unity. And, as history would have it, the American Colonies were compelled to establish a federal system of government—a "supergovernment"—for dealing with each other and for defense against the outside. To put it simply: The federal government was formed for the limited purpose of defending the whole against foreign enemies and to defend the smaller states against the larger ones. The federal government was, in short, a necessary evil, and it was to be treated as such (17). Thus, in drawing up the Articles of Confederation, the Americans produced such a loosely structured government that it was completely unworking and unworkable. They had rendered the federal government a government in name only. In consequence, in 1787 they called a Constitutional Convention to draw up a government with some strength. Undeniably, the framers of the U.S. Constitution were extremely cautious in the powers they delegated to their national government and, as history has demonstrated in the controversies over interpretations of the Tenth Amendment, they vested more implicit power in the responsibilities of the national government than in its explicit powers (18). As a result, arguments over the federal government's power run through American history. Some allege its powers are detrimental to the well-being of America, while others contend that the well-being of society rests with the federal government's use of its discretionary powers. Certainly nothing has been confirmed or denied in the twentieth century.

A Legal Avenue for Federal Involvement in Education

Few people will deny the significance of the federal government's legislative activities in education. The history of this involvement and the impact of the national government on each of the states reach back to the beginning of government under the U.S. Constitution. Attempts were made during the Constitutional Convention of 1787, for instance, to allow the proposed government legislative powers over education in this country. Such historical notables as George Washington, Charles Pinckney, and James Madison called for a national university, national seminaries for learning, and national public institutions (19). Because of intense rivalries among the Colonies and a prevailing sense of local identity, all proposals for federally legislated and supported public education failed. Consequently, Congress had to find its authority in some clause in the Constitution. The "general welfare clause" in Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution has provided the legal route for the necessary legislation (20). The U.S. Congress can cite no article in the Constitution, however, giving it legislative power over education. The implied intent of the Tenth Amendment, ratified in 1791, has been interpreted to reserve to the states the function of public education. This amendment declared that "powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people" (21).

Thus, the "general welfare clause," although a subject for much debate over the years since the Constitution was established, provides the basis for the increasingly large amounts of federal spending in education. Congress has used its power through this clause in recent years to provide unprecedented aid to education. The legislative summary that follows deals with such federal programs as those for higher education, vocational education, elementary, secondary, and adult education, and personnel and other special services. First, the development of state educational systems, secular in nature, can be seen in the following section concerning federal land grants for the support of the common schools. Second, some of the major purposes and administrative patterns of selected programs are discussed in terms of their consequences for state departments of education.

FEDERAL LAND GRANTS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF STATE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS

The earliest form of federal participation in education resulted from the Ordinances of 1785 and 1787 under the Articles of Confederation. Hence, it was through the donation of public lands to the several states and territories to provide a system of common schools that the federal government first became involved in the financial support of education. Most of the states profited greatly from the revenues provided by these lands, and it is significant to note that these enactments initially did not involve the exercise of any direct federal control.

The Ordinances and the Common Schools (22)

The Continental Congress of 1785 approved federal land grants to endow a common school system in the Northwest Territory, providing a new system of land survey in the form of townships comprising 36 sections of 640 acres each and containing a provision to reserve one section for schools and another for the church. Two years later, the Congress passed another ordinance affirming its support of education and making no specific mention of region or reservation of land, but prescribing generally that "Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged. . . ." In the same year, a land grant was made to the Ohio Company, and Lot 16 of each township was reserved for schools, following the precedent set in the earlier allocations of land grants. This pattern continued until the admission of California in 1850, when two sections were reserved for the common schools.

The trend for states to receive more than one lot for education came under much criticism during the nineteenth century. The federal government was accused of being too liberal, even excessive in its use and allocation of public lands. Nevertheless, this procedure went on several years, until Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah were admitted to the Union. Each of these three states received upwards of four sections of land out of each township for the support of education. There were exceptions, however, to this national policy of support for education.

Some states fought unsuccessfully on Congressional floors to be included in the federal land-grant policy. Since the Ordinances applied to the territories only, the original 13 states were excluded from the grants because the federal government had no title to any of their land, and the land grants would have to be borrowed from new states. Also excluded were Kentucky and Vermont, the first two states admitted following the formation of the Union. All 15 of these states took their proposals for inclusion to Congress, and the last bill, as all those before it, failed to pass in the 1894-95 Congressional session. Two other states, Maine and West Virginia, were ineligible because they were formed from two of the original 13 Colonies, Massachusetts and Virginia, respectively.

Only part of Tennessee was eligible for the general land grant for common schools; and finally, when Texas was admitted to the Union, she was ineligible because prior to gaining statehood, she had never waived title of her land to the federal government. Political leaders in Texas did show, however, considerable foresight in providing state legislation reserving about 40 million acres for educational purposes, providing Texas with one of the largest school funds of any state. Oklahoma, too, departs from the aforementioned trends. Although Oklahoma received revenue from public lands, the federal government reverted to allowing two sections of land rather than the four tracts that had been given to such states as Arizona and New Mexico. This departure resulted from early government reservations for both conserving mineral resources and providing homeland for American Indians. In addition to the two sections of land, the state of Oklahoma was allocated a sum of $5 million.

The control of the land grants was left indefinite until 1803, when Congress stipulated that control "be vested in the legislature of that state, in trust for use as aforesaid, and for no other use, intent or purpose whatever. . . ." Land grants were made to the respective townships until 1836, when Michigan received its sections of land; but as the states strengthened their position in education, it was considered more equitable to make these grants directly to the states to benefit education throughout the states. Occasionally, the specific lots (e.g., Lots 16, 36, etc.) turned out to be swamplands or other useless property rather than land that would realize financial support for the schools. Attempts were made to remedy this situation prior to 1836, but the courts were consistent in rejecting all proposals that would combine and redistribute federal revenue from such lands among the townships throughout the state. Not until 1875, almost a century after the Ordinances, did the states receive complete authority over the use of these sections of land. Although most of the states were not always careful in the sale of these lands, this new authority marked the beginning of state aid to education. To alleviate any waste and to ensure the proper use of funds from land sales, the federal government first set a minimum price and later restricted the use of this land to leasing. In 1889, two more provisions were added: leases were offered for not more than 5 years, and a maximum of one section only was to be leased by one person. Seemingly, in this way, the federal government's restraint from exercising strict control over these early land grants resulted in a great deal of waste of public revenue. On the other hand, when the territories did become states, there was precedent for establishing a more efficient and effective state school system, and many states still benefit from the fiscal returns provided by the land grants for the common schools.

Significance for Developing State Education Systems

The significance of the earliest land grants in the development of education in the various states may be found in both the rationale behind them and in their overall effect on the development of state educational systems. The rationale for these grants was to provide education for all children through the establishment of a common school in every township. Although they initially were made to each township by passing the central state governing agency, it is important to recognize their effect on strengthening the position of the state as the agency responsible for education. Through several modifications in the provisions of land grants, the state eventually became the most strategic agency for the equitable distribution of funds gained from these lands among its several townships. These lands were the earliest form of general federal aid. There were no restrictions until the late nineteenth century, when it was found that funds from land sales were sometimes misused, and even then the federal government refrained from strict measures of control.

FEDERAL EDUCATION PROGRAMS: PURPOSES, ADMINISTRATIVE PATTERNS, AND CONSEQUENCES

Although federal educational activities are as old as the Constitution, they never cease to be the subject of a great deal of public debate. Such controversy in American politics has resulted mainly from conflicting positions as to what should be the nature of federal involvement. The legislative history of federal activities in education up to 1965 has evolved along several courses of action. With the exception of the earliest forms of land grants for the common schools and the more recent laws compensating for deficiencies in the school tax base, the federal government usually has provided grants for limited and specific purposes. Such programs are characterized by a variety of purposes and administrative patterns.

Generally, however, the conflict centers on the extent of direct participation and control by the federal government. Direct participation may be seen in those schools operated by the federal government, such as those established for native Indian children and for dependents of military personnel stationed overseas. Federally operated elementary and secondary schools also are maintained in federally governed territories, such as the District of Columbia or the Panama Canal Zone. Another avenue of participation is the indirect channeling of federal expenditures through state agencies for improving and increasing educational opportunities. The role of state departments of education under each of the administrative patterns associated with this approach ranges from formulating state plans with considerable leeway as to their substance to reviewing and verifying local school system applications and reporting on the use of federal funds with virtually no federal-state contract. Indeed, the involvement of state departments of education in these programs implies varying degrees of responsibility and control.

Finally, some federal programs bypass state departments of education entirely and provide for contracts directly with local educational agencies. As in those cases where the federal government operates its own schools, these programs require little or no responsibility on the part of state departments of education. However, they do affect the states' overall responsibility for articulating and maintaining the total educational program. The state department of education does, under certain circumstances, assist local school systems in preparing applications to be submitted directly to a federal agency.

Regardless of which avenue of participation, or the extent of direct or indirect involvement, the federal government has clearly considered it necessary to supplement the educational programs of the state whenever it has felt that the welfare of American society needed increased services and better education. Therefore, during times of international stress or national emergency of social, economic, or political significance, the federal government has usually become involved in educational activities at the state and local levels.

Within the framework of the purposes, administrative patterns, and consequences of selected educational programs and services supported by federal funds, the following discussion focuses on programs for higher education, vocational education, elementary and secondary education, adult education, teacher training, and special services. The acts mentioned under these headings are largely those administered by the U.S. Office of Education and the National Science Foundation. Although there are numerous federal agencies involved in various kinds of educational activities, these two agencies are most directly involved in public school programs (23).

Federal Programs for Higher Education

1802	Seminary Act: provided land grants for the general support of higher learning in the fields of agriculture and mechanic arts
1890	Second Morrill Act: increased appropriations for more complete endowment and support of the original land-grant colleges
1935	Bankhead-Jones Act: provided for agricultural research, extension work, and more complete support of the land-grant colleges
1958	National Defense Education Act: provided loans, fellowships, and language development in institutions of higher learning
1963	Higher Education Facilities Act: provided grants for construction of undergraduate and graduate facilities and loans for construction of academic facilities
1965	Higher Education Act: provided community service and continuing education programs, college library assistance, support for accredited

institutions struggling for survival, and student grants

The role of the federal government in financing higher education has been the result of a recognition of the critical importance of higher education to national security, technological development, and economic progress. Indeed, the fiscal years of 1966 and 1967 brought federal appropriations in the amounts of $980,784,000 and $1,177,251,000 for higher education. Federal support of higher education has ranged from the granting of public lands to the states for universities to an increasingly expanded role in loans and fellowships, research and development, extension programs, facilities, special programs in the sciences, humanities, military training, and a wide variety of similar activities. From the "Seminary Act" of 1802 through the Higher Education Act of 1965, the federal government has shown a continuous interest in state public higher education institutions.

Early in the nineteenth century the federal government recognized the importance of higher education. With the admission of Ohio in 1802, Congress began to support higher learning through the endowment of two or more townships for the establishment of "seminaries of learning." A *seminary* was defined broadly in those early days to include any institution of higher learning. These land grants were for the general support of higher education. Following the admission of Ohio, the Seminary Act increased its provision of land grants to several townships, but again the original states were ineligible to receive this kind of assistance.

Much more important than the effects of the early land grants on the development of higher education was the influence of the Morrill Acts. Senator Justin Morrill proposed federal legislation for higher education three times during his 40 years in Congress. His proposals were categorical and specific, growing out of the demands for engineers to meet the challenges of the Industrial Revolution and the need for scientific farming. None of the Morrill Acts proposed were intended to replace any other area of study. Instead, the Morrill Acts were designed to broaden the scope of other legislation to include courses which would provide technically competent personnel in fields of major national concern. For instance, the scientific uses of farmland were to encourage the development of transportation, add to the national treasury, and produce higher returns for farm products. These grants had a profound effect upon the states. Eventually, all states established "agricultural colleges" and later broadened their curriculums to become a nationwide system of public universities (24).

Morrill's first attempt in 1859 to gain sufficient votes for the passage of his bill was successful in Congress, but his legislation was later defeated by President Buchanan's veto. Why did Buchanan make use of the executive veto power? Some of his reasons were attributable to the fears of many of the Congressmen who were concerned that (a) federal aid to education would bring about federal control; (b) the bill would set a precedent for federal grants; (c) the bill was unconstitutional because it provided public land, which, like public money, was not expendable for education in the states; (d) the land-grant colleges would have an adverse effect on other colleges of the nation; and finally, (e) some were concerned that the bill was not general enough, for it failed to include the common schools (25).

Even today many of the arguments in opposition to Morrill's first bill, which failed to gain enough votes to override Buchanan's veto, still resound in the debates over federal aid to education. In 1862, three years after the first proposal, the Morrill Act was finally signed by President Lincoln, who, like Morrill, came from a rural background and doubtlessly was interested in educational opportunities for those who typically were denied these chances for education. "The Land-Grant College Act," as it became known, donated government land to the states and territories for colleges which would "teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts." It provided each state with 30,000 acres for each of its senators and representatives in Congress. No state, therefore, received fewer than 30,000 acres nor more than 990,000 acres. Each state was required by the federal government to invest the proceeds from these lands at not less than 5 percent annually and to refrain from spending any portion of the principal earned from the sale of these lands. Also, Congress granted script to those states without federal lands, thereby making it possible for every state to establish at least one "Land-Grant College" (26).

Throughout the nineteenth century, however, the development of land-grant colleges was slow, probably because of the lack of facilities for training in the areas prescribed and the dearth of expertise to train potential students in these areas. The second Morrill Act, almost 30 years later, helped alleviate these problems by providing a money grant to each state and territory of $15,000 per year. By 1900, this had increased to $25,000 by yearly increments of $1,000 (27). This grant also provided expenditures for operating the institutions provided in the first Act. Moreover, the second Morrill Act was the first example of a continuing federal grant to education.

The Nelson Amendment in 1903, Section 22 of the Bankhead-Jones Act of 1935, and amendments to this latter Act in 1952 and 1960 have provided increases in the amounts distributed yearly among the states to support land-grant colleges and universities. Since 1890, federal expenditures for these institutions have increased from $660,000 to $5 million in 1959, and to $14 million in 1965. The moneys are transmitted by the U.S. commissioner of education to the appropriate state official. In turn, the state officials transmit the funds to the treasurers of the entitled colleges and universities. It will be seen that this administrative pattern is rarely used in other federal programs for higher education.

Another major piece of legislation affecting higher education was the National Defense Education Act, signed by President Eisenhower in September of 1958. This Act grew out of discussion of an issue presented by the House Committee on Education and Labor working with the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the commissioner of education on a potential bill for scholarships and loans for college students. By the time the Senate Committee on Education opened its hearings, however, Sputnik had intervened and broader issues concerning the Cold War and national security prevailed. Scientists were called upon for testimony, and a variety of proposals were made in the areas of technical, scientific, and language training.

One might surmise that this Act could have been referred to as the National Education Act, but with Sputnik and a somewhat cautious Congress, "defense" became the byword for expanding the federal role in education. A major objective of NDEA was specified under Title I:

> Section 101. . . . The defense of this Nation depends upon the mastery of modern techniques developed from complex scientific principles. It depends as well upon the discovery and development of new principles, new techniques, and new knowledge.

Clearly, the federal government's expanded role in education was cause for some suspicion by many legislators and their constituents. With this in mind, those who wrote the bill included explicit reaffirmation of the principle of state and local control of education, but in so doing stated that "The national interest requires, however, that the federal government give assistance to education for programs which are important to our defense." The prohibition of federal control of education was mentioned as follows:

> Section 102. Nothing contained in this Act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any direction, supervision, or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration, or personnel of any educational institution or school system.

Under Titles II, III, and VI of

NDEA, the federal government provided assistance for loans and fellowships to be awarded to students interested in teaching or continuing teaching. These Titles provided assistance exclusively for institutions of higher learning, and all funds were to be transmitted directly to the treasurers of these colleges and universities. Contracts were to be arranged, reviewed, negotiated, and approved by the U.S. Office of Education. Each college and university was to be relatively free to administer its own program.

More recently, federal support has developed in the area of college housing and facilities. Modeled after the 1950 College Housing Act, which provided low-interest loans for construction, the Higher Education Facilities Act was passed in 1963. This measure provided assistance to public and other nonprofit institutions of higher education in financing construction and improvement of facilities. Both loans and grants were made available for the construction of classrooms, libraries, and laboratories. Thus, only academic facilities were provided to accommodate increasing enrollments, and such facilities as gymnasiums or facilities for sectarian purposes were excluded. Title I authorized funds for the administration of state plans. The state plan required the submission of grant applications from institutions of higher learning to the state commission designated in each state.

Both graduate and undergraduate facilities were provided funds on a per-state allotment basis, of which 22 percent was earmarked for community and technical colleges. Title VII of the Higher Education Act of 1965 amended and expanded the use of grants to include whatever kind of facilities were chosen with the exception of those buildings housing activities other than educational programs, including those designed for sectarian purposes and for events charging admission.

The Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 represents the federal government's response to the mounting wave of young people attending colleges and universities in this country. During 1966, for instance, Congress appropriated $520 million under this Act alone—an effort that probably will continue to grow as more youth seek a college education during the decades ahead.

The final major higher education act to be summarized in this section represents a historic piece of legislation. The Higher Education Act of 1965 covers a broad range of problems. Community service, continuing education, library training, strengthening small struggling institutions, student assistance, programs for teachers, and the improvement of undergraduate instruction were among the provisions of this Act. It was by far the most comprehensive higher education legislation ever passed by Congress. From California's allotment of $48 million to Alaska's $455,000, a total sum of $501.5 million was authorized to carry out the intent of this Act in 1966 alone.

This Act stimulated "a whole new sense of mission among many of the nation's colleges and universities," asserted Theodore O. Cron, editor of *American Education,* a publication of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (28). He continued with this challenge:

> Making university resources available to beleaguered city administrators for the solution of urban problems—what an opportunity for the creative chancellor and his staff. Expanding student aid in several directions so that equal educational opportunities may exist—what a rewarding task for the dedicated dean. Within the provisions of this act lie the raw materials for renewing our special kind of genius: more and better education for all (29).

In conclusion, the state role in federal programs for higher education is markedly limited, with the exception of those applications and plans that are channeled through state commissions on higher education. Higher education institutions receive funds through their treasuries for a wide range of programs. Each act has had a specific or a "set" of specific purposes to be achieved. The implications of statewide vis-à-vis nationwide systems of public higher education and of the appropriate role of the state educational agency most responsible for higher education in the state raise some important issues pertaining to the federal government's traditional legislative activities in this area. These and other consequences of bypassing state educational agencies will be discussed later in this chapter.

Federal Programs for Vocational Education

1887 Hatch Act: supplemented the Morrill Act for the purpose of agricultural experimentation
1914 Smith-Lever Act: provided for a program of cooperative extension work in agriculture and home economics
1917 Smith-Hughes Act: provided for the promotion of education in agriculture, the trades, and industry
1946 Vocational Education Act (George-Deen Act as amended by George-Barden Act): extended amounts of previous vocational education grants and broadened the scope of programs permitted under them
1950 Federal Civil Defense Act: provided support for education in civil defense and training in radiological monitoring to selected persons
1958 National Defense Education Act, Title VIII: authorized appropriations for area vocational programs consisting of less-than-college-grade courses to develop individuals for useful employment
1962 Manpower Training and Development Act: provided for occupational training for unemployed adult workers, manpower planning based on research, and a counseling program for youths 16 years of age and older for further schooling and occupational training
1963 Vocational Education Act: provided for occupational training for persons of all ages and achievement levels, improvement of existing programs and the development of new programs, and provided for part-time employment for youths needing employment to continue their vocational education

The role of the federal government in the development of vocational education represents over a century of progress. By far, the most crucial bill in this development was the Morrill Act signed by President Lincoln in 1862. To assess the long-range effects of this Act on American education, particularly on vocational and technical education, would be a difficult undertaking. It would be even more problematical to imagine that the Congressmen who passed the Morrill bill could have foreseen the implications of their action. Although very little public opinion was aroused over the bill, Congressional debate was centered around the extent to which the federal government was responsible for education at the local level and the issue of land distribution. For it was feared that the "Easterners" were involved in a power play to acquire large tracts from the territories (30). Nevertheless, this Act paved the way in the development of vocational education as an important area of study in higher education. Eventually, it even led to the expansion of vocational curriculum activities below the college level.

The history of the federal government's involvement in vocational education within state school systems has evolved from a continuing response to the demands of American society for technological leadership among the industrial nations of the world and for full employment for those affected by "technological employment" and those victimized by lack of education and opportunity to take full advantage of life's chances. This special-purpose legislation, therefore, is a matter of national concern, an area in which the federal government has assumed responsibility on behalf of the "general welfare" of this nation.

Because vocational educational legislation paved the way for federal involvement at the secondary and elementary levels, this section begins with a discussion of how national interest groups influenced the adoption of the first major legislative acts at the turn of the century. The major vocational education bills passed by Congress during the twentieth century conclude this discussion.

National Interest Groups and Vocational Education. The influence of national interest groups in stimulating and shaping vocational education programs has had significant bearing on the alternative of actions chosen by the federal government. Interests expressed through petitions, resolutions, studies, personal contacts, and other methods have been used to influence federal policy in this area of education. Among those agencies expressing interest in the goals for vocational education have been agricultural agencies, the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations, the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education, the National Education Association, the American Federation of Labor, the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, and the American Management Association. The growing and sustaining interest, as well as the various viewpoints and arguments concerning issues related to vocational education, can be attributed in large part to the influence these organizations have had on proposals for federally aided programs of vocational education. In addition, it is likely that these organizations have had an impact in shaping the contemporary public attitude toward governmental actions on vocational education bills.

Around the turn of the century, several organizations began to publicly support agricultural and industrial education below college level. The Office of Experiment Stations of the U.S. Department of Agriculture and the Association of Agricultural Colleges and Experiment Stations favored vocational studies at the secondary level and expressed approval of federal aid for public secondary schools offering programs in agriculture, home economics, and industrial and manual training. However, it was the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education that resolved differences between management and labor and succeeded in influencing the establishment of a national commission on federal aid to vocational education (31).

In 1903, a committee of the National Education Association (NEA) met in Boston to report on industrial education in rural communities. Five years later, a department of rural and agricultural education was organized in the NEA. During this early period, the NEA convention focused attention on two questions. The first concerned the alternatives of a dual system of secondary schools or a single system offering a broader program of academic and vocational courses. The second concerned the manner in which the early bills were formulated for vocational education. The NEA opposed many of the earlier vocational education bills because school superintendents were not consulted during the development of the bills, and the bills were not supported by what the Association considered adequate studies (32).

The American Federation of Labor, the National Association of Manufacturers, and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States all favored federal appropriations for vocational education. There were proposals for the allocation of funds to the states on an equal basis, the creation of a federal board to administer the funds, and the use of a national commission representing various organized interests (33).

The activities of these interest groups resulted in federal aid for vocational education at the public secondary school level. Although their demands varied, often resulting in conflicting viewpoints, they collectively influenced the federal government to provide vocational education at public expense for secondary schools. This collective interest ultimately resulted in the passage of the first major vocational education law, the Smith-Hughes Act, and led to subsequent legislation in the tradition of this federal policy.

Vocational Education Acts. The federal government's involvement in vocational education of "less than college grade" is largely a twentieth century phenomenon. This involvement has been limited to specific-purpose programs. A brief delineation of some of the major federal grants that have stimulated state and local activity in vocational education follows.

The Agricultural Experiment Station Acts of 1887 and 1914 provided funds for agricultural science and extending agricultural education outside the college. Because of the Hatch Act of 1887, the instructors in such colleges became researchers also. However, farmers were not readily accepting of what was offered by the colleges at that time; thus, the rate of adoption of agricultural innovations was substantially less at the beginning of this century than at present. The Smith-Lever Act of 1914, often referred to as the Agricultural Extension Act, brought about the county agent, the travelling demonstrator, and other state agents responsible for disseminating information about home economics and agricultural developments through demonstrations, institutes, and correspondence classes. It is important to note that the Smith-Lever Act was the first grant by which the federal government required matching funds from the state. Agricultural colleges and states typically have complained more about the detailed bureaucratic reports resulting from these funds than they have about expending equal amounts. These two grants were the last of those contributing to the higher education prior to the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917.

By far the most important act affecting vocational education in the United States was the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This Act extended the study of agriculture, home economics, industrial subjects, and the like to the secondary schools. It also provided for the preparation of teachers in these areas. Senator Hoke Smith and Representative Dudley Hughes of Georgia were members of the Commission on National Aid to Vocational Education, which supported the bill sponsored and named after them. This Act provides approximately $7 million annually divided into funds to support teacher salaries, the preparation of teachers, and the administration of the Act. All buildings and equipment under this Act were to be provided by state or local funds.

The George-Barden Act of 1946 authorized nearly $50 million for vocational education, home economics, trades and industry, the distributive occupations, and other trades in 1965. Essentially, it was one of a series of acts, beginning with the George-Reed Act of 1934, a temporary measure authorizing $1 million annually, and followed by the George-Ellzey Act (1934) and the George-Deen Act (1936), which authorized $3 million and $14 million, respectively. These Acts expanded the Smith-Hughes Act. What is more, they supported vocational education for secondary school students. The George-Barden Act benefited mostly the rural population and was appropriated on this basis. Its requirements are basically the same as those of the Smith-Hughes Act, and both require a 50 percent state matching of funds.

Another act providing for vocational education in a specialized area was the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950. This Act yielded appropriations for adult education in civil defense and "training in radiological monitoring for selected individuals in local communities." In 1965, these funds were transferred from the Office of Civil Defense to the Office of Education. The award is based on contracts with the states, and state plans are reviewed by the Associate Commissioner of Adult and Vocational Education. The federal government contributes all funds for the program.

Title VIII of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 also provided $15 million for area vocational schools for training "highly skilled technicians in recognized occupations requiring scientific knowledge . . . in fields necessary for the national defense." This Title came in response to national concern over Soviet achievements in outer space and America's desperate need for highly qualified personnel in the fields of science and engineering.

Title VIII was made an amendment to the George-Barden Act, making it subject to the requirements of this vocational education act.

The Area Redevelopment Act of 1961 (ARA) and the Manpower Development and Training Act of 1962 (MDTA) were both enacted to provide vocational-technical education to the unemployed and unemployable. They were responses to demands for full employment and to new technological pressures to provide training for dislocated persons and youth to fill manpower shortages caused by advanced technology. The ARA authorized $4.5 million annually to states, and the funds were to be distributed by state vocational educational boards. In 1965, funds were transferred from the Department of Labor to the Office of Education in the amount of approximately $138 million under P.L. 87-415, MDTA Title 11-C. Awards were made to the "State Vocational Educational Agency or any other agency designated by the State or by direct agreement between the U.S. Commissioner of Education with the training facility." Under Title 11-B, Institutional Training, awards may also be made to any appropriate education agency offering special youth programs or basic education.

Many suggest that the Vocational Education Act of 1963 was the most important bill passed by Congress since the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. The Act extended existing programs; encouraged research and experimentation; provided work-study programs to part-time employment of young people supplementing their vocational training; and amended the Smith-Hughes, George-Barden, and NDEA Acts. This Act began with authorizations of $60 million for the fiscal year 1964 and increased each year to a maximum of $225 million for fiscal year 1967. *Education for a Changing World of Work* was the title of a report which provided Congress with the necessary information on which to draw up the Vocational Education Act of 1963. The panel was led by Chicago School Superintendent Benjamin Willis and University of California Professor of Education J. Chester Swanson (34). It recommended expenditures beginning with $57 million and increasing to $400 million. President John F. Kennedy appointed the panel, and it was he who stated in his Message to Congress on American Education in 1961 that—

> The National Vocational Education Acts, first enacted by the Congress in 1917 and subsequently amended, have provided a program of training for industry, agriculture, and other occupational areas. The basic purpose of our vocational education effort is sound and sufficiently broad to provide a basis for meeting future needs. However, the technological changes which have occurred in all occupations call for a review and re-evaluation of these acts, with a view toward their modernization.
>
> To that end, I am requesting the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to convene an advisory body drawn from the educational profession, labor, industry, and agriculture, as well as the lay public, together with representatives from the Departments of Agriculture and Labor to be charged with the responsibility of reviewing and evaluating the current National Vocational Education Acts, and making recommendations for improving and redirecting the Program (35).

Thus, this Act was signed by President Johnson in 1963, an action which opened a new era in the federal government's involvement in vocational education.

Before 1965, other bills indirectly affecting the state education departments were passed. They have been transmitted either directly to an authorized institution or allocated to the states for pilot projects submitted by local educational agencies and for state supervisory assistance. Two of these bills are Title I of the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and the Adult Basic Education Program of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964. The intent of the former is "to construct or improve undergraduate facilities." This Act authorized $230 million to be awarded to undergraduate institutions. The latter, referred to as the "equal opportunity" or anti-poverty bill, provided nearly $1 billion to fight poverty by assisting disadvantaged youth, low-income farmers, small businessmen, and generally those "who have not shared in the abundance which has been granted to most of us, and on whom the gates of opportunity have been closed."

Work-training and work-study programs were funded through Title I of the Economic Opportunity Act. They were established to support basic education and vocational training for approximately 40,000 youths aged 16 to 21. Part-time work was also provided in several types of public agencies. Title II allotted almost $340 million for community action programs designed to alleviate poverty. Projects included such services as personal guidance, remedial education, and slum clearance. Title II also provided basic education for adults to ensure literacy, thereby gaining employment of adults who had been retarded economically by their inability to read and write.

Either through design or related policy statements, the vocational education acts have resulted in the creation of state boards of vocational education (36). Most of the states, however, have designated their traditional state board of education as the vocational education board. Moreover, they have assigned the chief state school officer as executive officer. There are some states, however, that maintain separate state boards for vocational education which are comprised in part of representatives of management and labor in the industrial and agricultural fields. In some of the states, the chief state school officer is an ex officio member of the vocational education board. Many states favor separation of state boards because they fear an overemphasis on general and academic interests at the expense of programs for vocational education. This position is scorned by those who feel that vocational education is a part of the total educational program and should be subjected to the decisions and policies of the board of education responsible for the entire program of public institutions in the states.

The administration and planning associated with the vocational education acts has been consistently attacked. On the one hand, it has been suggested that the states assume primary leadership in all places where vocational programs exist and that the federal government eliminate the specific and detailed controls involved in the administration of the programs. On the other hand, there are those who have applauded the national government's involvement in vocational education. In short, they would suggest that it is a federal responsibility to ensure and safeguard the nation's efforts in training for technological, agricultural, and general vocational education programs (37). These arguments have been documented continually and elaborately in the literature of federal aid to education. And, of course, these controversies are by no means settled nor are they leveled exclusively at vocational education acts.

Federal Programs for Elementary and Secondary Education

1940 Lanham Act: provided financial aid to local communities in which war-incurred federal activities created financial difficulty for local school districts

1950 Federal Assistance Laws, P.L. 874 and P.L. 815: provided financial support for school operation and construction in federally affected areas to share in the local costs of educating children whose parents live or work on property owned by the federal government

1950 National Science Foundation: support of basic research, training, and education in the sciences and interchange and dissemination of scientific information

1958 National Defense Education Act: provided assistance for strengthening instruction in science, mathematics, modern foreign languages, and other critical subjects; and for counseling, guidance, and identification and encouragement of able students

1959 Clubs for Boys and Girls Interested in Science: assistance for the development of interest in science through clubs, science fairs, and the like among the young people of America

1965 National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act: financial support of curriculum activities to such courses of study as history, law, philosophy, dance, drama, motion pictures, painting, sculpture, and the like

1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act: provided financial assistance for special programs for educationally deprived children; school library resources, textbooks and other instructional materials; supplementary educational centers and services; educational research and development; and strengthening state departments of education

1967 Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments: extends provisions of ESEA of 1965, the Adult Education Act of 1966, financial support for federally connected children; permitted lead-time for expenditures in school districts; increased aid for handicapped children and children requiring special education; and provided technical assistance to small school districts for effective applications for funds

The history of federal aid to elementary and secondary education is brief compared with that of higher education and vocational education. In fact, the federal government's concern with vocational education initiated its involvement at the elementary and secondary levels with the enactment of the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. This section explicates those educational programs and curriculum activities providing assistance for general and specific purposes at the elementary and secondary levels. It will be noted that, with the exception of the aid for federally affected public schools and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, most of the programs emphasize categorical assistance for particular courses of study.

From 1940 to 1965, Congress authorized federal funds through three major acts for school districts affected by both war and peacetime federal activities and federal use of local property. This legislation has usually been designated as "aid in lieu of tax payments." The first of these acts has lapsed, but the latter two still pay for the education of "federally connected students." These acts have resulted in special problems in the area of intergovernmental relations. Many of the problems resulted from seemingly bipolar opinions that exist on the issues of "states' rights" and "local home rule." Other problems have grown out of the methods of determining federal payment and the inequities arising from the fact that some districts receive aid and suffer no loss of tax revenue because of tax-exempt properties within their borders, while other districts do suffer such loss. Yet despite dissent, the most recent legislation in this area has been considered to incorporate "the most satisfactory method" of determining payments-in-lieu-of-taxes for public school districts.

The Lanham Act of 1940. This was the first of these acts and provided financial aid to local communities in which war-incurred federal activities created financial difficulty for local school districts. This Act provided assistance for school construction and equipment, school maintenance and operation, and child care. The grants amounted to $187 million between 1941 and 1947. The Lanham Act was based on a study conducted for the War and Navy Departments by the U.S. Office of Education and the state departments of education. It was administered by the Federal Works Agency with "advice" on educational dimensions from the USOE. Originally, this agency dealt directly with local school districts, but, as a result of the disapproval of both the USOE and state departments, the Appropriation Act of 1943 was passed, allowing the latter agencies to make recommendations prior to expending these funds. It has been acknowledged, however, that the Federal Works Agency often ignored these educational agencies when allocating these funds. This Act laid the groundwork for Public Laws 815 and 874, "the impact laws," which replaced the Lanham Act in 1950 (38).

The Federal Assistance Laws of 1950. Because local and state governments may not tax federal lands and enterprises, serious financial problems troubled many communities affected by federal installations and such activities as defense and space research. Deficiencies in the public school tax base in federally affected areas continued even after the Second World War and the expiration of the Lanham Act. In September of 1950, President Truman signed an "emergency" law that authorized federal payments to local educational agencies to compensate for part of the cost of educating pupils connected with federal property exempt from local taxes. One week later, he signed a school survey and construction law aimed primarily at helping finance new school construction for these federally affected pupils. Although both these laws were only temporary when enacted, each is still in effect. The overall extent of federal property in the United States is understood as follows:

> According to the most recent inventories of the General Services Administration, there are now about 750,000,000 acres in the public domain—federally owned land. Many of the western states were carved out of the public domain, and in these states substantial blocs of federally owned land remain. In Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah and Wyoming, the federal government owns upwards of one-third of the land in each state, ranging from a low of about 35 per cent in Colorado to more than 85 per cent in Nevada. In spite of recent statehood for Alaska, the government still owns more than 95 per cent of the forty-ninth state's land. Currently, the value of the government's property, including buildings and improvements of the land, exceeds $50,000,000,000 (39).

Public Law 815 provides assistance for construction of school facilities in districts where substantial increases in the numbers of children of federal employees have caused undue burdens; the bill also provides for the construction of school facilities on federal installations. Since this bill's enactment, it has provided more than $1 billion for 9,700 school construction projects and nearly 60,000 classrooms for over 1.5 million students (40).

Assistance to local agencies under Public Law 874 also is designed to compensate for tax losses and contribute to the current support of federally connected children. The rationale for payments to public school systems for current expense purposes is based on the following assumptions: If a schoolchild lives in federal tax-exempt housing, the school system is deprived of revenues normally obtained from taxes levied upon the child's home; and if the parent of a schoolchild is employed on federal tax-exempt property, the school system is deprived of revenues normally obtained from taxes levied against the property where the parent is employed.

In 1963, federal aid supporting local schools through Public Law 874 went to 4,269 school districts in the United States and its territories. The program has increased from approximately $29 million in its first year to $332 million in 1965—in short, it is now 12 times its original allocation (41).

The requirements under each law are similar in that they are based upon three categories of federally connected children. The first pertains to those children who have parents living *and* working on federal property; the second is directed at those who have parents living *or* working on federal property; and the third category designates eligibility for local school districts with children whose parents are working in private defense plants and whose memberships, therefore, result from activities of the United States. (This includes those engaged in either directly or by formal contract with local businesses or industry.)

The administration of Public Laws 874 and 815 involves the direct relationship between the U.S. Office of Education and local school districts. State departments of education are involved only indirectly. Payments are transmitted from the Treasury Department to local school agencies or to their authorized representatives after an audit by the U.S. Office of Education. This legislation often has been referred to as "general aid to education," because once allocated, the federal government cannot specify how much will be spent for books and materials, teachers salaries, or on school construction, with the exception, of course, of Public Law 815 which restricts the use of funds and explicitly excludes building gymnasiums, auditoriums, and other similar single-purpose buildings. Hence, state departments of education have been bypassed, making it difficult for the development of an equitable and comprehensive program for all school districts in a given state. Nonetheless, each state department must take some responsibility for the administration of these "impact" laws. Their responsibility, however, is limited to sanctioning and service activities. Applications for assistance are certified by the state education agencies to assure that they are accurate; and also, insofar as construction applications are concerned, each state agency must ascertain if the proposed building programs conform to state plans for construction. Finally, the chief state school officer is responsible for appointing at least one representative to assist local educational agencies and to work with federal field representatives concerned with these programs.

The National Science Foundation Act of 1950. At this juncture, let us turn to the period following World War II, during which time advances in science and space encouraged international rivalry in the Cold War. Such events clearly set education squarely into the domain of national political interest. International rivalry spurred by the Cold War and Sputnik I led us into not only the social and political arenas, but into technological and economic competition with other industrial nations of the world. Two major programs were enacted purposively to meet these challenges. In 1950, the National Science Foundation was created in an attempt to maintain U.S. leadership in research and development in science. In 1957, this aspect of American leadership was challenged again in the form of a space satellite, Soviet Sputnik I, and the U.S. Congress responded by enacting the National Defense Education Act of 1958.

The National Science Foundation was to be primarily concerned with the support of basic research, training and education in the sciences, and the interchange and dissemination of scientific information. Programs in support of training and education in the sciences ranged from fellowships and institute programs to special projects such as course content for secondary and undergraduate students, improvement programs, and scientific manpower studies. Basic research was perhaps the most important of these purposes. However, the original legislation included reference to the pursuit of a national policy of basic research and education, and Congress has since appropriated additional funds on a regular basis for the educational aspect of the program.

Concern about the number of well trained scientists was intensified after Sputnik I, and substantial increases in appropriations to the National Science Foundation were made by Congress. Annual appropriations were made for the 1965 fiscal year in the following amounts: $45.8 million for institutes for science and mathematics teachers; $3.8 million for supplementary science instruction for secondary students; $830,000 for summer fellowships for mathematics and science teachers; and $14.2 for course content improvement in science and mathematics for both elementary and secondary schools. There was little question about the importance of the NSF contributions toward improving the mathematics and science curriculums in our schools. The impact of the NSF is argued by many to have had a greater impact in some respects than the U.S. Office of Education, especially in the area of curriculum development (42).

The National Science Foundation provided no direct aid to elementary and secondary schools and made no direct payments to state departments of education. Most of its payments were made to institutions of higher education or to nonprofit research and development organizations. NSF clearly has helped to bridge the gap between the discovery of new knowledge and its incorporation in school curriculums. Although these indirect federal contributions have done little to relieve the local tax base, they have provided a precedent for federal leadership in education which could result in the encouragement of "non-coercive" curriculum development in other fields of learning common to all schools at the local level. However, a federally sponsored curriculum would prove to be controversial in some states, in some communities, and in some school subjects. This would indicate that a great deal of articulation and coordination should follow any such trend between federal, state, and local educational agencies.

The National Defense Education Act of 1958. This law was Congress' response to the Soviet Union's success in space, but there were also other important reasons for the enactment of this legislation. The knowledge explosion; the technological and scientific revolution; the population explosion coupled with high rates of school enrollment, dropouts, delinquency, and shifts from rural to urban living—all were important factors initiating support for NDEA. Under this Act, federal appropriations were made for increasing the supply of competent teachers; strengthening instruction in mathematics, science, and modern foreign languages; improving guidance and testing programs and developing counseling services for identifying and encouraging able students; and providing grants to improve state educational agencies statistical services and to support research and experimentation in more effective use of educational "media," such as television, motion pictures, radio, and the like.

The Office of Education, by which the NDEA is administered, has sought to carry out its responsibility in accord with the principle that state and local educational agencies have and must take primary responsibility for public education. It plays a consultative role, approves state plans, provides matching funds, and gives assistance on request. Section 102 of the NDEA states specifically that—

> Nothing contained in this act shall be construed to authorize any department, agency, officer or employees of the United States to exercise any direction or control over the curriculum, program of instruction, administration or personnel of an educational agency.

The administration of the NDEA funds is essentially the responsibility of the states. There are, nevertheless, major criticisms of this Act. The first pertains to the auditing requirements, or the so-called "strings attached," designed to assure that the funds achieve their intended purpose. Second, some criticism is leveled at the well defined purposes for which the NDEA appropriations are allocated. Questions are raised such as What effect does the administration of such an act have upon the state and local agencies staffing or personnel needs? Has the federal government chosen the most appropriate areas for assistance? How do such programs affect the cause for general federal assistance to elementary and secondary education? Such issues as these continue to bother state educational agencies and to influence the character of intergovernmental relations in education. State educational policy inevitably has to be adjusted to the specific purposes selected by the federal government because of their national implications, and decisions to accept available federal resources on a matching basis also in some way must affect other unsubsidized or at least under-subsidized programs at the state level.

Science Clubs Act of 1959. Congress, through Public Law 85-875, entitled Clubs for Boys and Girls Interested in Science, appropriated the necessary funds not to exceed a maximum of $50,000 "to enable the Commissioner of Education to encourage, foster, and assist in the establishment in localities throughout the nation of clubs which are composed of boys and girls who have a special interest in science." This program, modeled after the Future Farmers of America, was to be handled exclusively by the Office of Education and was specifically designed to develop an interest in science on the part of the young people in America, provide an opportunity for the exchange of scientific information and ideas among members of the clubs, encourage the promotion of science fairs at which members of the clubs may display their scientific work and projects, and develop an awareness of the satisfactions to be derived throughout a career devoted to science. These objectives were consistent with those set forth in the aforementioned acts which were designed to improve the quality of education in certain areas of the curriculum of elementary and secondary schools.

The National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965. This legislation expanded the federal government's support of curricular activities to such courses of study as history, law, philosophy, dance, drama, motion pictures, painting, sculpture, and the like. The appropriation for fiscal year 1966 was $500,000. Hence, in response to the various groups expressing the need for a well balanced effort on the part of the federal government, this Act reached beyond the areas of science, mathematics, and modern foreign language to enable state education agencies to acquire equipment, textbooks, and other materials to advance the humanities and arts as a critical aspect of the curriculum.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Clearly, the most impressive legislative feat ever executed by Congress in the history of educational legislation was the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. Congress appropriated approximately $1.3 billion for public education, an unprecedented sum for any single federal measure for education. This largest commitment ever made to improve educational opportunities in elementary and secondary schools was designed to provide special programs for educationally deprived children; school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials; supplementary educational centers and services, as well as exemplary projects to serve as models for regular school programs; funds for educational research and development; and assistance for strengthening state departments of education. In 1967, this Act was amended and extended under Public Law 90-247. For this reason, the initial discussion of ESEA of 1965 will focus on the significant aspects of this legislation with implications for federal-state relations and will be followed by a discussion of the major alterations and their effect on state educational agencies as set forth in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967.

ESEA, Public Law 89-10, was seen as a major breakthrough in educational legislation. In less than 4 months after introduction, the House and the Senate had acted on it. It was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on April 11, 1965 —only 2 days after the Senate approved it —in the one-room schoolhouse the President had attended when a boy. The expedience with which the bill progressed through the committees and subcommittees of Congress may have been a perception by many that the landslide election of President Johnson and the favorable majorities in both the House and Senate gave him a mandate for a major federal program in education, especially for the poor. The magnitude of the bill and the speed with which it was adopted and signed clearly constituted a high-water mark in the legislative process (43).

The major share of ESEA appropriations, more than $1 billion, was paid to local educational agencies to help children of low-income families. Local applications for federal funds, however, were subject to approval by the appropriate state educational agency. This largest portion of ESEA funds was allocated through Title I and was designed to serve concentrations of children from low-income families and to some extent the general education programs in the local schools they attended. On the one hand, these grants were to be used for specific social purposes, supporting special programs for the disadvantaged, neglected, handicapped, delinquent, American Indian children, children of migratory workers, and a variety of programs and projects for educationally deprived young people. As the program matured, the projects were increasingly concentrated on disadvantaged children and youth.

Until the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 were enacted, Title I was based on a formula which allocated funds on the basis of the number of children from low-income families (annual income of less than $2,000 per year), multiplied by 50 percent of each state's average per-pupil expenditure. This formula was modified, however, in the Amendments of 1967, making it optional to use one-half of the national average expenditure per child from low-income families if it is higher than the state's average expenditure. This had the effect of increasing the shares of states with low school costs.

The benefits of Title II of ESEA may be realized by children and teachers in public and private schools. This Title requires a state plan which is administered by a state agency, directly or through arrangements with other state and local public agencies. Funds for this Title, approximately $100 million for the first year and slightly higher amounts for succeeding years up to 1968, were provided for library materials, textbooks, and other published materials. Appropriations were to be determined on the basis of a statewide survey of need. Each state plan was required to provide assurance that those private elementary and secondary schools that complied with the compulsory state attendance laws, or were recognized by the state through another procedure customarily used in that state, would be provided library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials on an equitable basis with other schools in the state. Thus, Title II was intended to be publicly administered and to offer assistance to all public schools and to pupils and teachers in private schools conforming with minimum state requirements for secular education.

Hence, both of the foregoing Titles were administered differently by state educational agencies. The state's administrative role in Title I was that of reviewing and approving local applications to the state agencies for federal funds, but payments were made directly from federal to local agencies. The administrative pattern of Title II, on the other hand, afforded greater state responsibility and control because of the adoption of a state plan originated and developed at the state level. The administrative procedure of Title III, moreover, followed a third pattern for federal-state administration.

Initially, the most controversial aspect of ESEA of 1965 was undoubtedly Title III, which made possible direct grants for projects and supplementary educational centers and services to foster innovative and exemplary educational programs for elementary and secondary schools. This controversy emanated from the administrative pattern established by Congress (44). The major distinction of this Title from those previously mentioned was that state educational agencies were not authorized to approve or to disapprove projects or programs proposed under Title III. State departments of education received copies of local applications to the Office of Education and could comment on them, but their recommendations did not have to be followed. This Title became the subject of intense debate during the Ninetieth Congress, resulting in a major shift in federal policy from bypassing state agencies to allowing states to submit annual plans for administering 75 percent of appropriated funds in 1969. The Amendments of 1967 are discussed later in this section with further elaboration on this significant reversal of federal authority in favor of state authority.

Since federal support for research activities is discussed later in this chapter in the section on "Federal Programs for Special Services," only brief mention of Title IV of ESEA will be made here. This Title amended the Cooperative Research Act of 1954 and considerably expanded the federal government's support of research activities. Under the former Act, grants were made only to colleges, universities, and state departments. This Title expanded these activities to a variety of basic, developmental, and dissemination endeavors and provided for the construction of national and regional laboratories for research. No changes were made in Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967.

Finally, Title V of ESEA was designated for the purpose of—

> . . . making grants to stimulate and assist States in strengthening the leadership resources of their State educational agencies, and to assist those agencies in the establishment and improvement of programs to identify and meet the educational needs of States (45).

This Title authorized two kinds of grants. The first provided basic grants for educational planning and for developing, improving, and expanding projects to strengthen state educational agencies. The second established grants for special projects in experimentation and provision of special services in state departments of education. Until fiscal year 1969, 15 percent of the Title V appropriations could be used for projects developed cooperatively among states, and most of the remainder was used by individual states. At that time, only 5 percent was left for interstate projects, 10 percent was earmarked for planning projects in local educational agencies, and most of the remainder was left to the individual states. Also, 2-year interchanges of personnel between the U.S. Office of Education and state departments of education was made possible under this Title.

Basic grants under Title V of ESEA have assisted a variety of programs ranging from statewide educational planning and evaluation to consultative, technical, and a variety of other activities assisting local educational agencies in improvement of curriculums, quality of teaching, and administrative services. It also is important to draw attention to the amount of assistance Title V has provided in the initial and ongoing work of the state department in planning, organizing, and administering Titles I and II of the same Act. In a real sense, ESEA was designed to assure that the assistance provided for preparation for state approval of local projects under Title I, for formulating state plans for Title II, and even for preparing baseline data to support internal improvements in the state departments themselves was built into the legislation under Title V.

The Amendments of 1967. Almost 3 years after ESEA of 1965 was passed, President Lyndon B. Johnson, on signing H.R. 7819, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967, concluded—

> What this law means is that we are now giving every child in America a better chance to touch his outermost limits —to reach the farthest edge of his talents and his dreams. We have begun a campaign to unlock the full potential of every boy and girl—regardless of his race or his region or his father's income.
>
> That is what we started 32 months ago out in front of the Junction School and that is what we are going to continue, even though we will be somewhat restricted in the next year because of our international and fiscal problems.
>
> So today, as I sign this bill, I repeat what I told those who were there that day: "No law I have signed—or will sign—means more to the future of America" (46).

In brief, the Amendments of 1967 were designed to make major changes in existing programs, to provide new programs, and to extend or modify several titles of existing programs. Title I amended several Titles of ESEA of 1965. Title II clarified the meaning of "federal property" and contained provisions for assistance for school construction and current expenditures in federally impacted areas and for schools damaged by natural disasters. Title III extended the duration and authorization of certain programs under ESEA of 1965 and P.L. 815 and 874. Title IV provided adequate leadtime for planning and evaluating elementary and secondary education programs. Title V extended the Adult Education Act of 1966. Title VI provided for a study of schoolbus safety. Finally, Title VII provided assistance for bilingual education programs for children from non-English-speaking backgrounds.

Major Amendments to ESEA in 1967. ESEA of 1965 underwent major alterations as a result of the Amendments of 1967, particularly insofar as the allocation and administration of federal funds were concerned. Already mention has been made of the changes in formula for allocating funds under Title I of ESEA. The new formula allowed for a more equitable distribution of federal dollars in that states with average expenditures per child less than the national average could use the latter in figuring their allocation for handicapped, neglected, delinquent, and migratory children.

The most noteworthy shift in federal participation in state educational systems may be found in the administration of Title III of ESEA. Formerly, provisions under Title III, which supports projects and supplementary educational centers and services, bypassed state educational agencies. Local agencies requested grants by submitting proposals directly to the U.S. commissioner of education. Under Section 304(a), this administrative pattern was altered, and the following provisions were implemented:

> Section 304(a). A grant under this title pursuant to an approved State plan or by the Commissioner for a supplementary educational center or service program or project may be made only to a local educational agency or agencies, and then only if there is satisfactory assurance that, in the planning of that program or project there has been, and in the establishment and carrying out thereof there will be, participation of persons broadly representative of the cultural and educational resources of the area to be served.

Thus, with the exception of not more than 25 percent of a state's allotment, which is reserved for the U.S. commissioner of education for special grants, all states were required to submit state plans for Title III funds. By fiscal year 1970, nearly 100 percent of all funds allotted under this Title should be administered by state plans; by 1971, all funds probably will be administered in this way. Moreover, each state was given the authority through this Amendment to appoint a state advisory council representative of cultural and educational resources of the state for the purpose of advising, reviewing, and recommending with respect to the preparation of the state plan and related policy matters. This, too, was a major step in the direction of reaffirming the historic role of the state in the educational system of this country.

Title V of ESEA of 1965 also was amended and extended for 2 years. This Title, "Strengthening State Departments of Education," was amended to provide a revised formula that would apportion 40 percent of the sums equally among the states. The remainder of the appropriation was to be allocated on the basis of public school children in each state. Moreover, funds for planning by local educational agencies were authorized for 1969. Ten percent of the Title V funds were to be used for planning at the local level in the same way appropriations were used at the state level. Similarly, at the federal level, 5 percent—a reduction of previous appropriations—was set aside for the commissioner for planning and implementing interstate and regional projects.

Amendments to Titles VI and VII of ESEA of 1965 consolidated a few existing programs and expanded the Act to include various new programs. Title VI, in its original form under P.L. 89-10, 89th Congress, H.R. 2362, April 11, 1965, referred only to general provisions applying definitions to specific terms used in Titles II, III, and V of the same Act. After the Amendments of 1967, existing programs under Title VI of ESEA of 1965, "Education of Handicapped Children" (see section on "Federal Programs for Special Services" in this chapter), became Part A of this Title. Part B established programs for regional resource centers to provide data about needs of handicapped children, programs to meet such needs, and assistance to agencies providing educational programs for the handicapped. Part C authorized a limited number of model centers for deaf-blind children. Part D, likewise, was a new program and authorized funds for the recruitment of personnel and the dissemination of information on education of the handicapped.

Finally, amendments to Title VII of ESEA of 1965, "General Provisions," called for renumbering it as Title VIII and adding a new Title VII, "Bilingual Education Programs." Hence, the new Title provided grants to local educational agencies or to institutions of higher education applying jointly with a local educational agency for programs of bilingual education. Under the Amendments of 1967, Title VII of ESEA of 1965 was changed to Title VIII, "General Provisions," and provided two new subsections. The first authorized federal funds for counseling and technical assistance to local school districts in rural areas upon request of state educational agencies for determining benefits and assisting in the preparation of applications for funds under federal laws. The second —Section 807(a)—authorized the U.S. commissioner to make contracts and grants with local educational agencies for the purpose of—

> . . . carrying out by such agencies in schools which (1) are located in urban or rural areas, (2) have a high percentage of children from families with an income not exceeding the low-income factor, as defined in section 103(c), and (3) have a high percentage of such children who do not complete their education in elementary or secondary school, of demonstration projects involving the use of innovative methods, systems, materials, or programs which show promise of reducing the number of such children who do not complete their education in elementary and secondary schools.

State approval was required for projects which were designed to meet such problems.

Heretofore, the legislative summary of amendments and new programs have applied to changes in ESEA of 1965. At this juncture, attention is drawn to Titles II, III, IV, V, and VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967. Titles II and V amended and extended current programs for federally affected areas and the Adult Education Act of 1966. Title III simply extended the duration and authorization of Titles I, II, and VI of ESEA of 1965. Under P.L. 815, school construction provisions for Indian lands were modified; payments were approved for children whose residence changed because of international boundary alterations between Mexico and the United States; and discretion may be used by the U.S. commissioner to waive or reduce, whenever he feels exceptional circumstances have caused inequities, the minimum number requirement of percentage of federally connected children required to qualify for a specified amount of federal dollars. Also, major disaster provisions were extended, and assistance was made available for minor disasters that result from natural causes.

The Adult Education Act of 1966 is discussed in the next section of this chapter, so only brief mention is made of it here. Title V of the Amendments of 1967 extended the Act for 2 years and provided that states could contract with either public or private nonprofit agencies for carrying out such programs. The federal share was set for 90 percent, with the exception of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands which may receive 100 percent aid for adult education programs.

Schoolbus safety was the subject of Title VI of the Amendments of 1967. This Title authorized the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, in cooperation with the Secretary of Transportation, to conduct an investigation and make recommendations with regard to schoolbus safety. An appropriation of $150,000 was authorized, and the results of this study were to be reported not later than January 31, 1969.

At this writing, one of the most significant titles for improved federal, state, and local relations was not yet implemented by appropriations committees in Congress. The importance of Title IV of the Amendments of 1967, "Provisions for Adequate Leadtime" and for "Planning and Evaluating in Elementary and Secondary Education Programs," is seen in the leadtime provided for state and local agencies to prepare and plan for available federal assistance. Authorization for appropriations to allow for the planning and evaluation of projects and programs for the succeeding year applied to all but Title IV of ESEA of 1965 and to the Adult Education Act of 1966 (Title III of P.L. 89-750). Appropriations were to be included in the appropriation act for such titles in the preceding fiscal year for which they were made available. Accordingly, local school districts and state departments would be able to rely on a given amount of federal funds and to plan their educational programs accordingly. The importance of this is understood in Congress, but not many Senators and Congressmen on appropriations committees are yet willing to commit funds for 2 years in advance.

In summary, major concessions were made in the Amendments of 1967 in favor of state departments of education and state responsiblity for the development of programs to meet the needs of the state. Emphasis on the state plan as a means for administering federal funds was discussed at length in the closing House debate on May 24, 1967. Proposals for changes in the administrative pattern of several titles were made. Title III of ESEA was modified substantially in favor of state participation, and consideration was given to state and local officials who urged leadtime for planning and implementing federal programs. This section concludes with a table which shows a summary of authorizations and appropriations for Public Law 90-247.

Federal Programs for Adult Education

1962	Manpower Development Training Act: provided for occupational training and retraining of adult workers whose skills had become obsolete because of automation and new technologies
1963	Educational Television Broadcasting Facilities Act, Part IV: assisted in the construction of educational television broadcasting facilities
1964	The Economic Opportunity Act, Title II: provided instruction for individuals, 18 and over, whose ability to read and write English impaired their ability to obtain or retain employment commensurate with their ability
1966	Adult Education Act: provided assistance for basic educational programs for adults to help prepare them for occupational training and more profitable livelihoods (See also Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Amendments of 1967 in the preceding section of this chapter.)

Adult education has grown rapidly over the past few decades. Rapid changes in society have caused nearly one out of five adults to become engaged in some kind of learning activity. The complexities connected with the present rate of technological change make it a necessity for many persons, whether they finished their formal education at the high school level or at the college level, to enroll in specialized programs and courses in the local schools. To meet these new demands, the federal government enacted two major programs in recent years: the Manpower Development Training Act of 1962 (MDTA) and Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, which later became the Adult Edu-

Table 1—ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION AMENDMENTS OF 1967: AUTHORIZATIONS AND APPROPRIATIONS

	Fiscal year 1968 authorizations	Fiscal year 1968 appropriations	Fiscal year 1969 authorizations	Fiscal year 1970 authorizations
Title I:				
Assistance for education of children of low-income families	$2,563,067,584	$1,191,000,000	$2,725,959,699	$2,862,175,945
Special incentive grants	...	...	50,000,000	50,000,000
Title II: School library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials	154,500,000	104,457,000	167,375,000	206,000,000
Title III: Supplementary educational centers and services	515,000,000	208,750,000	527,865,000	566,500,000
Title V:				
Strengthening state departments of education	50,000,000	29,750,000	80,000,000	80,000,000
Comprehensive educational planning	...	...	...	...
Title VI: Education of handicapped children:				
Pt. A—Grants to states	154,000,000	15,000,000	167,375,000	206,000,000
Pt. B—Regional resource centers	...	...	7,750,000	10,000,000
Pt. C—Centers and services for deaf-blind children	...	...	3,000,000	7,000,000
Pt. D—Recruitment of personnel and information	...	...	1,000,000	1,000,000
Pt. E—Captioned films for the handicapped	5,000,000	2,800,000	8,000,000	10,000,000
Dissemination of information (sec. 706)	2,000,000	...	3,700,000	4,000,000
Dropout prevention projects (sec. 707)	...	...	30,000,000	30,000,000
School construction (Public Law 815)	...	22,937,000	66,000,000	66,000,000
Maintenance and operations (Public Law 874)	461,500,000	416,200,000	510,000,000	545,0[illegible],000
Adult education programs	60,000,000	40,350,000	70,000,000	80,000,000
Study of schoolbus safety	...	...	150,000	...
Bilingual education	...	...	30,000,000	40,000,000
Research and demonstration (handicapped, Public Law 88–164)	...	11,100,000	...	18,000,000
Total	$3,965,067,584	$2,042,344,000	$4,448,184,699	$4,781,675,945
Total, conference report (H.R. 7819), fiscal years 1969 and 1970			$9,229,860,644	

Source:
U.S. Congress, Senate, Subcommittee of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 With Background Materials and Tables,* Committee print, 90th Cong.; 2d sess. (Washington: Government Printing Office, March 1968), p. 5[illegible]

cation Act of 1966. Another program of specialized significance was the Educational Television Broadcasting Facilities Act.

The major purposes of the Manpower Development and Training Act were twofold. Generally, this Act was the response of the Kennedy Administration and Congress to the critical shortages of manpower in occupational categories vital to the nation's freedom, as well as to the need for making maximum use of the nation's manpower by training and retraining persons dislocated by automation and other technological developments. Specifically, MDTA had two basic titles. They first established the resources needed for appraising, developing, and applying information pertaining to the manpower requirements of the country and devising the appropriate methodologies for utilizing new and appropriate techniques in achieving relevant goals in the manpower area. Title II provided for training and skill development programs.

Not long after MDTA was initiated, it became the subject for much criticism because it did little to help the hard-core unemployed. It was fundamentally a vocational education act, as distinguished from one that would assist those who were illiterate or semiliterate. Congress attempted to resolve such problems by passing amendments to the Act in 1963 and 1965. One of the more significant amendments called for an allowance of 20 weeks of training in the "basic educational skills." This was certainly a nominal preparatory program and was necessary if many individuals were to have even a moderate measure of success in their occupational training.

Another important feature of the MDTA is its provisions for school dropouts. Dropouts under 22 years of age who have been out of school for at least 1 year may be enrolled in training courses if regular school attendance is impracticable. Funds are available for the eligible youth so that they can afford to enroll in such programs. Although MDTA is not the typical federal aid to education program, it nevertheless fills an important gap for many adults and young people who do not attend public schools. Moreover, this Act expands the Area Redevelopment Training Act in that it recognizes training needs as a national rather than a local program or as exclusively the problem of depressed areas (47).

The administration of the Manpower Development Training Act was established as a joint responsibility of the Department of Labor, the Manpower Administration, and the Bureau of Employment Security, as well as state and local employment agencies. In Title II of this Act, the responsibility has been shared by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who designates the responsibility to the Office of Education. However, the general supervision and administration of Title II is carried out by state boards of education or state boards of vocational education. In brief, the research and development, screening and selection functions of Title I are assumed by the Secretary of Labor, whereas the training function of Title II is assumed by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare.

In addition to the federal government's efforts acknowledged under the aforementioned Act, Title II of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 provided assistance to adult basic education. State education agencies and local school systems were charged with the responsibility to undertake programs in the training of the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic for adults. Since many communities already have established such programs, this Title increased efforts in this area and made the problem of illiteracy a major issue for resolution by local and state education agencies. Under the Adult Education Act of 1966, this Title was transferred from the Office of Economic Opportunity to the jurisdiction of the U.S. Office of Education.

The procedure for applying for assistance under this Act may be discussed in two parts. Colleges and universities, state or local educational agencies, or other public or private nonprofit agencies may apply for teacher training projects. The procedure for other projects involved the state education agency which reviews proposals and plans from local education agencies and submits a state plan to the Office of Education. These plans required an account of all segments of the population throughout the state and the inclusion of a program within a reasonable time interval for preparing adults to read and write English. The purpose of teacher training in this Title was to provide in-service training for persons engaged and preparing to engage as instructors of individuals in need of adult basic education programs. Title II of the EOA, therefore, was devised in such a way as to leave the responsibility for participation to the discretion of local school officials.

In 1966, Congress passed Public Law 89-750, Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments. Title III of this Act is cited as the Adult Education Act of 1966. Each state educational agency was required to administer this Act in cooperation with the state health authority, community action programs, work-experience programs, VISTA, work-study, and other similar poverty programs. Ten percent matching funds must be expended by each state. Section 308 of this Act pertains to the Hearing and Judicial Review procedures in the event the federal government is dissatisfied with the administration of the state plan. The commissioner of education may notify any state agency which fails to comply with the plan that payments are discontined or, if he wishes, that those portions of the programs which are failing receive no further payment. Earlier reference was made to Title V of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments of 1967 in the preceding section of this chapter. This Amendment extended the Adult Education Act of 1966.

The Educational Television Broadcasting Facilities Act authorized $32 million for construction, acquisition, and installation of transmission equipment for closed circuit television programs. Applicants were designated as agencies or officials representing elementary, secondary, or public higher education, the state educational television agency, a public college or university, or a nonprofit foundation. This Act does not mention specifically any responsibility for state departments of education or for the U.S. Office of Education. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Comptroller General of the United States carry out the responsibility of auditing and examining records, as well as processing applications.

Federal Programs for Teacher Education

1958	National Defense Education Act, Titles V-B and XI: provided grants for institutions of higher education for regular session institutes to improve the qualifications of teachers and to prepare selected teachers for guidance and counseling
1965	Higher Education Act, Title V-B: established the National Teacher Corps Programs to strengthen the educational opportunities of children in depressed areas
1965	National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act: authorized appropriations for teacher training institutes for elementary and secondary teachers to strengthen teaching in the arts and humanities

The federal government's involvement in programs for teacher education has been arranged through grants and contracts with institutions of higher education and with local educational agencies. State departments legally are not required to participate in the administration of these programs. A breakdown of the various programs for teacher education and training are indicated in Table 2, with expenditures for the fiscal year ending 1966.

Thus, nearly $134 million was authorized by the federal government in an effort to upgrade the qualifications of teachers and to alleviate certain deficiencies in the curriculum. Without state involvement, the federal government has assumed considerable responsibility in shaping the national character of teacher training. However, nearly $50 million, or slightly more than one-third of the total

Table 2—FEDERAL PROGRAMS FOR TEACHER TRAINING—AUTHORIZATIONS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1966

Program	Authorizations in thousands
Title V-B, NDEA	
Institutes in counseling and guidance	$ 7,250
Title XI, NDEA	
Institutes in 12 specified subject fields	50,000
Title V-B and V-C, Higher Education Act	
The National Teacher Corps and fellowships for teachers	76,100
National Foundation/ Arts and Humanities	
Institutes in arts and humanities	500
1966 Total	$133,850

authorization for 1966, was allocated broadly to cover a wide range of subject matter fields (e.g., history, geography, economics, civics, foreign languages, English, industrial arts, etc.). The remaining proportion of funds was allocated to three areas of national concern. Attention was leveled at the quality of counseling and guidance, teaching in the humanities and arts, and the special needs of teaching in the depressed areas of the country. In sum, the federal government has entered the teacher training arena by working directly with institutions of higher education; but unlike its efforts in many other programs, it has attempted to broaden the scope of its influence.

Federal Programs for Special Services

Several legislative acts deal with selected special services which are categorized below under five major programs:

1. School Lunch Services: The National School Lunch Act of 1946 assisted nonprofit school lunch programs to provide a nutritious lunch for children attending school.
2. Library Services: The first four titles of the Library Services and Construction Act of 1956 provided services for public libraries, library construction, interlibrary cooperation, and specialized state library services.
3. Educational Services for Handicapped Children: The mentally retarded and the physically and educationally handicapped received educational assistance through Title VI of ESEA and several other similar legislative acts for the education of handicapped children.
4. International Education Services: Services rendered under legislative acts for international education provide federal programs for international exchanges of educational information, education for foreign students, immigrants, and refugees, and for other activities such as participation in UNESCO.
5. Research and Training Services: Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act provided federal funds for educational research, research training, research facilities, and dissemination of research findings and related information.

The "Declaration of Policy" for the National School Lunch Act of 1946 was stated as follows:

> It is hereby declared to be the policy of Congress, as a measure of national security, to safeguard the health and well-being of the Nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food, by assisting the States, through grants-in-aid and other facilities for the establishment, maintenance, operation, and expansion of nonprofit school-lunch programs.

The distribution of funds was made on an equalization basis, taking into account the number of children and need for assistance, as determined by a ratio between U.S. per capita income and the per capita income of each state. In short, need was established on the basis of each state's ability and the federal government's resources.

In reviewing this legislation, Hollis T. Allen suggested that "several items are worthy of notice" (48). Many of these have had far-reaching implications for state departments of education, local school districts, and other state educational agencies. The following passage mentions the items to which Allen directs our attention:

> (1) The program is for a very specific purpose; (2) the comparative fiscal ability of a state is one of the bases for distribution of the grant-in-aid, not previously evident in educational grants; (3) the program gives the first federal money grants ever to be available generally to elementary schools of the country; (4) the program, although dealing with the elementary and secondary schools, is administered by a "non-educational" government agency; (5) the program serves both public and nonpublic schools; (6) a federal agency deals directly with certain nonprofit private schools (49).

The federal government contributed funds totaling $12.6 million in 1940, $92 million in 1949, $303.7 million in 1960, and $379.3 million in 1963. Table 3 indicates the number of elementary and secondary school children participating in the National School Lunch Program during the fiscal year of 1963.

Table 3—NUMBER OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY SCHOOL CHILDREN PARTICIPATING IN NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM IN 1963, BY AREA

	Total enrollment	Number participating	Percent participation
Northeast	11,864,868	3,115,633	26.3
Southeast	8,619,839	4,154,799	48.2
Midwest	12,342,526	3,808,541	30.9
Southwest	5,649,893	2,187,039	38.7
Western	6,717,312	1,691,206	25.2
Total	45,194,438	14,957,218	33.1

Source:
U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Agricultural Marketing Service Budget Presentation for the Fiscal Year 1963," Washington, D.C., 1963. (Mimeographed.)

These statistics indicate that in the Southeastern states slightly less than 50 percent of the total number of children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools participated in the School Lunch Program. In the Western states, approximately 25 percent of the total students enrolled participated. The nationwide average of 33 percent concealed even greater differences in the percentages of participation among the individual states. In 1963, Hawaii, Louisiana, and South Carolina had the largest percentages of children participating in the School Lunch Program; the District of Columbia, New Jersey, Nevada, and California had the lowest (50).

Several interests seemed to provide motivation for the general support of the School Lunch Act. During the Depression and World War II, the public clamored for balanced meals for children from low-income families. The public stressed the desirability of lunches for needy children out of a desire to improve the youngsters' physical well-being. Other interests were reflected in the policy proposals of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation and agricultural groups, such as the dairymen. Agriculture and dairy lobbies were concerned that food and milk would have to be destroyed by the federal government in order to maintain a balanced economy. In response, Public Law 461, passed in 1936, authorized donations of surplus food to needy children, and the Penny Milk Program in 1940 provided milk for children from low-income families. These programs were combined in 1943, and in 1946 the School Lunch Act allocated funds to state educational agencies under agreements with the Secretary of Agriculture for more comprehensive purposes.

In summary, the major purposes of the School Lunch Act were twofold: (1) to broaden the market for agricultural commodities and (2) to provide well balanced meals to improve the physical well-being of children and to increase attendance and scholastic standings. The legislation was intended to have educational and economic value. Amendments to this Act in 1962 revised the relative apportionment formula for cash assistance to the states by substituting the number of schoolchildren *participating* in the lunch program in each state for the relative population of school age in each state. The other factor in the formula was the "assistance need rate," which supplied higher amounts of federal subsidy for each lunch served in the least wealthy states and authorized special assistance to schools drawing attendance from areas in which poor economic conditions exist to help pay for lunches for those children unable to pay (51). Both of these amendments made more federal funds available for helping the poor and for providing assistance to local schools to finance free lunches. The program in 1940 gave milk to children from low-income groups. In 1943, these programs were combined (52).

Another service of the federal government was provided in 1956 through Public Law 597. This measure provided for the extension and improvement of library service in areas with inadequate library facilities. This act is cited as the Library Services and Construction Act. In 1956, Congress authorized an overall annual appropriation of $7.5 million for 5 years. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1967, $35 million was appropriated under Title I for public library services; under Title III, $5 million for interlibrary cooperation; and under Title IV, $5 million for specialized state library services. Only one year later, the appropriation under the entire law increased to a total of $68 million.

Although many state departments of education cooperate with the federal government and state library agencies, it is the latter agencies that administer this program at the state level. State plans are submitted for funds under each title within specific criteria of the commissioner of education of the U.S. Office of Education.

Education legislation dealing with handicapped children assists the states in developing programs for the mentally retarded, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, emotionally disturbed, and crippled child. Title VI, Education of Handicapped Children, under ESEA, provided for all health-impaired and handicapped children. This Title was for the purpose of—

> . . . assisting the States in the initiation, expansion, and improvement of programs and projects (including the acquisition of equipment and where necessary the construction of school facilities) for the education of handicapped children at the preschool, elementary and secondary school levels.

Any state department of education desiring funds under this Title must submit a state plan. Among several requirements, state departments must assure that assistance will be made available to handicapped children who are counted among the "federally affected" pupils under Title II of Public Law 874, federal assistance for federally impacted areas.

Three grants provided funds for the deaf. First, Captioned Films for the Deaf Act of 1958 was designed to promote the general welfare of deaf persons. Second, the National Institute for the Deaf provided residential facilities for technological training and education to provide employment opportunities for the deaf. Third, the Model Secondary School of the Deaf Act of 1966 provided day and residential facilities for secondary education to prepare deaf students for college.

The first Act (Captioned Films) is operated by the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who must acquire films and other educational media for loan to persons or nonprofit organizations engaged in the educational advancement of the deaf. The Secretary also was authorized, after consultation with the National Advisory Board on Education of the Deaf, to enter into agreement with institutions of higher education to establish a National Institute for the Deaf. The model secondary school was constructed and equipped upon agreement between Gallaudet College and the Secretary of HEW. This school primarily services residents in the District of Columbia and nearby states.

Another area of concern for the federal government has been international studies for foreign students and educational assistance for migrants and refugees from other countries. Several of these programs are operated directly by federal agencies and provide health, educational, and vocational services for certain migrants and refugees. Others concern broader goals, such as professional programs for international educators and students, exchanges of teachers, and information between countries. In addition, attention has been directed toward encouraging the development of innovative international programs.

The most recent enactment made by Congress was the International Education Act of 1966. Through the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare grants were authorized to colleges and universities for centers for advanced international studies, undergraduate programs, as well as language centers and institutes for secondary school teachers in international studies. State departments of education have little or no responsibility in administering these programs. However, in states where there is a heavy influx of immigrants and refugees, state educational agencies have cooperated with county and local officials in developing, organizing, and planning appropriate programs, facilities, and the like for children and adults. This has been especially relevant in states with Cuban refugees and migrants from Mexico and other Latin American countries.

Millions of federal dollars have been spent annually for educational research and development and for research training programs. Title IV of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act amended the Cooperative Research Act of 1954. This Title provided support for research, surveys, and demonstrations; dissemination of the results of research and related activities; establishment of facilities for conducting research; and the development and strengthening of programs for training researchers in the field of education. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1966, $45 million was appropriated for research and training. Another $100 million over a 5-year period was appropriated for the construction and development of regional laboratories and research and development centers.

Two basic patterns of support were designed for Title IV. Program support, on the one hand, concerned long-term efforts, particularly those conceived by members of research and development centers and regional laboratories. Project support, on the other hand, applied to research activities focusing on specific problems and their solutions, to be carried out by educators and researchers in the field.

Federal research grants under this Title are also available for training purposes. Educational researchers may be developed through training programs to strengthen staff and curriculum capability and for internships, personnel exchanges, institutes, and fellowships.

Most research grants have been made to institutions of higher education. However, through the involvement of research and development and regional laboratories, private and public schools have been awarded grants or have become intimately involved in a variety of long- and short-term research projects. Research and development centers usually are located on the campuses and employ faculty of institutions of higher education. Regional laboratories, on the other hand, are established independently and operate directly under the U.S. Office of Education.

State departments of education may receive funds under Title IV for research projects, but they must submit a proposal to the U.S. Office of Education, like any other agency seeking funds for research projects. They have little influence over what research takes place within the state through colleges, universities, and regional laboratories.

In Retrospect

This section summarized many of the major federal aid bills passed by Congress between 1900 and 1965. Educational legislation predating the turn of the century, as well as some more recent legislation since 1965, was discussed so that trends and implications could be followed throughout the history of specific federal programs. Likewise, no effort was made to be inclusive of either all federal legislation designed for the many agencies providing educational programs in the United States or all federal agencies involved in the educational enterprise. This limitation was designed purposively in order that a more analytical and critical review of the purposes and consequences of major federal education legislation could be presented. Thus, a historical account was provided of the federal grants for educational purposes transmitted from the U.S. Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, and a few other agencies, such as the Office of Economic Opportunity and the Defense Department, which distribute relatively less financial assistance in education than the former agencies.

Earlier in this chapter attention was drawn to the type of service required by state departments of education in the administration of federal aid programs. With the preceding discussion providing a substantive basis, the intent of the section to follow is to delineate some specific consequences and trends resulting from the impact of these programs on the administrative role of state departments of education. Many of the salient problems enumerated by state and federal officials, scholars, and others concerned with the role of the state department of education in the administration of federal aid programs will be explicated within the context of a framework for analyzing various administrative patterns. Accordingly, to appreciate the magnitude of the federal government's impact on state departments of education, it will be useful to focus on the implications of various administrative patterns of federal aid programs.

CONSEQUENCES FOR THE ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY OF STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

The state role in the administration of federal aid programs has expanded dramatically during the last decade. Like a complex biological system, the elements of our federal-state-local educational system have become increasingly interdependent. This has become particularly evident with the outpouring of immense sums of federal dollars for public and private educational agencies. As with the balance of chemicals in a living organism, when a change is introduced in one part, all other parts are affected. Thus, whenever the federal government revises, deletes, or adds programs, each state department of education must adjust its services accordingly. Although each state department of education is a unique entity, varying in size, structure, and function, as well as in the several factors related to efficiency and effectiveness of operation, all 50 are affected in similar ways by the activities of the federal government (53).

The variety and scope of federal activities impinging upon state departments of education have had profound consequences for the size, organizational structure, and the functioning of each of the 50 state educational agencies (54). From 1961 to 1966, an increase of approximately $2.5 billion—from $759 million to nearly $3 billion—in federal funds was administered by state departments of education. During this same period, a variety of new services were instituted, professional staffs were increased, and added responsibility was assumed by each state department (55). Needless to say, the activities of the federal government in providing grants-in-aid to education have placed many demands upon the development of state educational bureaucracies.

Clearly, the enormous federal effort in education has created complex and, oftentimes, intense relationships among federal, state, and local educational agencies. It is the specific purpose of this section to pursue the implications of the overall impact of federal programs in education on the administrative role of state departments of education by discussing, first, the consequences of federal programs for the administrative responsibility of state departments of education and, second, the ever-growing debate over general versus categorical aid.

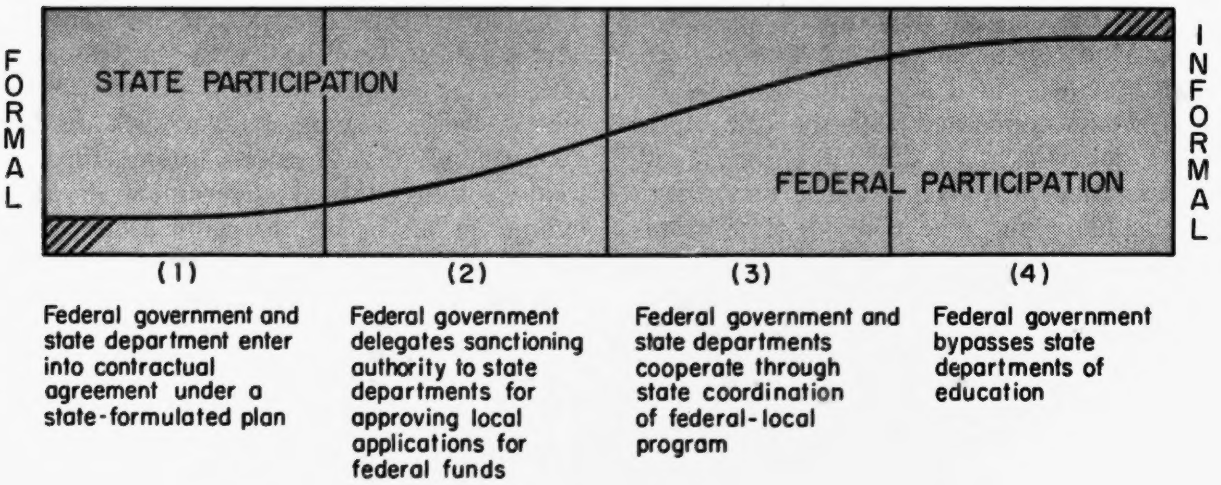
Impact on Administrative Responsibility

Despite what appears at firsthand as a labyrinth of bureaucratic procedures, a semblance of order does emerge from the manner in which federalism functions in education. The schematic illustration that follows delineates the kind of participation and the ways in which cooperation can be achieved between state departments of education, as well as their legislative bodies, and the federal government. State participation in federally conceived programs ranges from the extreme left, a relatively formal agreement and contractual arrangement, to the extreme right, an informal arrangement necessitated because of the federal government's direct relationship to local educational agencies.

Accordingly, Figure I is based upon the premise that an increasingly obvious temptation exists for the federal government to become a senior partner and state departments of education to become junior partners, or perhaps bystanders, to federal incursions designed to ameliorate national educational deficiencies. One should refrain, however, from placing a value judgment on this tendency in federal-state relations. As we will see later, the whole issue of intergovernmental cooperation in education is very complex, especially in the context of a rapidly changing, if not fermenting, society. Senator Mike Mansfield once exclaimed, "We can no longer say to the States and localities, as we once did, worry about education yourselves. The realities of contemporary life do not permit us to do so" (56). Obviously, federal-state relationships do vacillate with the times and create a range of functional activities for state departments of education.

State departments of education assume three major responsibilities in administering federal programs in education, as Figure I indicates: (1) formulating state plans, (2) approving and recommending local applications and proposals for federal funds, and (3) cooperating with federal and local agencies in the coordination of federal-local programs. As category (4) indicates, certain federal programs bypass state departments of education and require minimal state department participation and responsibility.

Figure I—RELATIVE STATE AND FEDERAL ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY UNDER FOUR PATTERNS OF FEDERAL GRANTS-IN-AID


FORMAL
STATE PARTICIPATION
FEDERAL PARTICIPATION
INFORMAL
(1)
(2)
(3)
(4)
Federal government and state department enter into contractual agreement under a state-formulated plan
Federal government delegates sanctioning authority to state departments for approving local applications for federal funds
Federal government and state departments cooperate through state coordination of federal-local program
Federal government bypasses state departments of education

Consequences of the Formal-Informal Dimension (57). Each type of responsibility is related to the kind of intergovernmental arrangements provided in the federal legislation. Throughout the previous section, federal programs were described as varying significantly in their legal requirements for the nature and extent of involvement of public and private agencies. Such requirements can have the effect of determining whether or not the state department of education's leadership role is that of a dynamic and creative educational force or a stifled bureaucracy lending its authority to facilitate federally conceived programs.

State department leadership is limited in its effectiveness by the extent to which federal participation in local educational affairs is integrated with state educational policies and goals. On the one hand, when state department of education involvement has been formally prescribed in a joint agreement, state initiative and responsibility for the general administration of the state school system will be maintained—for instance, when federal involvement in the development of a state plan would be in an advisory capacity. On the other hand, if federal actions bypass state educational agencies, leaving the states little discretion or flexibility in the administration of federal grants, their influence must be felt only through informal channels. Thus, states have but two alternatives in this latter type of federal participation. They must either resort to utilizing their strength through national organizations, such as the Council of Chief State School Officers, the American Association of School Administrators, and the like, or they must abdicate, with each such federal action, a measure of their control and responsibility in the educational program of their state.

Thus, the future of positive intergovernmental relations in education rests largely on the dilemma: To what extent should federal and state participation in education be formally prescribed? Or, what should be the nature of involvement of state officials in the politics of federal aid to education? One could argue that as the federal government's influence increases in the education enterprise, state officials will be stimulated to exert a more aggressive leadership role in education. In order to preserve their responsibility in the decision-making processes at the federal and local levels, their role will clearly become more "political." The activities of leaders within state school systems and at the national level in committee rooms and the halls of Congress underscore this significant trend in federal-state relations. Moreover, in recent years the establishment of an Education Commission of the States, comprised of state politicians and state educational leaders, is another indicator of the signal importance of state responsibility in education (58).

However, as the continuum in Figure I indicates, there are a number of alternative ways in which state departments of education can participate in federal programs, with those responsibilities at the left emphasizing a formal basis upon which to participate and those at the right relying on informal arrangements. Perhaps most disconcerting is the lack of assurance that the emerging partnership in school governance will result in consistent, viable, and effective federal-state relations. Will state and local educational agencies remain senior partners in this relationship? To offset the expanding role in educational decision making, state and local officials will have to clarify continually their positions, programs, and policies for the public. And, hopefully, the public interest will contribute positively to the dynamic nature of intergovernmental relations in education.

The diagonal line that separates federal and state participation in Figure I curves slightly at each corner of the rectangle. This was done to illustrate that regardless of which level of government assumes the greater responsibility, there is always a degree of participation by the other. For example, if states were granted large sums of federal moneys to spend at will, the federal government would reserve the right to audit and evaluate the spending policies of each state and to enforce compliance with provisions of the Constitution. An example of this was the unconditional land grants, used unwisely in some states, which called for minimal federal restrictions upon the sale of lands and use of proceeds therefrom. Moreover, since education is a state function, each state legislature reserves the legitimate authority to abolish or alter school districts, to withhold state funds, services, and so forth. It is possible, therefore, for states to accept or reject certain federal programs or proposals and to bring pressure on local school districts that work directly with federal agencies. However, again and again tradition has shown that state legislatures are reluctant to utilize this authority to exert pressure on their partners in education.

A delicate balance pervades the entire range of federal-state relationships in education—a balance that persistently must weather the impact of rapid social, economic, and political change. As the federal role increases, state legislatures and state departments of education inevitably will need to reassess continually the state's relationship to federal and local educational agencies. In the words of Campbell and Sroufe:

> The social and educational conditions which we see as pressing for a new role on the part of state departments of education include greater expectations for education, demand for more rational decision making, the increased role of the federal government, the establishment of regional laboratories, the emergence of the Education Commission of the States, and the urbanization of our society. State departments must adapt to these conditions if they are to be relevant to the educational system (59).

In sum, it would appear for all practical purposes that state departments will continue to work with federal and local agencies in both formal and informal capacities, depending largely upon the nature of the intergovernmental relationships prescribed in the legislation Congress passes. One can only speculate, however, as to the nature of intergovernmental cooperation that lies ahead. Governor Rockefeller once said that American federalism is an "adaptable and creative" form of government, which provides America with diversity, preserves unity, and encourages "imagination and innovation in meeting the needs of the people" (60). Accordingly, the "partnership" implies considerable effort on the part of all three principals—federal, state, and local governmental branches and agencies. Each must continually examine its role in the governing process, particularly as it relates to establishing and providing the resources to achieve educational goals in the American society. Federalism in this country will always be in flux; and as we confront a future of rapid cultural and social change, each partner must take effective action in facilitating the kind of relationships required to resolve the educational problems of the United States, each state, and each local community.

Major Administrative Patterns

In 1964, at an annual business meeting in New York City, the Council of Chief State School Officers resolved to call upon the U.S. commissioner of education to use his offices to ensure that—

> Federally financed programs in any field of education included within the jurisdiction of the state department of education should be fully administered by the department whenever: (a) the state education department agrees that it is ready, willing and able to administer such programs; (b) the department agrees to do so within the same total cost to the federal government that would otherwise be incurred through federal administration; and (c) the Commissioner of Education, after consultation with the state department, is satisfied that the department is prepared to account appropriately for the federal funds expended (61).

The content of this resolution reflects a long-standing desire of the Council of Chief State School Officers. Its main concern is that the Council's membership be assured that federal programs will have provisions related to federal-state-local administrative patterns to ensure state and local control over education. Furthermore, the federal government has been urged by the Council to refrain from duplicating state and local efforts and showering state departments of education with numerous federal programs established for a variety of overlapping purposes, as in the wide range of social welfare programs administered by several federal agencies. The salient purposes of these programs are not in question, but rather the duplication of effort and undue state administrative responsibility. State departments of education could increase their efficiency in administering federal education programs if many of these programs were administered at the federal level through a single agency, such as the U.S. Office of Education.

Although many of the problems challenging effective federal-state relations are attributable to a lack of coordination of federal agencies with each other and with state and local interests, challenges exist also within each state department of education. There is a great need to study the various administrative roles performed by state departments of education and required through federal legislation in education. Four major administrative patterns of federal programs bring some of these problems out into the open.

State Plans. First, several legislative enactments call for state plans. These are usually described as a contractual agreement between federal and state authorities with regard to various phases of an education act. Programs for vocational education are predominantly administered through such plans. State plans often provide operational policies and minimum basic standards in the areas of construction and facilities for libraries and institutions of higher learning. Also, financial assistance for certain critical subjects for national defense and for the occupational training of adults require state plans.

The first state plans were prepared as a result of an August 1917 meeting, in which the Federal Board for Vocational Education met with a group of chief state school officers. The purpose of this meeting was to discuss what the states should do to qualify for federal funds under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 (62). From a historical perspective, this approach has been the least controversial. However, the state plan has been an occasional target of conflicting opinions and demands.

Those defending this administrative pattern feel that state plans are valuable because they become official policy guides for administrative and supervisory staffs of state boards, and they ensure a continuity in state programs whenever administrations change. Moreover, some agree that local school officials often are needful of specific information for upgrading as well as organizing, administering, and supervising their programs. State plans usually specify qualifications of supervisors, teachers, and other personnel to be involved in a particular program. Thus, local school officials may use the plan as a bargaining device for better qualified personnel.

Those critical of state plans base their complaints on the manner in which the plans are developed, evaluated, and used. There often has been a tendency to perceive the plan as a federal rather than a state instrument. Primarily, this criticism is found in the way the plan is developed and ultimately accepted.

Occasionally, the criteria and guidelines pertaining to state plans set forth by the federal government have limited the states' discretion in creating a comprehensive state program, and they frequently have called for a myriad of forms and reports for federal purposes.

Moreover, state departments often have been the center of controversy, especially when critics have accused states of abusing their rights insofar as local control and initiative are concerned. That the plan could be used as a detailed course of study to be imposed on local schools, or that it could provide tenure for specific individuals by including qualifications for personnel that could be met only by certain persons were among the abuses toward which some complaints have been leveled. Still others have been directed toward demands for consultations between state officials and the local officials who would be responsible for carrying out the plan.

Regardless of the controversial issues surrounding state plans, it would appear that this administrative pattern is potentially the soundest among the several practices employed in the administration of federal grants-in-aid in education. State department involvement is clearly that of a leadership role in cooperating with local and federal officials in determining educational policy for the state.

State Approval. The second administrative arrangement through which federal aid is granted to local educational agencies requires state approval of local applications. Title I of ESEA of 1965 is the main example of this approach. Although state educational agencies may approve, they do not have final authority for disapproving under this Title. Local agencies may have an opportunity for a hearing in the event that their application is disapproved. Thus, although there is a measure of state control in this particular Title, state participation is lessened, especially when this administrative arrangement is compared to the state plan approach.

Actually, this administrative pattern contains some positive features in that local initiative and leadership are required in assuming the major responsibility for providing improved educational programs at the local level. Yet, there is some basis for arguing that the state approval approach diminishes state responsibility for the total educational program. There is little assurance that, without considerable assistance and attention on the part of state officials, all local educational agencies will benefit equitably if the state approval approach becomes more prevalent.

As mentioned above, financial assistance to local agencies for education of children in areas with concentrations of low-income families under Title I of ESEA provides the most explicit example of this kind of administrative pattern. One can only speculate as to the extent to which future legislation will adopt this practice. The duration of the state approval approach, like any other administrative pattern, will inevitably be determined by the mutual cooperation, study, and development of rational ground rules for sound intergovernmental relations in education.

State Coordination. In this discussion, state coordination refers to a multiplicity of responsibilities imposed upon state departments of education by federal legislation. Operationally, it pertains to such ministerial duties as assisting in planning, reviewing, and recommending; processing federal forms and local applications; and so forth. This administrative pattern leaves little, if any, sanctioning authority or developmental responsibility to state departments of education. Under this arrangement, federal programs are spelled out in detail and policies are fixed by the federal government, but the federal agency seeks the assistance of state departments of education in verifying information in applications or forms submitted by local school systems. In such programs, the state department of education has virtually no authority, but it may carry a heavy work load processing federal forms and applications for federal funds submitted by local school systems.

State Department Bypass. Some federal programs bypass state departments of education and provide for direct contacts between a federal agency and local school systems. Such programs require little or no responsibility of state educational agencies. It should be noted, however, that there is some overlap with the preceding administrative pattern because of certain programs in which state departments may undertake to assist local school systems in preparing local applications to be submitted directly to a federal agency.

Federal grants for federally impacted areas (P.L. 874), supplementary centers (P.L. 89-10, Title III), and research centers and laboratories (P.L. 89-10, Title

IV) are examples of direct federal assistance to local areas. The "impact laws," however, do require state department services in most states for verification and review of local enrollment and expenditure data. The most intense political debate has been engendered by the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, specifically Titles III and IV. Title III provides federal aid for establishing supplementary centers for the purpose of devising innovative programs, teaching techniques, and the like for use in both public and private educational programs. State departments were given some responsibility for reviewing proposals for supplementary centers; but unlike Title I of ESEA, they were not given any authority to approve or disapprove. Title IV provides for the establishment and operation of a national network of federally supported research and developmental centers and regional laboratories.

At this juncture, let us turn to some of the crucial issues and arguments which have contributed to the controversy over the state bypass pattern for administering federal programs (63). Some have argued that state departments differ greatly from state to state in their ability to deal with educational problems. Others have maintained that certain national problems, such as the plight of the cities, required the federal government's attention. It has been suggested, moreover, that "most state legislatures have been reluctant to do much to help the cities" (64).

Still another popular viewpoint regards federal intervention as a catalyst which will strengthen state departments of education, with the solution of national problems eventually becoming the responsibility of the leadership at the state level. Luvern L. Cunningham, for instance, suggests that such legislative enactments as Title III of Public Law 89-10 serve as "a means of disturbing the rigidity of traditional structure, and as a stimulus to creative thinking relative to educational improvement on the part of a larger number of people" (65). The conveyors of these views are supported by many educators, legislators, and laymen, but they have nonetheless received a great deal of opposition from what appears to be as many and as ardent nonsupporters of federal programs in education that bypass state departments of education.

Those who have opposed federal intervention and the federal government's tendency to bypass state educational agencies have done so with as much force and clarity as the proponents of this trend in federal-state relations. The literature is full of editorials, articles, and testimony vigorously attempting to call public attention to federal actions circumscribing the decision-making activities of state officials. The most vivid illustration of the oppositions' reasoning may be found in the critical charges made by a variety of sources against the administrative pattern adopted for Title III of ESEA.

In January 1967, a legislative conference of national organizations met to consider a comprehensive agenda relating to federal policy and legislation. The conference was attended by representatives of the American Association of School Administrators, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the National Association of State Boards of Education, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, the National Education Association, and the National School Boards Association. Among the recommendations made by this group, often referred to as the "Big Six" of national education organizations, was a demand for amendments to Title III of ESEA—

> . . .to provide that local project applications and proposals for supplementary centers shall be subject to final approval by the state departments of education under provisions of state plans, with the exception that approximately 15% of federal funds available shall be "set aside" for projects to be approved by the United States Commissioner of Education (66).

Preceding the coalition on this issue, concern about state bypass had been articulated during two annual business meetings of the Council of Chief State School

Officers (CCSSO). Since this group represents the nation's leadership in state departments of education, it naturally has much at stake in this trend in federal-state relations. In 1965, CCSSO had reasserted its desire for a cooperating partnership between federal, state, and local educational systems. Emphasis at this meeting was placed on cautioning that—

> The federal government should not itself set up parallel and overlapping programs of education which adversely affect the state and local systems. Such programs could leave most organized education declining in relative importance because of limitation to state and local tax funds (67).

Again, in 1966, CCSSO had reaffirmed its position of the previous year in the following statement:

> It is imperative that all state education agencies actively coordinate the administration of Title III with reference to their potential or existing local and regional educational service units. With such coordination, exercised in full cooperation with the vast reservoir of leadership in local education agencies, many conditions that now restrict general educational improvement can be removed (68).

The controversy surrounding federal-state differences over state administration of Title III of ESEA has been carefully delineated in the literature. Both sides debated this crucial issue in the history of federal-state relations vigorously and with equally convincing arguments. The argument of opponents of state administration can be summed up by a comment by former U. S. Commissioner of Education Harold Howe: "Many State educational agencies are simply not yet prepared to take over the administration of Title III" (69). Likewise, former Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare John Gardner once submitted that he had ". . . a serious question concerning the capacity of many of the states to assume responsibility for Title III at this time" (70). Earlier in this section a few of the contentions supporting this argument were mentioned, and there are doubtless many additional factors underlying this position.

Yet the most profound question lies in the potential consequences of such violations of sound policy in federal-state relations in education. For instance, will this kind of federal incursion, a direct federal-local administrative arrangement, lead to federal interference and control over substantial aspects of education in local schools? One can only speculate, and there is cause for some concern. Title V of ESEA allocates funds for the strengthening of state departments of education. If these moneys are substantial enough and used wisely and effectively, could not the proponents' argument be resolved?

The question was answered in part as a result of the passage of two amendments in the House of Representatives on May 24, 1967. Several amendments to the Elementary and Secondary Act of 1965 were introduced during the second session of the Ninetieth Congress. Some were directed toward civil rights enforcements in ESEA of 1965; others amended the formula for Title I of ESEA (the low-income factor and state allocations); still others placed emphasis on migrant workers. But those with the greatest import for federal-state relations were brought before the House of Representatives by Albert H. Quie of Minnesota and Edith Green of Oregon. Quie called for a single state plan for ESEA Titles I, II, III, and V. Many legislators saw this as an attempt to gain partial fulfillment of a long sought after general grants-in-aid bill. Although the amendment fell far short of such a measure, it was indeed a move in this direction. A relatively close margin of 197 to 168 defeated the state plan proposal.

The defeat of Quie's amendment set the stage for immediate consideration of two other amendments that did pass. With Quie's support, Representative Green offered an amendment to Title III and another to Title V. In her opening remarks during the debate on the Title III amendment, she said:

> Briefly, the amendment simply provides that whereby title III now bypasses the State departments of education, the funds for title III for the supplementary centers will go to the State departments of education. It does not make sense to me to say that we will vote funds under title V to strengthen State departments, and then in another title of the bill try to bypass them (71).

Similarly, she enumerated a concise summary of the Title V amendment during its early discussion:

> It simply states that all funds under title V of the bill will indeed go to the State departments of education. The amount in the bill is $50 million for the current year, going up to $65 million and then to $80 million. However, the budget estimate for 1968 is only $25,287,500. Under the budget estimate there would be a little over $4,462,000 which would be reserved for the Office of Education (72).

The purpose of the Green amendments was clear: to place at the state level the responsibility for making decisions about educational programs within the state. Title III, therefore, was to be administered under a state plan. After a transition period, Title V was to be entirely at the disposal of state departments rather than partially administered at the federal level through special projects. Only the Council of Chief State School Officers supported the Quie amendments, and they were solidly opposed by the Johnson Administration. Then, when the Green amendments followed to the floor of the House in the same session in which the Quie amendment was defeated, the Council was joined by the National Education Association and the National School Boards Association in open support for state administration. Both the Quie and the Green amendments were actively opposed throughout the legislative conflict by the Johnson Administration, including the U.S. Office of Education.

It is important to maintain, and effectuate if necessary, the leadership role of state departments of education so that they may continue to be the key decisional unit for establishing the educational goals of their respective states. Whereas the final authority for withholding federal funds will continue to rest with the federal government, vital principles of federalism may best be achieved through the state plan pattern for administering federal programs. Moreover, in addition to the traditional economic problems of federal support for education at the state level, states have a significant political problem if they are denied formal and legal responsibility for administering federal programs.

In short, there appears to be more than one route to resolving national problems. Perhaps out of this conflict the trend of state bypass will prove to be shortlived, serving only as a reminder of the need for continual scrutiny, support, and reaffirmation of the unique role of state departments of education. The section to follow concerns another significant question in sound relationships between federal and state governments.

General Versus Categorical Support Programs: The Great Debate

The question of what form federal grants-in-aid should assume has been the subject of past and current controversies. To date, federal aid has assumed two major forms. First, general aid usually implies the appropriation of federal funds to strengthen the total educational program, thereby compensating for basic deficiencies in the tax base, while strengthening local efforts and control. Second, categorical aid aims at the improvement of specific educational services or at helping specific groups which might have been deprived of the opportunity for equal participation in education. Both of these types of federal grants-in-aid were an outgrowth of the U.S. Congress' concern over the inequality of financial resources which caused some states to lag behind others in their endeavors to accelerate socioeconomic, political, and technological progress.

Although general aid to education has been far less common than categorical aid, it is the oldest form of federal aid and dates back to the earliest land grants. Like payments to federally affected schools to compensate for deficiencies in the property tax base that resulted from tax-exempt federal property, these early land grants were made directly to local communities. Recent proposals call for tax sharing, tax rebate, or block grant forms of federal assistance, leaving the decisions as to how the money would be used to state and local boards of education. Legislative support for block grants has found its leadership in Republican Congressman Albert H. Quie, the second-ranking member of the House Education and Labor Committee, and in Democratic Congresswoman Edith Green, who in 1968 had served 13 years on the same committee.

The Quie bill, H.R. 7477, was proposed as an amendment to one title of ESEA, making it a block grant bill. Edith Green has stressed decentralization of the federal government and general federal aid to education. Although these attempts for lump-sum grants to the states have failed in the past, some observers see growing interest in this position and perhaps eventual passage of comprehensive block grant legislation. James Guthrie, former special assistant to the deputy assistant secretary for legislation in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, concluded that—

> Quie ran head-on into a determined White House-HEW congressional liaison team which artfully maneuvered interest group support and key individuals in both parties to the point where the block grant proposal lost in a dramatic legislative showdown. Nevertheless, Quie came close and undoubtedly learned much in the process. He will try again and must be counted in any assessment of those who will influence future school aid bills. This is doubly true in that Quie and Mrs. Green often see eye-to-eye on matters of federal educational policy (73).

Hence, not only are the proponents of general aid to education gaining the support of leading contemporary scholars and legislators, but they have a supportive tradition embodied in a myriad of proposals dating back to the earliest land grants. Among the many scholars proposing general aid to education were Paul Mort, who in his 1936 publication, *Federal Support for Public Education* (74), provided an operational framework for administering such grants, and more recently, Walter W. Heller, former chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers to Presidents John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson for the first year of his term. Heller argued from an economist's perspective for general funds in the form of shared revenue (75).

One of the major arguments against general aid to education is based on the assumption that state legislators with their dominant rural representation will ignore the plight of the metropolitan school systems. In the 1968 National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, which focuses directly on a wide range of educational problems in metropolitan areas, Marvin Alkin addressed his attention to the specific problem of "Revenues for Education in Metropolitan Areas." He provides contradictory evidence to the "rural over-representation" argument and stresses unequivocally that—

> It is also the opinion of this author that the advantages of the Heller-Pechman Plan (1) its ability to avoid the Church-State issue and (2) its capacity to overcome fears over "big government" intervention far outweigh and compensate for any possible small inequities involving the current imbalance of metropolitan representation (76).

Some of the significant advantages of general aid to education were delineated in an article entitled "Financing Education at the Federal Level." In this article, William P. McLure outlined the following points favoring the distribution of general aids to school systems:

> 1. They promote a more defensible system of control and administrative responsibility to pursue educational ob-

jectives worthy of a free society.
2. They promote an intellectual disposition of creativity rather than compliance.
3. They strengthen the capacity of local school systems to study, to plan, to take responsible action, and to evaluate.
4. Certainty and stability of support are more easily assured than is possible to establish for special aids.
5. General funds are more suitable to tie school support to the economic capacity of the nation.
6. School systems are responsive, if not arbitrarily handicapped, to the basic drive of the American people for excellence (77).

On the other hand, supporters of special-purpose grants or categorical aid warn of the danger of disparities between states and of the lack of safeguards in dealing with domestic and international problems, if not crises. The basic premise underlying this view is that categorical aid will have a corrective effect on the national system of education. This point of view assumes that during national emergencies, such as the Great Depression, World War II, the Space Race, the Urban Crisis, and so on, categorical aid will be more efficient for achieving specified goals. Moreover, categorical aid often has been thought to be easier to justify politically, since Congress would react more favorably to providing federal funds of a categorical nature because specific goals would be clearly established for achievement.

In a statement made at the sixty-ninth session of the Conference of National Organizations, Wayne O. Reed, associate commissioner for federal-state relations of the U.S. Office of Education, underscored the significance of categorical grants-in-aid. He declared that federal regulations to limit the use of funds for the purposes to which they were intended were established "to carry out the intent of Congress which in the final analysis is the intent of the people Congress represents" (78). Furthermore, he concluded:

> We would be thoughtless indeed if we were now to sell short the categorical grant-in-aid. Over the years it has proved to be an ingenious device for promoting cooperation among the different levels of government. I cannot emphasize it enough: The categorical grant-in-aid, its attendant problems notwithstanding, has a great record. Through the many cooperative arrangements it has fostered, the categorical grant-in-aid has been a means of encouraging each level of government to do its bit. The money and the overall perspective—that has come from the Federal Government. The managerial ability, the imaginative talent, and the practical know-how—all this has come from State and local levels. And now, under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, categorical programs have been devised that can help children in both public and nonpublic schools—and can do so within our constitutional framework (79).

Thus, what we have is a convincing argument for general aid to education and an equally sound rationale for categorical aid. Erick L. Lindman, a specialist in intergovernmental relations and fiscal problems in education, working with 27 leading educators in California, developed a document entitled "A Comprehensive Program of Federal Grants to Public Schools" (80). This group, under the leadership of Lindman, provided an alternative to the problem of "general versus categorical support programs" in education. Rather than examining the problem as a two-sided issue, Lindman has suggested three distinctly different types of grants-in-aid for public schools. Each type is summarized below as published in *California School Boards:*

> 1. *Temporary Categorical Grants* are intended to provide a financial stimulant for selected programs or items in the school budget. These grants often provide temporary aid to try out new ideas. The grant programs are expected to terminate and not become part of the continuing school support program.
> 2. *Continuing Categorical Grants* are intended to finance on a continuing ba-

> sis selected high cost school programs such as vocational education, compensatory education and school lunches. These Federal grant programs cannot be terminated without curtailing public school programs which contribute to important national goals.
> 3. *General Purpose Grants* are intended to strengthen the total educational program by compensating for deficiencies in the public school tax base while continuing to maintain local control of the public schools. . . . New proposals for block grants to the states for education are also in this category (81).

Furthermore, the proposal for three types of federal grants-in-aid programs provided specific suggestions regarding the implementation of these plans. For instance, it was suggested that programs defined as temporary categorical aid should be terminated whenever possible to strengthen the general support of local schools and to ensure the continuance of the improvements stimulated by this type of grant. Second, a proposal was made for the consolidation of continuing categorical aid programs, such as the various vocational education programs. And third, it was recommended that general-purpose block grants should be made to states, in addition to the general-purpose funds already available to schools, such as those in federally impacted areas.

Seemingly, if this approach to federal aid to education were adopted, many of the problems already described in intergovernmental relations in education would be resolved. At the least, the federal government would be provided with direction, and the role of the state department of education would be clearly defined on a long-term basis. Indeed, this kind of an arrangement would have profound implications for strengthening the partnership role of federal, state, and local governments in education.

The reader will note that the main emphasis of this section has been on the impact of federal programs on the administrative responsibilities of state departments of education. A range of legal and extralegal consequences were discussed in the context of various administrative patterns in federal aid to education. The extreme points at which federal-state relations are stabilized or strained were defined as we examined the broad spectrum of these relations, from state plans to state department bypass. Also, an examination was made of the unceasing debate over general versus categorical federal aids, concluding with a proposal of an alternative to the two-sided issue. Finally, it was suggested that the form of federal grants-in-aid for educational programs at the local level has incalculable consequences for state departments of education.

TRENDS, IMPLICATIONS, AND PROSPECTS

Ever since the final adoption of the Constitution in 1789, our federal system has been under constant analysis for definitive answers to what Alpheus Mason once referred to as "irreconcilable ambiguity" (82). What role should the federal government play in federal, state, and local intergovernmental relations? Since the earliest days of our Republic, this question has continually perplexed knowledgeable observers of federal, state, and local relations. In the field of education, the problem has been particularly acute, for each level of government has a unique responsibility for achieving the educational goals of our society. Traditionally, the decisions and policies made at each of the three levels have been distributed in accordance with the fundamental responsibilities and functions allocated to the federal government, the states, and the local school systems. Thus, the assumptions behind this tradition have supported the ideal that government in this country should be kept close to the people, because government at all levels exists for the people. Governmental decisions at all levels, including those regarding education, should reflect, therefore, the will of the people. What, then, are the implications of the current trend of increasing federal participation in education for state departments of education? What are the prospects for smooth and cooperative federal-state relations in the future? This section provides a brief analysis of these trends.

Implications of "Creative Federalism" for State Departments of Education

"Creative federalism" denotes a system that is both adaptable and innovative in meeting the special needs of the system at any given point in time. Therefore, out of the flexibility of our federal system has evolved a fluid, rather than rigid, balance of powers (83). The significance of the larger role currently assumed by the federal government will inevitably have vast implications for the complementary roles played by state and local governments. It is difficult to assess what specific implications this concept of federalism will have for state departments of education, but there are cues that one can derive from past intergovernmental activities.

First, one could expect that the federal government will increase its efforts to strengthen the leadership role of state departments of education. As Senator Edmund S. Muskie of Maine, chairman of the U.S. Senate's Subcommittee on Intergovernmental Relations, stated after reviewing information he had assembled pertaining to the substantial increase in federal aid programs:

> These facts demonstrate the clear obligation the Federal Government has to help the States and their localities obtain maximum benefits from Federal aid and technical assistance to plan better and to service better their own expanding responsibilities (84).

In the same vein, Dean H. Thomas James of the Stanford University School of Education concluded an address at the 1965 Governor's Conference on Education in Los Angeles by exclaiming:

> I continue to view education as a state function. What I propose . . . is nothing less than a great effort on the part of the state . . . to seize the initiative in educational improvement, and to accept again the responsibility for leadership in elementary and secondary education (85).

Thus, the efforts of Title V of ESEA, Strengthening State Departments of Education, are only a small beginning in what might be expected in the way of federal assistance for strengthening the leadership role of state departments of education.

Second, the current trend in federalism will necessitate participation on the part of state department leaders in the "informal arena" of federal-state relations to offset federal participation in the decision-making responsibility of the state educational agency. In the words of Henry Toy, Jr.: "Certain trends within the educational system with respect to relationships are observable. These trends suggest a need on the part of educators to develop strong political competence" (86). Since education is a governmental function, it inevitably involves the distribution of advantages and disadvantages among people—hence, politics. It should be noted, however, that the extent to which individuals become involved in political behavior will depend a great deal on the predisposition of the federal government to impose its powers on state educational agencies and thereby reduce their state's responsibility in education.

Third, conflict among the stalwarts for either increased federal intervention or state authority in determining the educational goals of each state probably will never be completely resolved. But it can be expected to decrease markedly when the federal government provides the necessary legal arrangements to enable state departments of education to devise their own "state plans" for federal educational programs, and when general-purpose aid and block grants to state educational agencies become a widely accepted method for distributing federal funds.

The first two of these three broadly conceived trends are seemingly inevitable consequences of "creative federalism."

Moreover, one can only speculate as to whether they will be positive influences on state departments of education. The author suggests that they will be. It is also predicted that in the not too distant future Congress will pass legislation strengthening the hand of state departments through provision for states to devise their own state plans and through the granting of general-purpose aid and block grants.

In drawing these three major implications, one should bear in mind the conclusion of W. W. Wayson in an article entitled "The Political Revolution in Education, 1965":

> The present political structure for effecting educational policy, from Washington to the smallest school district, already has been and will continue for some time to be unalterably changed by the new federal role (87).

Certainly as this trend persists, it is untenable that either the federal or any of the state governments would refuse to respond independently to a critical educational need despite some mystical balance of powers. This is, in fact, the final cause for the long persistence of the form of federalism found in America—a system which is adaptive to national and international challenges and which allows for conflicting interests and provides mechanisms for resolving them.

Hence, what we have in this country is a system which Morton Grodzins describes, on the one hand, as "a marble cake of government," a form of government predicated on a mixture of responsibilities at each level and, on the other hand, a sharing of functions through intergovernmental cooperation at the federal, state, and local levels (88).

In sum, each partner in the American public school system has a unique contribution to make. The local school system must keep attuned to local expectations and strive to satisfy the educational needs of the local community. However, because of inequalities in expectations and abilities to pay for education, local school districts need the assistance of both state and federal governments. Since education is a function of the state, state legislatures occupy the central position in the attainment of educational goals in our society. Although states assume a wide range of responsibilities in maintaining and improving the statewide educational program, states, too, have some of the limitations shared by local school districts. Thus, because of inequalities among states and because there are certain critical educational needs for the development of a strong national educational program, the federal government is needed. The federal government can most efficiently evaluate and interpret the national needs for increased productivity, defense, or welfare.

Clearly, intergovernmental cooperation is requisite for maintaining the quality and scope of our system of education. While focusing on the state department of education and consequences of the various educational programs, this chapter has stressed the importance of clearly defined roles for each level of government as it makes decisions within the context of the educational values inherent in the American culture. The impact of federal programs on state departments of education officials will be felt with increasing intensity in the years to come. In the final analysis, the opportunity accorded state departments to assume their full leadership potential will be determined by the efficacy of the federal government's cooperative role in education.

FOOTNOTES

1. The author wishes to acknowledge the invaluable assistance provided by a colleague of his at the Graduate School of Education at UCLA. Professor Erick L. Lindman read several drafts of this chapter, provided critical commentary, constructive suggestions, and moral support throughout its development. Although Professor Lindman cannot be held responsible for any of the author's polemics, biases, or reflections, he must be given credit for his influence upon the author—an influence emanating from vast experience and scholarly study of intergovernmental relations and fiscal problems in education.

2. Martin Diamond, "What the Framers Meant by Federalism," in *A Nation of States: Essays on the American Federal System,* edited by Robert A. Goldwin (Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1961), pp. 24-41.

3. Stephen K. Bailey, et al., *Schoolmen and Politics: A Study of State Aid to Education in the Northeast,* The Economics and Politics of Public Education Series (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962), p. 5.

4. R. Freeman Butts and Lawrence A. Cremin, *A History of Education in American Culture* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953), pp. 17-19.

5. Ellwood P. Cubberley, *A Brief History of Education* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1922), p. 195.

6. *Ibid.*

7. For excellent discussions of the historical meaning of the separation of church and state, see R. Freeman Butts, "Church and State in American Education," *Teachers College Record,* LII (December 1950), 145-57; and Edgar Fuller, "Government Financing of Public and Private Education," *Phi Delta Kappan,* XLVII (March 1966), 365-72. The latter article is based upon Dr. Fuller's Baldwin Lecture, delivered at Northeast Missouri State Teachers College, February 1966. His article draws implications from the legal history of church-state relations for current trends in financing both public and private education.

8. V. T. Thayer, *Formative Ideas in American Education: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1966), pp. 18-19.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

10. Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *The School in the American Social Order* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1963), pp. 7-14.

11. Thayer, *op. cit.*

12. *Ibid.*

13. For further reading on eighteenth century New England and education in an emerging capitalistic economic system, see Bernard Bailyn, *Education in the Forming of American Society* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1960); Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955); Charles A. Beard and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization,* Vol. I: *The Agricultural Era* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927); Robert E. Brown, *Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1955); Newton Edwards and Herman G. Richey, *op. cit.;* and William B. Weeden, *Economic and Social History of New England, 1620-1789* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1890).

14. Marian D. Irish and James W. Prothro, *The Politics of American Democracy* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1965), pp. 128-31.

15. *Ibid.*

16. The distrust of any form of centralized political power, which is distantly removed or detached from the wishes and needs of the individual or the community, dominated the thinking of the founding fathers of the Republic, and this distrust was reflected in *The Federalist Papers,* Clinton Rossiter, ed. (New York: New American Library, 1961).

17. James Jackson Kilpatrick, "The Case for 'States' Rights'," in *A Nation of States: Essays of the American Federal System,* edited by Robert A. Goldwin (Chicago: Rand McNally & Co., 1961), p. 88.

18. The issue of dispersed power in the federal system and the Constitutional restraints on centralization of the federal system is discussed in Morton Grodzins, "The Federal System," *Goals for Americans,* report of the President's Commission on National Goals (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), p. 265.

19. William A. Cook, *Federal and State School Administration* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1927), pp. 47-49. Although Washington and eight later Presidents of the United States have favored the creation of a national university, Congress has been unwilling to provide the necessary legislation. For a detailed discussion of the national university movement in the United States, see Charles A. Quattlebaum, *The National University Movement in the United States,* a report prepared in the Legislative Reference Service of the Li-

brary of Congress (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951), pp. 1-9.

20. *U.S. Constitution,* Art. I, sec. 8, cl. 1.
21. *U.S. Constitution,* Amendment X.
22. William A. Cook, "Indirect Federal Control of Education," *Federal and State School Administration* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1927), pp. 65-90; Howard C. Taylor, *The Educational Significance of the Early Federal Land Ordinances* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1922); Edward D. Eddy, Jr., *Colleges for Our Land and Time: The Land-Grant Idea in American Education* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956); and Lee M. Thurston and William H. Roe, *State School Administration* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957), chs. 2-4.
23. All data and specific information pertaining to the federal enactments discussed in the section to follow will not be cited in footnotes hereafter. Reference to these data and information may be found in U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Education and Labor, *A Compendium of Federal Education Laws,* Carl D. Perkins, chairman, 90th Cong., 1st. sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967); or the specific federal act mentioned in the text.
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Chapter 12

School Food Services

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School Food Services

INTRODUCTION

"The education of their children is the first and most obvious duty of every parent" (1). So said John Randolph in 1829, as he opposed the establishment of free public schools.

Ever since the beginning of free public schools, various segments of the education program, including the school lunch program, have had vigorous opponents as well as staunch supporters. Between the horse and carriage age of John Randolph and the atomic age in which we now live, education programs and problems have been changing constantly. Such shifting conditions have served as a challenge to educators and made it necessary to restudy, clarify, evaluate, and redirect various aspects of the school program. The school lunch program is no exception.

Any study of school lunch history, as revealed in publications from 1904 to the present, shows that most early philosophies, concepts, and goals were sound and most leaders professionally trained, dedicated individuals; that many things we are prone to consider innovative today were advocated and practiced long before federal and state governments became involved in school lunch operation; and that much progress, growth, and success have been achieved in spite of great obstacles. Legislative bodies have been slow in providing a proper legal framework for the program, and there has never been a period in school lunch history when most programs were not beset with problems involving pupil service, finance, personnel, or facilities.

Not many years ago, educators described school lunch as a new facet of the education picture. Today, in comparison with ETV, the new math, language labs, and team teaching, it is firmly established and generally accepted as an important and essential part of any good school program. This history attempts to recount some of the more important stages and developments, to give some "why's," and to explore their impact on the program. It is hoped that needs will be pointed out in such a way as to make the past become prologue to a good school lunch future. Space limitations mandate the omission of many important items. Purposely omitted are national participation and cost figures and other similar data regularly available and frequently updated in reports from the U.S. Department of Agriculture and state departments of education.

PIONEER PROGRAMS AND THEIR EXPANSION

School feeding has been practiced in Europe for more than a century and a half, and we must look across the Atlantic for the historical background of America's school lunch program. It all started in Munich, back in 1790, when Count Rumford established a soup kitchen for unemployed workmen and invited hungry schoolchildren to partake. The French opened canteens in 1849, using surplus national guard funds; and Victor Hugo, in 1865, started school feeding in England by serving meals in his house to children attending a nearby school.

The Children's Aid Society of New York City is credited with initiating the first school feeding program in the United States. In 1853, this organization opened the first of its vocational schools for the poor and served meals free of charge to all children who attended. Another early program was started in 1894 by a benevolent organization, the Starr Center Association, which provided penny lunches at several schools in a poor district of Philadelphia.

In the same year, as a result of agitation begun by Ellen H. Richards, the Boston School Committee passed a resolution that only such food as was approved by them should be sold in the city schoolhouses. Today, many people think of satellite feeding as new and innovative, but under Mrs. Richards' supervision, food was prepared in the New England Central Kitchen and transported in baskets to 15 high schools. Some of the menu items offered during a typical week were black bean soup, 3¢; creamed celery and toast, 5¢; lettuce sandwich, 3¢; chopped ham sandwich, 3¢; plain cake, 2¢.

Another early program was started in 1899 at the Horace Mann School of Teachers College, Columbia University, to serve the children of the college experimental school and college students. It is also reported that as early as 1893, Cleveland arranged for concessionaires to deliver basket lunches to pupils. Lunches were served in some Minnesota schools before 1900; Connecticut's first program began in New Haven in 1904.

Charity motivated most of these pioneer efforts, but even in the early days there were those who visualized the programs as something more than the provision of nourishment to the hungry. It is said that the food served by the Children's Aid Society of New York also acted as an inducement to vagrant children to seek instruction in industry and mental training. Ellen Richards said, "We may consider that the standard in high school lunch rooms has been set by educational ideals rather than by pressure of want among the pupils," and she noted that eating lunch made children more attentive and interested in their lessons (2).

Two books published at the beginning of the twentieth century focused public attention on the social consequences of undernourishment. The first, *Poverty,* by Robert Hunter (3), pointed out the existence of poverty and turned the spotlight on its social and economic effects. Particularly pertinent to the development of school feeding was Hunter's conviction that children "in that weak physical and mental state which results from poverty" learned "little or nothing" at school. John Spargo, writing on a similar theme in *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (4), estimated that there were several million undernourished children in the United States and pointed out how Europe had attacked malnutrition through school feeding programs.

Growth of City Programs

The need for school feeding was greatest in the large industrial cities, but lunch at school was regarded as a convenience for the children rather than as a means of benefiting them physically and mentally. High schools, with their shorter lunch periods and longer class schedules, were given preference over elementary schools in the establishment of school lunch programs; also, high school students generally lived too far away from school to go home at noon for lunch. But in New York City, School Superintendent William Maxwell had seen too many schoolchildren spending their lunch money on pushcart and candy store delicacies, and he urged school officials to provide nourishing meals for both high school and elementary school pupils. Finally, in 1908, a 3¢ lunch was begun in two elementary schools to see if such a program could be self-supporting and still provide at least one-quarter of the necessary daily food requirement. After 2 years of operation, the Board of Education gave permission for the installation of similar programs in other schools. The Board agreed to supply rooms, equipment, and gas, but the cost of food and service were to be covered through the sale of meal tickets.

At about the same time, the Chicago Board of Education appropriated $1,200 for the purpose of serving hot lunches in six schools. In St. Louis, the program under which lunches had been furnished in high schools prior to 1911 was expanded to include elementary schools. The St. Louis Board of Education relinquished its control of the program to a voluntary society, the Penny Lunch Association, when it was decided that it was illegal for the schools to spend public funds for the purchase of food.

By 1911, there were nine centers in Milwaukee, financed solely by donations of individuals and interested civic groups, which prepared and served hot lunches to children attending nearby schools. It was suggested that the County Board of Supervisors operate the program, but this was deemed an unwise move since it might encourage parents to shift responsibility for their children to the city government.

By 1913, there were school lunch programs in 30 cities in 14 states. Most of these programs were operated by volunteer parent groups and interested civic organizations, but there also were schools where private concessionaires provided the meals. These were solely profit motivated and, therefore, not much interested in cooperating with teachers in the planning of meals and the instruction of children in good food habits. However, as many educators felt lunch at school should be an educational experience, a trend was developing toward operation of the program by school authorities.

Rural Needs Recognized

The need for school feeding in rural schools had also been recognized. Travel distance to school precluded going home to lunch, and there was no nearby commercial operation where meals could be purchased. Some rural teachers attempted to remedy the situation by providing a means of warming lunches brought from home; others attempted to prepare one hot dish to supplement lunch box sandwiches. Usually the children brought the food used in the main dish, and often they helped in its preparation.

In many instances, lunch programs in rural schools were developed with the assistance of the Federal-State Extension Service. These programs often involved school garden projects. A national report compiled in 1919 showed that 71,688 children attending 2,930 schools were receiving hot lunches as a result of the efforts of home demonstration agents. That same year, Clyde A. Erwin, then principal of a two-teacher school and later state superintendent of North Carolina, initiated a school lunch program in his school.

During the 1920's, school lunch programs in the United States expanded rapidly, and in many cities, departments of education were assuming responsibility for school lunch operations. The Los Angeles Board, in 1920, operated programs with a daily lunch attendance of 20,000 children. Food was sold at or below cost; and in the elementary schools, children unable to pay were served free of charge. But it was Chicago that had the most extensive city lunch program in America in that year. It served lunches in all high schools, normal schools, and in 60 elementary schools. The cost of labor and equipment amounted to $70,000.

The Facilities Picture

School lunch facilities varied widely in the 1920's, but they were never elaborate. For example, the scene of an early operation in Mississippi was said to follow the "Abe Lincoln style of architecture"—that is, it had a dirt floor! And consider this little poem, which appeared in a school lunch publication of this period:

Sing a song of Hot Lunch
Potatoes on to boil
Four and twenty minutes
On our blue flame oil
Makes them nice and creamy,
Serve them while they're hot;
Don't you think that such a dish
Would help an awful lot?

In addition to the "blue flame oil," which was to supply an oven if possible, a double boiler, a large kettle and cover, a large baking pan, and a teakettle were among the items listed as necessary equipment for serving hot lunch at school.

Typically, the lunchroom was introduced into the school by means of makeshift facilities, frequently via the basement, as was the case in Arizona, because no other space was available. But if necessity so dictated, the attic would do, as in an

Idaho elementary school where the PTA installed a large hotel range in an open attic. Each child was supposed to wash his own bowl and spoon, but all the water had to be carried up two flights of stairs in buckets.

In some large cities, each school serving meals had its own kitchen. In others, one kitchen prepared meals for the school in which it was located, as well as for a group of nearby schools; or there was a central kitchen, unattached to any school, which prepared menu items for all school lunches served in the city. In the latter two situations, transportation of food often proved costly, and keeping the food hot was always a problem.

One factor that influenced student feeding and proved economical in terms of time and money was the development of cafeteria service. In the first doctoral dissertation on school lunch, Willard Stanley Ford said, "Every cafeteria has a range and a cook's table, but there is no other item which is not omitted by some schools" (5). He also pointed out that the high schools providing cafeterias increased from 39.1 percent in 1913 to 67.1 percent in 1924-25. There was a corresponding decrease in the percentage of schools which provided a lunchroom only, indicating that food service was replacing the old practice of merely setting aside a room in which students could eat packed lunches brought from home.

Goals, Guidelines, and Laws

Many of the programs of this era had sound goals and were concerned with good nutrition. Perhaps the most comprehensive statement of goals was made by Miss Emma Smedley, director of the Philadelphia program, who asserted that school food service programs should meet the entire school day nutritional needs of all pupils, including lunch and, in addition, breakfast and supplemental nourishment where needed; that all economically needy pupils should be fed without being made to feel themselves an object of charity, with funds coming from government sources; that the program should be nonprofit, school-board operated, and staffed by professionally trained personnel; that teachers should enrich the curriculum through school lunch experiences and the offering of career training in food service (6).

As a nutrition guideline, the Department of Agriculture had defined the important elements of a child's diet: milk, supplemented at times by other protein-rich foods, but never wholly omitted; bread or cereal food in other forms; butter or other foods containing much fat; vegetables; fruits; and sweets. And in the New York City and Arizona programs, for example, an attempt was made to give the child one-third of his required daily nourishment. This requirement probably was based on volume, since vitamins were unknown, as were average daily requirements of other food nutrients.

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers began to emphasize the importance of school lunches to the education and well-being of children. And American agriculture was preparing to play its role in the future development of the school lunch program.

In the 1920's, farm prices dropped sharply, largely due to shrinking foreign markets, removal of World War I price supports, and increasing foreign competition. In February of 1927, Congress passed the McNary-Haugen bill. The purpose of this bill was to establish a government corporation to buy surpluses of eight basic farm commodities and to dispose of them abroad for whatever they would bring in order to keep them from depressing the domestic price. Although the bill was vetoed by President Coolidge and never became a law, the campaign waged in an effort to secure its passage brought widespread acceptance among farmers and others of the idea that the federal government had some responsibility for establishing and maintaining parity prices; and it brought nationwide discussion of surpluses —agricultural surpluses which would play a major role in the further development of the school lunch program.

In Hawaii in 1920, the U.S. Office of

Education questioned the soundness of pupils' preparing the daily lunches in home economics classes; in Missouri, the first school lunch law passed in 1921—it was the first state to receive federal school lunch aid; in Connecticut, the first school lunch law came in 1923; and the first state school lunch law in Ohio was passed in 1925.

EFFECTS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II

In October of 1929, the stock market crashed and signalled the beginning of the Great Depression, which brought loss, hardship, and even suffering to a majority of the people. By 1932, the ranks of the unemployed had swelled to more than 12 million, and the average net farm income had dropped to $288.

American agriculture was faced with huge surpluses at the same time that malnutrition threatened millions of children. While corn was being burned as fuel, the underfed schoolchildren of the nation posed an overwhelming social problem. Many teachers contributed their own money to feed pupils who came to school hungry. Such organizations as the American Red Cross and the American Friends Service Committee fed children in many areas. PTA members donated labor and food. Some states appropriated moneys for school feeding. Probably the largest of these early appropriations was that made by the state of New York when it provided $100,000 of relief funds for free lunches and milk for poor children. But, by and large, state and local funds were grossly inadequate and soon depleted.

Federal Agencies Lend a Hand

President Herbert Hoover and his associates initially underestimated the seriousness of the economic situation and then were slow to act because they subscribed to the laissez faire philosophy and firmly believed that government intervention in economic affairs should be held to a minimum. Finally, the Administration reluctantly moved toward a federal antidepression program of which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was the most important agency. It was this agency which, in 1933, first gave federal financial aid to school lunch programs by making loans to several towns in Missouri to pay for labor to prepare and serve school lunches. When Franklin D. Roosevelt became President, this type of assistance was extended under the Civil Works Administration (CWA) and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA). By the end of 1934, it had reached 39 states and covered the employment of some 7,400 workers.

Roosevelt had promised the American people a New Deal, and his Administration rapidly established agencies to help lift the country out of the Depression. In addition to CWA and FERA, there was the Federal Surplus Relief Corporation, the purpose of which was to help solve the paradox of hunger and destitution existing in a country with huge agricultural surpluses. Commissaries and warehouses were established to distribute flour, beans, rice, lard, meat, butter, fruit, and other edible items to relief clients. Also, a limited amount of surplus commodities was distributed to school lunch programs.

Then there was the National Youth Administration (NYA), established in 1935 to give part-time employment to high school and college students. Not only was it a source of operating labor for school lunch programs, but NYA gardening and canning projects supplied schools with fresh and processed vegetables; and NYA workers constructed tables, chairs, and other equipment for use in school lunch departments.

But it was the Works Progress Administration (WPA), established in 1935 for the purpose of creating jobs for unemployed adults and youth, that set the pattern for the future national school lunch program—a pattern in which the agriculture industry and the Department of Agriculture, rather than school people and departments of education, would be the most instrumental in securing federal aid and in promoting the national program. Under the WPA, the federal government provided labor and trained supervisory personnel, established standards for frequency of visitation, made federal inspection a program requirement, and in general required more adequate supervision than is the case today.

A WPA circular entitled *Operation of School Lunch Projects* (7) recommended 2 to 5 days of preservice training for project workers, to be followed by continuing in-service training. Also, district or area supervisors were to attend preservice training institutes conducted by state staff members. These institutes were to be followed by districtwide training meetings for county project supervisors, who, in turn, would follow up with group training for unit supervisors and workers—thus, supervision would reach from state to local levels. In addition, this bulletin provided a staffing formula: in programs serving up to 100, a ratio of one employee to 25 children; in larger programs, one employee to 50 children. Other comprehensive WPA manuals dealt with sanitation, space and equipment requirements, food standards, and menu patterns.

Surplus Commodities Enter the Picture

Although Congress had passed an Agricultural Adjustment Act in 1933, providing for benefit payments to farmers who voluntarily signed contracts to curtail production, surpluses remained large and prices stayed relatively low. The ineffectiveness of this acreage restriction program was largely due to the increase of tractor power on farms, the expanded application of fertilizer, and new high-producing crops.

In an effort to encourage consumption of agricultural products to the direct benefit of the producers, Congress, on August 24, 1935, passed Public Law 320. Under this legislation, the Department of Agriculture initiated a direct purchase and distribution program for surplus farm products. These surplus goods were distributed to needy families, to persons in charitable institutions, and to nonprofit school lunch programs. Allocations to schools were on the basis of the number of children "certified" as needy or undernourished. No charge was to be made for lunches served to needy children, and no discrimination was to be shown toward them. During the fiscal year 1936, the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation distributed 6 million pounds of commodities to school lunch programs.

In the early years of commodity distribution, item selection, size of containers, suitability, distribution schedules, amounts allocated, and quality of products sometimes created a problem. School officials joked about bags of potatoes, cabbage, and onions spoiling and "smelling up" school corridors. Some of the foods distributed were uncommon items in different sections of the country. For example, one mountain area school lunch manager is reported to have said of fresh grapefruit, "I've biled 'em and fried 'em, and they ain't fitten to eat yet. But just give me a little time, and I'll find a way to make the children like 'em."

This was the spirit of school lunch personnel, regardless of the handicaps and difficulties encountered, as they worked with teachers to encourage the children to try such "new" foods as herring roe, olives, and breads made with graham flour. And this was the spirit of a small group of Connecticut school lunch and industrial cafeteria people who in 1935 invited an equally small group of New York City high school dietitians to meet with them to talk over basic facts such as prices, portions, standards, and food cost accounting methods. The next year, a similar meeting held in New York City was attended by 125 dietitians, and so the Food Service Directors Conference came into being. Simultaneously, a group consisting of Midwest school lunch managers and members of the National Restaurant Association formed the National School Cafeteria Association to meet their need for a local organization. Until the war years precluded travel, the two organizations carried on, one in the East, one in the Midwest, with interlocking memberships.

To many children, the end of the school year meant the end of nutritious lunches for the summer, not only because parents were unable to purchase the required foods, but because many lacked the knowledge of how to prepare nutritious meals. Therefore, the Surplus Marketing Administration, which took over the functions of the Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation in June of 1940, offered commodities to local community groups who wished to organize summer feeding programs. Massachusetts was one of the first states to develop summer feeding as part of the school lunch program utilizing WPA workers. In New York City, it was estimated that 50 percent of the children who ate lunch at school during the school year were participating in the summer program. Summer lunch programs expanded rapidly across the nation, and by August of 1941, 6,303 participating schools were serving a total of 524,904 children; in addition some 250,000 children were being fed at playgrounds or camps.

Both summer feeding programs and regular school lunch programs utilized a number of helpful guides developed by such agencies as the U.S. Office of Education, the Department of Agriculture, and the Children's Bureau. One such publication gave this definition of a complete school lunch:

1. Milk: at least ½ pint
2. Butter or fortified margarine
3. Vegetable: two vegetables, or a vegetable and a fruit
4. Meat, fish, eggs, cheese, dry beans, dry peas, soybeans, or peanut butter; whole-grain or enriched bread, or whole-grain or restored cereal; a simple sweet (optional) (8).

An experimental school milk program, popularly labeled the Penny Milk Program, was initiated in 1939-40 in 15 selected schools in Chicago to test the feasibility of increasing the consumption of milk among needy children through distribution at school and to increase producer income through sale of fluid milk. The Secretary of Agriculture contracted with milk handlers to sell milk to the schools at [illegible] per one-half pint, and the handlers we[illegible] reimbursed from federal funds at spec[illegible] rates varying in accordance with producers' prices. Milk was sold to the children at 1¢ per half-pint. Donations of the purchase price by teachers and other interested individuals provided free milk for children who did not have the penny. In October of 1940, the milk program was extended to New York City. By the close of the 1941-42 school year, it had reached 99 areas, and 731,000 children were receiving milk daily under the program.

Also in 1940, a nonprofit, self-financing organization known as the Southern States Work Conference was founded under the sponsorship of state departments of education and state educational associations in 13 Southern states. Its purpose was to study educational problems, and in 1945 it turned its attention to school lunch operations. In regard to financing school lunch, the Conference recommended that at least the cost of supervision, labor, and facilities be provided from tax funds.

Despite New Deal efforts, the Depression was not completely overcome until World War II pushed the economy into high gear. With defense industries requiring more and more manpower and the armed forces withdrawing millions of young men and women from the labor force, unemployment virtually disappeared.

Nutritional Deficiencies Revealed

Strangely enough, the draft had an unexpected effect on the school lunch program. Selective service figures indicated that one-third of all men rejected for military service were physically unfit because of nutritional deficiencies, and Selective Service Director Lewis Hershey reported to Congress that the United States suffered 155,000 casualties as a result of malnutrition. These shocking statistics, together with Surgeon General Parran's emphatic statement that we are wasting money trying to educate children with half-starved bodies, provided a major stimulus for the advancement of the school lunch program.

It is of interest to note that in 1942, Representative Jerry Voorhis of California introduced an amendment to the Agricultural Appropriation Bill, designed to provide sufficient funds for a school lunch program (9). Although not enacted, it did represent the first legislative attempt to earmark federal funds specifically for a school lunch program.

Local school systems were beginning to assume more responsibility with respect to financing school lunch; many provided not only the facilities, but in addition equipment, labor, and necessary supervision. It was generally taken for granted that plans for any new school plant would include school food service facilities. But old "inner-city" schools and small rural schools continued to struggle with unsatisfactory conditions, as evidenced by a publication in which the state supervisor of the Florida School Lunch Program acknowledged that although one-room rural schools with plank floors could meet requirements of the state sanitary code, facilities must be improved to protect the health of the children. Some of the improvements suggested were the provision of space and equipment to properly sanitize dishes, a safe water supply with the water under pressure, handwashing facilities for employees, rat- and roach-proof containers for storage of food.

Also, a few states began contributing limited funds from the state treasury. For example, in 1942, Utah enacted a unique bill that set up a tax of 4 percent on wines and liquors, the revenue from which was to be distributed to the school districts according to the number of meals served, after first allocating $20,000 per year to the State Board of Education for administering the program. South Carolina, in 1943, appropriated funds to provide one supervisor for each county in the state.

Here and there a voice was raised to call attention to the educational aspects of school lunch. The West Virginia State Department of Education published a curriculum guide entitled *The Hot Lunch at School: A Manual of Suggestions for Teachers* (10), which proposed that if its educational possibilities were fully explored, school lunch might be used to achieve some of the "large aims of all public school education." At the University of Alabama, E. Neige Todhunter emphasized the school's responsibility for developing habits in the child through educational procedures by saying, "The selection of adequate meals should become a habit just as training has made speaking, reading, and writing [possible] without conscious effort" (11). Meanwhile, the U.S. Office of Education had published a bulletin entitled *Making School Lunches Educational* (12).

Side Effects of World War II

In 1943, two side effects of World War II caused deep concern for the future of the school lunch program. The high employment rate in defense industries brought the abolishment of the WPA, consequently depriving school lunch departments of a valuable source of trained employees. Furthermore, the expanded demand for food for our armed forces, plus the needs of our allies, turned the food surpluses of the Depression into shortages and drastically reduced the commodities available for schools. In fact, commodity distribution to schools, which had reached a peak of 454.5 million pounds in 1941-42, was primarily limited to shell eggs, fresh fruit, and vegetables by 1943.

Another problem faced by school lunch departments was wartime rationing. Both the National School Cafeteria Association and the Food Service Directors Conference urged the Office of Price Administration (OPA) to remove child-feeding projects from the restaurant classification and to set ration allowances on a basis that would make it possible to furnish approximately one-third of the child's daily nutritive requirements at the noon meal. In January of 1944, the OPA announced a new plan for providing rationed food for schools in accordance with a plan worked out in close cooperation with school lunch and nutrition experts.

Growing Demand for Federal Aid

The past performance of school lunch as an outlet for agricultural products and as a means of improving the health of schoolchildren brought an ever-increasing demand from the public for continuation of the program. Furthermore, curtailed food supplies and the large number of mothers working in defense plants meant inadequate lunches for many children if nutritious food was not provided at school. Last but not least, with the nation's farmers making an all-out effort to produce more food for war needs, it seemed advisable to maintain the school lunch program as an outlet for future agricultural surpluses.

Therefore, with donated commodities in such short supply, the Department of Agriculture initiated a system of cash reimbursement. Under this system, schools or other sponsors of nonprofit school lunch programs purchased designated foods from local sources and were reimbursed at a specific rate per meal, with the rate dependent upon the type of meals served. The first appropriation for this purpose was a $50 million fund earmarked in the Agricultural Appropriation Act for the operation of school milk and lunch programs for the fiscal year 1944; it is estimated that one-third of the nation's enrolled children participated in some type of school feeding that year. Under this indemnity program, assistance was dependent upon annual appropriations without continuing authorization. Many members of Congress and organizations interested in the welfare of children felt that federal aid for school lunch programs should be authorized on a permanent basis, thereby enabling Congress to give direction to the development of the program and schools to plan ahead with a degree of certainty.

In April of 1944, the Committee To Obtain the Support of Congress for a Nationwide School Lunch Program, a joint committee of the National School Cafeteria Association and the Food Service Directors Conference, distributed a prepared statement to 30,000 schools in which it depicted the school lunch program not only as an organized effort to feed the hungry but as a means of ensuring the physical vigor of the youth of America so that they might enjoy individual success and meet the "imperative needs of our country" in times of danger. And in Congress, nine different bills were introduced proposing to provide federal assistance in the maintenance and operation of lunch programs in schools. The National School Lunch Act became law on June 4, 1946 (13).

Basically, the years from 1930 to 1945 can be characterized as a period of growing state and national awareness of the importance of school lunch. For example, Virginia held 26 school lunch short courses in 1938-39, published a recipe book in 1941, and developed personnel training guides in 1943. Hawaii placed school food service personnel under Civil Service in 1941; following the attack on Pearl Harbor, some school lunch departments were taken over by the military for disaster feeding. When WPA terminated in 1943, West Virginia appropriated $18,000 to enable continued operation of programs and was the first state to appropriate aid for cooks' salaries. A Florida State School Lunch Advisory Committee, appointed in 1943 by the state superintendent, published a guide to help schools develop the school lunch program on a sound foundation. Minnesota's 1945 State Legislature appropriated funds for school lunch, and they have increased each year.

In the early Depression years, emphasis was on feeding needy, undernourished children. Then the federal government began distributing commodities, and the spotlight was turned on school lunch as an outlet for agricultural surpluses. But there was an ever-growing realization of the role of the program in safeguarding the well-being of the nation's children by serving nutritious meals in a setting conducive to the learning of good food habits. Finally, increasing public demand laid the groundwork for the future establishment of a national school lunch program based on permanent federal assistance.

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH ACT—ENACTMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION

Congress, recognizing the multiple benefits of school lunch programs, brought the federal government into permanent partnership with the states and local schools by the passage of the National School Lunch Act. The objectives as stated in the legislation are to safeguard the health and wellbeing of the nation's children and to encourage the domestic consumption of nutritious agricultural commodities and other food.

The National Congress of Parents and Teachers played a very active role in organizing support for national school lunch legislation, and farm organizations, recalling the day of disastrous surpluses, were strongly in favor of it. As could be expected, there was some opposition, based largely on two premises: (1) that the federal government could not afford to finance the school lunch program on a permanent basis and (2) that such federal assistance was an invasion of the spheres of state, local, and parental responsibility. According to the *Congressional Record* of February 26, 1946, both Senator Aiken of Vermont and Senator Russell of Georgia testified in support of the school lunch bill; but it is Senator Russell who is known as the "father of the school lunch program," for it was his bill which was adopted by Congress and signed by the President on June 4, 1946.

An Act To Assist States Through Federal Grants-In-Aid

In recognition of public insistence on state and local control of school matters, and in line with the previously established pattern for federal aid legislation, the National School Lunch Act was primarily designed to assist states through federal grants-in-aid: The federal government would provide funds and commodities to states to promote the establishment and expansion of school lunch programs. The Act requires that programs be nonprofit, that certain nutritional standards be met, that free or reduced-price lunches be made available to economically needy pupils without discrimination, and that an accounting of funds be made to the federal government by the state departments of education and directly served private schools. Beyond that, states and local school officials control the operation of the program.

The Secretary of Agriculture, in implementing the Act, defined nutritional standards in terms of Type A, B, and C meals. The Type A pattern, which was based on one-third of the daily food requirements of a 10- to 12-year-old boy or girl, specified a complete lunch, hot or cold, providing—

1. One-half pint of whole milk (which meets the minimum butterfat and sanitation requirements of state and local laws) as a beverage
2. Two ounces of fresh or processed meat, poultry, cooked or canned fish, or cheese; or one-half cup cooked dry peas, beans, or soybeans; or four tablespoons of peanut butter; or one egg
3. Six ounces of raw, cooked, or canned vegetables and/or fruit
4. One portion of bread, muffins, or other hot bread made of whole-grain or enriched flour
5. Two teaspoons of butter or fortified margarine.

The Type B menu met the Type A specification for milk and bread but called for only half the portion in the other groups. The Type C lunch was merely one-half pint of whole milk, which could supplement lunches children brought from home.

The annual appropriation made available under the Act was to be used for a number of purposes. Section 5 authorized the expenditure of $10 million for "nonfood assistance." defined as "equipment used . . . in storing, preparing, or serving food for school children." Section 6 authorized use of part of the appropriation by the Department of Agriculture for large volume purchases of foods for distribution to participating schools to help them meet nutrition standards. Also, funds in amounts not to exceed 3.5 percent of the total appropriation were made available to the Secretary for administrative purposes.

But the major portion of the appropriation—at least 75 percent—was to be paid to the states in cash to reimburse them for the cost of food. Apportionment among the states was on the basis of two factors: tax-paying ability of the state and school age census. The maximum allowable reimbursement rate for a Type A lunch was 9¢, based on 50 percent of food cost; maximum for Type B was 6¢; for Type C, 2¢.

Payments were to be made to states upon the condition that such payments would be matched by the states on a dollar-for-dollar basis during the fiscal years 1947-50; for the period 1951-55, $1.50 for each dollar of federal funds; thereafter, $3 for every federal dollar. The reasonable value of donated services, supplies, facilities, and equipment (but not the cost or value of land, nor acquisition, construction, or alteration of buildings) were listed as eligible matching items. There was no mention of "income from sale of lunches." However, an interpretation by the Secretary of Agriculture enabled states to include not only direct appropriations, but donations, gifts, and also the money derived from the sale of lunches to children.

Congress was critical of this interpretation, as evidenced by the House of Representatives Report No. 450 on the Agricultural Appropriation Bill for the fiscal year 1948, which stated—

> The committee believes that, while the Secretary of Agriculture does possess such authority under the permissive provisions of the School Lunch Act, it was never the purpose of Congress that funds derived from the children should be included for matching purposes. . . . The committee believes that the States should by direct appropriations match the money provided by the Federal Government (14).

However, the federal agency retained the liberal interpretation and did not emphasize state responsibility for supporting the program from tax funds.

In WPA days it had been the practice for federal employees to deal directly with local school districts, but the National School Lunch Act clearly set up a federal-state-local administrative relationship. Under the Act, the Secretary of Agriculture is responsible for the establishment of national standards and the maintenance of general supervision, but basic responsibility for administration is placed in the hands of state educational agencies. The Secretary enters into an agreement with each such agency covering the operation of the program in that state. In this agreement, the state's responsibilities are—

1. To determine eligibility of each applicant school and to enter into agreements with those eligible
2. To make payments to the schools as provided in the agreements
3. To assist individual schools in operating their programs in accordance with requirements of the law and their agreement and in such manner as to provide maximum benefit to participating children
4. To make such inspections and audits of individual programs as necessary and to make required reports to the USDA.

Prior to the National School Lunch Act, a number of states had enacted laws permitting school authorities to carry on lunch programs at cost or to provide free lunches to needy children. In other states without specific legislation, the courts had upheld the power of local boards of education to establish school lunchrooms under their general authority to act in the interest of the schools. But there was some question as to whether the state educational agency in all states had authority to accept funds from the federal government and expend them for a school lunch program, and it seemed likely that many would find it necessary to enact new or revised school lunch legislation to lay the foundation for a permanent program in line with the pattern of the National School Lunch Act. To this end, interested state and federal officials drafted a "suggested" school lunch bill which, if enacted, would authorize the state educational agency to provide for the establishment and operation of nonprofit school lunch programs not only within the minimum standards of the National School Lunch Act, but also upon any expanded scope of operations and services which the state might consider desirable. However, most states failed to adopt legislation of such a specific school lunch nature.

Responsibility for the operational details of the school lunch program lies with the local community. It is the role of the individual school or school system to offer nutritionally adequate meals designed to develop the child's liking for a variety of foods and to closely link school lunch with health and nutrition education, while operating the program in accordance with the National School Lunch Act and within the terms of their agreement with the state department of education.

Compliance with state and federal regulations is to be assured by evaluative procedures carried out under the auspices of the federal and/or state agency. One of these procedures is the administrative review, an on-the-spot inspection of program operation in the individual school. Another is the audit, which involves inspection of school and state agency records to assure proper expenditure of federal funds. Noncompliance may result in no reimbursement or in the reduction of a subsequent claim.

In October of 1946, the Department of Agriculture (USDA) called the first National Conference of State School Lunchroom Officials, in Washington, D.C., for the purpose of interpreting the new legislation and developing a common understanding of standards and procedures. In attendance were national, regional, and state USDA officials, as well as representatives of the state departments of education.

Speaking at this conference, Undersecretary of Agriculture N. E. Dodd stated that the Department of Agriculture had two great responsibilities to the nation: first, to do everything possible to improve the security and welfare of the American farmer and, second, to encourage abundant production and to help this produce reach the consumer. He pointed out that the school lunch programs help meet this two-way responsibility. Another speaker, Agnes E. Meyer, special writer on national welfare for *The Washington Post,* characterized the birth of the national school lunch program as follows:

> It is laughable to remember how we stumbled into the school lunch program. Surely God looks after our poor blundering democracy, and helps us to do the right thing, even though for the wrong reasons.
>
> When the farm organizations realized that cattle and pigs could not consume their surplus, they remembered that there are some 24 million youngsters in the schools. What couldn't that many hungry kids do to a surplus, given the chance (15)!

And Surgeon General Thomas Parran pointed to the National School Lunch Act as one of the most important health laws of our time.

Some months after this conference, an agreement was reached between the Council of Chief State School Officers and the USDA, whereby the states were to assume administrative responsibility as rapidly as they could handle it effectively. The Council, having heard an official of the USDA contend that it was necessary for federal agents to go into the local schools to protect federal funds, presented the federal agency with a resolution requesting that all federal audits, inspections, and administrative reviews be conducted by the state educational agency and, at the same time, asking state educational agencies to pledge complete diligence to ensure that school lunch programs were conducted strictly in accord with the law and prescribed regulations. USDA representatives asserted that no efforts would be made by federal agents to enforce regulations in the schools but that problems would be reported to the state educational agency.

The year 1946 also marked the birth of the American School Food Service Association (ASFSA), a truly national organization which evolved from a merger of the Food Service Directors Conference and the National School Cafeteria Association. The ASFSA was organized to promote the expansion, educational use, and improvement of school food service programs and to further the professional growth of the members. Through conventions and a house organ, members were afforded an opportunity to exchange ideas and share experiences. Very few of the school level personnel were professionally trained in quantity food service work. The national association and its state and local chapters placed great emphasis on personnel training and improved nutrition and job performance standards. It, therefore, played a very important role in program improvements.

The First Year's Operation

By the close of the 1946-47 school year, all states, as well as the District of Columbia and the Territory of Hawaii, Puerto Rico, Alaska, and the Virgin Islands, had programs under the National School Lunch Act. An estimated 10 million children daily ate lunch or other meals served by the school. Of these, some 6 million were being served in schools participating in the national school lunch program. But the significance of these figures lies not in the proportion of children served through the national school lunch program, but in the fact that many of these children were in small schools in low-income areas where programs could not be developed without federal aid. Furthermore, without federal aid it would have been difficult, or even impossible, to provide free or reduced-price meals to the children who needed them most. Over 100 million free or reduced-price school lunches were served in that school year.

The federal contribution, when taken for the country as a whole, proved to be less than half the funds required to provide the lunches served. Funds provided by states and their subdivisions varied widely from state to state; but nationwide, about 10 percent of all school lunch funds came from these sources. Some states, such as Illinois, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Utah, made very substantial contributions through tax levies. But overall, states relied on lunch payments from children for the major portion of their contribution. In fact, children's payments accounted for about 50 percent of all contributions from state and local sources.

Almost $6 million worth of food was purchased with Section 6 funds, and $2 million worth of Section 32 surplus commodities were distributed to schools. The importance of these food distributions lay not only in their effect on agricultural economy, but in what was accomplished nutritionally. For example, through a pilot program it was determined that reconstituted dry skim milk could be used to provide milk nutrients to children in areas where the supply of fluid milk was limited. Another need of many schoolchildren, especially during the winter months, is some source of Vitamin C. Therefore, both dry skim milk and citrus juices became commodity items.

In this first operational year, $10 million was apportioned to states for purchase of equipment. However, state agencies were not well prepared to handle this type of assistance. Equipment needs had not been identified; equipment manufacturers, suppliers, and school officials moved slowly and made many mistakes in spending nonfood assistance money. Thereafter, there seemed to be no sound, well documented justification for a continuing appropriation for Section 5, and it was never again funded. States and the federal agency exerted all their efforts in the direction of obtaining a larger appropriation for Section 4, Food Assistance.

There were problems at all levels of administration. At the federal level, difficulty was experienced in determining the current needs of each state throughout the year for purposes of fund reallocation. Such factors as the number of new schools expected to ask for assistance, the varying number of school days per month, and the number of schools changing types of programs made these estimates difficult.

Another problem confronting state agencies and the Department of Agriculture was that of determining eligibility and setting assistance rates. When funds allocated to a state were not sufficient to meet all demands of eligible schools, it seemed logical to assist those most in need of funds; but there was no satisfactory method available for making this determination. The related problem of setting assistance rates high enough to assure an adequate program, but not so high that the school would be tempted to decrease local effort, proved just as difficult and involved similar considerations.

Perhaps the most pressing problem at the local level was that of obtaining the services of properly trained personnel. Both state and federal governments made attempts to alleviate the situation through workshops and by encouraging high schools and colleges to offer necessary training courses.

Training Programs Initiated

By the late 1940's most state departments of education were sponsoring or conducting some sort of school food service training each summer. They secured teaching assistance from the ranks of utility company home economists, board of health consultants, and college faculty members. These short courses varied in length from 2 days to 2 weeks or more, and they were held in state camps, in schools, and on college campuses. Some drew attendance from a single system or from several systems, but those held at colleges were generally statewide in scope. A few were college sponsored with state department staff serving as consultants, but many were state department sponsored and held on the campus merely for the convenience of college housing.

These early training sessions had serious deficiencies. A single class might include persons who could barely read and write along with college graduates, or the newcomer as well as the worker with years of food service experience. There was a scarcity of qualified instructors, and some of the courses tried to cover almost all aspects of the school lunch program each year—from the commodity outlook to preparation of the monthly report. Furthermore, no tests were given and there was little follow-up to evaluate the effectiveness of the training offered.

In the summer of 1944, a General Education Board grant helped finance a Southeast regional workshop in school lunch supervision at Florida State College for Women. A second one was held at the University of Georgia in the summer of 1945. School lunch certificates for degree personnel were authorized by the Florida State Board of Education in 1947. They were based on qualifications parallel to those required for other instructional supervisors. In July of 1949, a national in-service training school lunch workshop for state level food service personnel, cosponsored by Iowa State College, the U.S. Department of Agriculture, the U.S. Office of Education, and the Millers' National Federation, was conducted at Iowa State College. Thirty-two federal and state school lunch supervisors participated at this graduate credit workshop, at which group discussion centered around the educational program, equipment and facilities, program planning at the state level, research, supervision, and training programs. Recommendations developed here influenced practices across the nation.

There also was concern over sanitation in school lunch departments. The USDA sent out suggestions on sanitary practices, taken chiefly from a U.S. Public Health Services bulletin. The Joint Committee on Health Problems in Education of the National Education Association and the American Medical Association issued a statement on sanitary requirements for school lunch, covering health and cleanliness of personnel, conditions of food, and methods of dishwashing. Some states, including Wisconsin, Ohio, Oregon, and Florida, published sanitation guides.

A USDA bulletin entitled *School*

Feeding in the United States, completed in June 1947, pointed out the scarcity of data concerning the contribution of school lunches to the nutritional health of children and indicated that possibly one of the reasons for the scarcity of studies along this line is the opinion that school lunches should reduce malnutrition and that proof should be unnecessary. However, a number of experiments were cited indicating that children receiving school lunch made greater gains in height and weight than did control groups and that the serving of nutritious lunches increased educational attainment.

Financing and Staffing Are Major Problems

The authors of *School Feeding in the United States*, having concluded that the provision of school lunches generally improves the nutritional well-being of children, listed the ultimate goal of the school lunch as the provision of an adequate noonday meal for all school children. Noting that 15 million children in the United States were not receiving school lunches, they estimated that the cost of meeting this goal would be from $700 million to $1 billion for food, labor, and other costs; in addition, there would be the cost of the additional facilities.

Increased state support for the program was needed. Most states were providing funds for administrative purposes only; a few provided funds for food and other costs. But, as this 1947 study pointed out, provision of sufficient funds would not completely solve the problem of increasing the number of lunches served and improving their nutritional adequacy. It would still be necessary to provide a sufficient number of skilled dietitians and other trained workers to operate the individual programs effectively, taking into consideration the needs of the children in each school.

Financing and staffing were recognized as major problems across the nation. The Southern States Work Conference recommended in its publication, *School Lunch Policies and Standards* (16), that all school lunch personnel should be employed in the same manner and on the same basis as other school personnel and that they be specifically trained for the services they were to render.

As regards financing, it was recommended that combined tax funds cover as a minimum the nonfood costs of the program, plus all free lunch costs, so that paying pupils would be charged food costs only.

And in the matter of finance, R. L. Johns, addressing the 1947 convention of the American School Food Service Association, said, "It would seem reasonable to recommend that all the states provide for the financing of at least the nonfood costs of the school lunch program" (17).

The rapid development of school feeding and the immediate pressure to get the lunch program into operation made it difficult to establish standards for supervisory personnel, although it was evident that persons directing school lunch operations should meet qualifications equivalent to similar positions in other areas of the education program. Therefore, in 1948, a joint committee of the American School Food Service Association, the American Dietetic Association, and the American Home Economics Association developed "Recommended Standards for the Selection of Personnel Responsible for the Supervision and Management of the School Lunch Program" (18), copies of which were distributed to state superintendents of public instruction, state school lunch supervisors, directors of college and university departments of home economics, and to state school lunch chairmen of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers. It recommended that state directors hold a master's degree or equivalent, including graduate courses in institution management, community nutrition, principles of supervision, public school administration, and curriculum development. It also recommended that they have 5 years experience in school lunch management or supervision, or 4 years such experience plus a year of directed training or experience in the areas of food, nutrition, and institution management. A bachelor's degree with 3 years experience in quantity food production was the recommended standard for system-level supervisors; the desired qualifications for school lunch managers were a bachelor's degree and 2 years of experience as an assistant to the manager of a large school lunch operation. The committee also strongly recommended that costs of supervision, labor, and facilities should be financed from the same sources as other school costs.

In November of that year, C. Roy Murphy, chief of the School Lunch Division of the USDA, reported to the National Council of Chief State School Officers that the USDA had, for the most part, withdrawn from the practice of reviewing operations in individual schools. He stated that state administrators across the nation had improved to a point where the program required such federal assistance in only two or three states.

So it can be said that by the middle of the twentieth century, the National School Lunch Act had been effectively implemented across the nation, and progress had been made in delineating the federal and state roles in its administration. It was fortunate that most states had successfully assumed their administrative function, for the coming years were to see rapid program growth and proliferation of federal aid.

PROGRAM EXPANSION AND PROLIFERATION OF FEDERAL AID

As the second half of the twentieth century opened, more and more educators were thinking of school lunch as an integral part of the educational system. It was said to be "as necessary as a library to building a well-rounded school program" (19), "as important to education as algebra" (20).

With the school lunch program established nationwide, the nutritional welfare of school children warranted attention from such authorities as the American Medical Association, the American Dental Association, the American School Food Service Association, the Association of School Business Officials, and the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, with each organization issuing a statement disapproving of the sale of concentrated sweets and carbonated beverages by schools. In this regard, the Council on Foods and Nutrition of the American Medical Association warned that the availability of confections and soft drinks on school premises might tempt children to spend lunch money for sweets, leading to poor food habits and detrimentally affecting children's appetites for regular meals. In view of these considerations, the Council went on record as opposing the sale and distribution of confections and soft drinks in school lunchrooms.

Administrative Difficulties

The program itself was growing larger and more complex. States lacked sufficient staff and found federal reporting requirements burdensome. The federal-state agreement had become obsolete and was in need of revision. Once again the National Council of Chief State School Officers initiated action by seeking the establishment of an advisory committee on the national school lunch program. According to Edgar Fuller, NCCSSO executive secretary, the purpose of such a committee was to assist the Secretary of Agriculture in the formulation of federal policies, rules, and regulations involved in the federal administration of the school lunch program.

The Secretary of Agriculture did appoint the National School Lunch Advisory Committee, which held its first meeting in September of 1953. After noting with pleasure that the number of lunches served had nearly doubled since the implementation of the National School Lunch Act in 1947, the Committee asked for a clarification of the definition of the term *free meal* and suggested that a meal be reported as free whenever the primary consideration in the selection of the child is need. It also urged the Department to seek ways of minimizing its school lunch reporting and accounting procedures.

A report of the Advisory Committee's second meeting in May 1954 included a number of very significant recommendations. First and foremost, it asked the Secretary to explore the possibility and desirability of allocating the largest possible amount for cash assistance to the states. The Committee was in accord with the use of part of the annual appropriation for the purchase and distribution of suitable agricultural commodities and other foods under Section 6 of the Act, but the average rate of reimbursement per meal from federal funds had dropped from 8.7¢ in 1947 to less than 5¢ in 1954, while the cost of serving a lunch had increased sharply. Since state and local governments were hard pressed to meet the increasing costs resulting from mounting enrollments, the advisers felt additional federal cash assistance was necessary to prevent further reduction in the reimbursement rate. They also recommended that state and local governments be encouraged to continue their efforts to provide increased financial assistance to the school lunch program and that these governments fully report all school lunch expenditures except costs of buildings and land.

The advisers also requested that small working groups be established to (a) examine the need for federal funds for state administrative expense, (b) explore the facts regarding the reporting of contributions by states and local communities, and (c) review and update the federal-state agreement. And they further recommended that the Department require schools to report on the number of meals served to children unable to pay the full price of the meal, and that the Department and the milk industry explore what could be done to make more milk available to more children in the various schools throughout the country.

In view of their importance, it is surprising to find that there was almost no follow-up on these recommendations. In fact, only the item concerned with making more milk available to schoolchildren was implemented.

The Special Milk Program

The special milk program was initiated in September 1954, pursuant to the enactment of Public Law 690. This law amended a price support provision of the Agriculture Act of 1949 and authorized the Commodity Credit Corporation to expend funds, not to exceed $50 million annually for the next 2 years, to increase the consumption of fluid milk by children in nonprofit schools of high school grade and under. Schools received reimbursement to cover a portion of the cost of milk served to children at a reduced price. Since the purpose was to increase the consumption of milk over and above that normally used by the schools, milk served as an integral part of a Type A lunch was not eligible for special milk reimbursement.

In May of 1955, the USDA held a joint meeting with the National School Lunch Advisory Committee and representatives of the dairy industry for the purpose of reviewing the operation of the special milk program and discussing any need for program modifications. It was agreed that the highest permitted rate of reimbursement should not be in excess of 4¢ per half-pint and that schools maintaining an à la carte food or milk service would be reimbursed at a lesser rate than those serving Type A and Type B lunches. It also was agreed that a substantial portion of the reimbursement payments should be reflected in reduced prices to children. It was emphasized that teachers and administrators must be convinced for the program to realize its potential.

During the first year of operation, the special milk program reimbursed schools for almost 500 million half-pints of milk at an average rate of 3.8¢ per half-pint. Participation in Type C lunch under the National School Lunch Act decreased rapidly. A humorous article by Anna Mary Wells, "The Chocolate Milk War," appeared in the October 1954 issue of *Family Circle Magazine*—an indication of widespread controversy over the serving of chocolate milk. Federal regulations specified that all reimbursed milk should meet state butterfat requirements for fresh, fluid, whole milk. Most of the controversy and confusion arose from the fact that some states required the same butterfat content in chocolate milk as in fresh, fluid, whole milk, while others allowed a lower percentage of butterfat in chocolate milk.

In April of 1956, the special milk program was extended 2 years and expanded to include nonprofit nursery schools, childcare centers, summer camps, and other similar institutions devoted to the care and training of children on a public welfare or charitable basis. In 1958, it was extended for 3 years with the stipulation that it should not be considered a price support program.

First Decade Progress Report

In September of 1956, as the first decade of national school lunch program operations ended, the *American School Food Service News* (now the *School Lunch Journal*) published an article which described briefly school lunch progress during the first decade of National School Lunch Act assistance and plans for the next 10 years as seen by Edgar Fuller, executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, and most state school food service directors (21).

The number of schools receiving National School Lunch Act reimbursement and the number of lunches served increased at greatly varying rates among the states. Participation increased in Idaho 94 percent, Illinois 12 percent, and Kentucky 169 percent. New Mexico had 245 new programs and 300,000 more pupils served. Montana's program grew over 400 percent. Nebraska served 9 percent of its pupils in 1946, 18.5 percent in 1956, and 39.9 percent in 1965, and predicted serving 40 percent in 1966. Participation increased 527 percent in Pennsylvania. Of all pupils in Tennessee, 45 percent received a Type A lunch by 1956.

As would be expected, many schools could not initiate a program because of a lack of facilities. States reporting improvements in facilities included California, which provided facilities in all new schools, and North Dakota, which provided facilities in all new buildings. In 1956, nearly all new buildings in New Hampshire included school lunch facilities; this also was true in Rhode Island, where the quiet but steady acceptance of the program was stressed. Wisconsin programs graduated from dark, dismal basement rooms to better facilities.

Prior to passage of the National School Lunch Act, there were no statewide efforts to train or upgrade personnel or to provide the fringe benefits taken for granted for other school personnel. Therefore, it was no surprise to find quite a few states reporting personnel developments as an outstanding achievement of the first decade. California trained its personnel at state colleges. College courses started in Iowa in 1948, and in 1956 all personnel were wearing uniforms. Kansas had 86 percent of its personnel attending training programs in 1956. Maine employed system supervisors and personnel instead of volunteers. Maryland placed its personnel on paid status with retirement, social security, and other fringe benefits. Michigan reported personnel training improved management production practices. Fringe benefits were provided for personnel in New Jersey. South Dakota considered required attendance of cooks at college short courses the single most progressive step, as it trained housewives to become professional school lunch workers.

During the first decade of the national school lunch program, much less progress was made in the area of adequate state funding of the program than was needed and than would have been the case had the Secretary of Agriculture carried out the intentions of Congress—namely, that tax funds meet program matching requirements. States reporting significant progress in adequately funding the program were Massachusetts, where the State Legislature guaranteed 9¢ reimbursement for each lunch by supplements to National School Lunch Act reimbursement; South Carolina, whose state funds provided for state staff, salaries for county supervisors, 50¢ per pupil in average daily attendance to local schools, and building and equipment costs; Maine, whose increased tax support resulted in improved management; and New Jersey, whose school boards now budgeted for the program.

In this decade, states making a high state and local government contribution, as compared to the federal cash received, included California, Florida, Hawaii (not a state in 1950), Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, and Utah. Since 1949, Louisiana has been a leader in tax support and percent participation. Governor Huey Long promoted a free lunch program for all children. Arkansas reported increased milk consumption and vast improvements in personnel and facilities. Colorado served milk in all schools; and New Hampshire reported serving Type A lunches only. In North Dakota there was an increased awareness of the importance of good nutrition. Early publications in New York included *Let's Teach Nutrition* in 1949; and in 10 years Oklahoma's school lunch program had advanced from handouts to health. Administrators, teachers, parents, and school food service personnel recognized an adequate lunch as essential to child health in Nevada.

At the beginning of the first decade, State Superintendent Collins and Senator Russell of Georgia convinced the Department of Agriculture that the state departments of education must administer the program in each state. The progress of the first decade was aptly summarized by Ohio, where it was reported that the national school lunch program made possible progress in one decade which might have taken 50 years if left to individual states. Oregon felt that statistics could not measure what the program had done for each participating child.

Amending the National School Lunch Act

The Department of Agriculture took no action on the suggested revisions of the National School Lunch Act made by the aforementioned study committee and did not again convene the committee or the Secretary's school lunch advisers. Due to these circumstances, the Council of Chief State School Officers, at its Annual Meeting in November of 1959, passed a resolution urging that the recommendations of the study group be presented to the National School Lunch Advisory Committee for discussion and that the Department of Agriculture and the Administration consider a revision of the National School Lunch Act for presentation to Congress in 1960.

The Council drafted a bill, which was sponsored by House Subcommittee Chairman Cleveland M. Bailey. It provided for distribution of federal funds on a revised formula, taking into account pupil participation in the lunch program and relative economic ability of the states. It fixed minimum federal cash reimbursement at 5¢ for each Type A meal. An equalization factor provided for reimbursement graduated upward to a maximum of 9¢ in the state with the lowest average per capita personal income. It also requested that the Department of Agriculture give consideration to the possibility of providing funds to state departments of education on a matching basis for state level school lunch administrative purposes.

Edgar Fuller, in supporting these provisions in August of 1960, pointed out the inadequacy of the going 4.1¢ average cash reimbursement rate and said a minimum 5¢ was needed to meet the free meal and nutritional requirements of the Act. He asserted that the apportionment formula then in effect led to discrepancies among the states that violated the intent of the Act. He reported that states with high-participation rates often receive small federal cash assistance per school lunch, while states with low-participation rates are often rewarded with higher federal cash assistance.

Dr. Fuller emphasized the fact that lack of state administrative funds was one of the major reasons why some states had never fully assumed their responsibilities, why less than half of the states had assumed primary responsibility for auditing, why in many states administrative reviews were inadequate. In conclusion, he pointed out that federal funds were available to build up staffs of state departments of education in such areas as vocational rehabilitation, vocational education, and others, but not for school lunch. The states had to pay the entire cost of additional school lunch personnel, while federal funds eased the way for their competitors.

Acting Secretary of Agriculture True D. Morse, by letter, and Howard P. Davis, deputy director, Food Distribution Division, Agricultural Marketing Service, Department of Agriculture, in person before the House of Representatives Committee on Education and Labor, opposed the bill. Mr. Davis conceded that the proposed new method of dividing the funds between public and private schools, which would eliminate rate inequities between the two groups of schools within a state, represented a step forward. The Department of Agriculture opposed the passage of the bill and contended that the larger amount of commodity assistance gave sufficient recognition to the factor of participation in apportioning the total federal assistance. Mr. Davis and Mr. Morse also objected to establishing a minimum level of federal assistance and to providing any federal funds for state administrative expenses.

A year later, Dr. Fuller again testified before Congressional committees on this legislation, now H.R. 8962 of 1961. With slight amendments, the new Administration had accepted the Council's 1960 program. He reported that the American School Food Service Association, as well as the Council of Chief State School Officers, now supported the general position of the Department of Agriculture on this legislation; but he requested that a section be added to the bill authorizing the allotment of a portion of the Secretary's administrative funds to state departments of education for administrative costs. The American Parents Committee and the State School Food Service Directors also supported the legislation.

Howard P. Davis, representing the USDA, also appeared at the 1961 hearings, and Secretary of Agriculture Orville L. Freeman expressed support. This time the Department of Agriculture reversed its former position and supported the Council's position. The Department emphasized that the enactment of the proposed legislation would be in accord with the recommendations President Kennedy included in his farm message to the Congress. The Department of Agriculture stressed the proposed new section which would provide additional funds for especially needy schools.

Finally, on October 15, 1962, the Act of 1946 was amended by Public Law 87-823. The formula for apportioning federal funds to the states, which had been based on the number of schoolchildren in the state and the need for assistance as indicated by the per capita income of the state, was revised. Basic factors in the new formula were the school lunch participation of the state and the assistance need rate. The formula provided incentives favorable for higher cash payments to the states. As shown by Table 1 in Appendix C, these payments had declined from $93,793,701 in 1959 to $93,627,550 in 1961, but then resumed their rise in 1962. Meeting the requirements of the new formula, which provided a transition period of 4 years, has been a major factor in the steady increase since then, with the federal cash payments reaching more than $147 million in 1967.

Another major change involved the addition of Section 11, which authorized the appropriation of funds to provide special assistance to schools drawing attendance from areas in which poor economic conditions exist. States were authorized to reimburse special assistance schools at rates not to exceed 15¢ per Type A lunch served free or at a reduced price to pupils unable to pay the full price.

Section 11 lifted the 9¢ ceiling in special situations, but the suggested 5¢ floor, or minimum reimbursement rate, was not enacted. No provisions were made for funds to aid states in meeting administrative expenses, and this has remained an annual request by the Department of Agriculture, uniformly disallowed by the Congress through 1967-68.

The Second Decade

The national school lunch program entered its second decade, and at a National Conference on School Lunch and Direct Distribution Programs held in August 1957, E. Allen Bateman, Utah superintendent of education, urged that educators accept the fact that the school lunch program had served its apprenticeship period and was entitled to full journeyman status in education.

In that same year, the Delaware Legislature unanimously passed a notable school lunch bill that provided salary funds for school lunch managers and, in addition, state funds for the employment of a supervisor in each district having four or more school lunch programs.

Over the years, as nutrition research brought changes in the National Research Council's recommended dietary allowances, adjustments were made in the Type A meal pattern. One of the first new recommendations was that a Vitamin A-rich food should be included in the lunches twice a week and a Vitamin C-rich food each day. In 1958, it was specified that (a) the fruit and vegetable requirement must be met with two or more vegetables or fruits or a combination of both, and full strength fruit or vegetable juice could be counted as meeting not more than ¼ cup of this requirement; (b) the protein-rich foods must be served in the main dish and no more than one other menu item. Also, adjustments were made in size of portions for various age groups.

Finance remained a major problem, and the Department of Agriculture appointed a national committee to study long-range school lunch financing. This committee, composed of one state director from each of five USDA regions, and with Edgar Fuller, Executive Secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers, also participating, met in Washington, D.C., late in 1958. The committee turned its efforts toward identifying and defining long-range needs; evaluating current patterns, methods, and trends; developing principles and guidelines to meet future needs; and making recommendations for consideration by state educational agencies and the Secretary of Agriculture's advisers on the national school lunch program.

Children Were Bypassed

A 1962 USDA study showed that nationwide 9 million children attended "lunchless" schools. In those schools of the Southwest that had no lunch facilities whatever, 22 percent of the children were from destitute families; in the Southeast the figure rose to 27 percent.

Assistant Secretary of Agriculture George T. Mehren told the 1963 convention of the American School Food Service Association that the program had bypassed millions of children. He said that of those children who did not have lunch service, 85 percent were in elementary schools—the age when adequate diets are most important because bodies are being formed. Some lived in rural areas, but nearly 70 percent were in metropolitan districts. Furthermore, it appeared that the schools not offering lunch service were concentrated in lower income neighborhoods.

A 1963 revision of recommended dietary allowances caused the USDA to emphasize iron-rich foods in their menu planning guides. A major topic of discussion at the annual convention of the U.S. Grocers' Association in New Orleans was "Relationship of Federal Commodities to Local Purchases in School Lunch Programs." In this discussion it was brought out that some producers felt commodities competed with local products; some suppliers felt that federal "give-away" foods deprived them of a significant market; some school lunch officials found USDA commodity costs quite high for transportation, storage, delivery, and clerical work. It was pointed out that à la carte meals served at school, packed lunches, and corner store lunches use less basic farm products than do Type A lunches.

Certification of Personnel

Although certification standards historically have been a means of upgrading professionally trained personnel, as late as 1963 only a few states had made any attempt at certification of school food service personnel.

In 1964, professional registration for school business officials and school business administrators was initiated by the Association of School Business Officials. School business officials were defined as persons dealing with specific phases of school business administration, and school food service was one of the specified areas. Since neither the American School Food Service Association nor the USDA had moved in this direction toward professionalism, it was deemed appropriate that directors of school food services become registered school business officials.

Dining Room Supervision

Teachers in at least six states—California, Illinois, Massachusetts, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—had been guaranteed a duty-free lunch period. For many years, classroom teachers had supervised school dining rooms, since this was an effective way to coordinate school lunch experience with classroom teaching. But with increased teacher responsibilities and larger enrollments, teachers needed and demanded release from such duty. This posed the question of who should take over the supervisory function. In 1965, the New York State Education Department published a bulletin, *Supervising the Dining Room in the Elementary School* (22), which recommended that persons other than teachers should be selected to be in charge of the dining room primarily for their ability to supervise children and for their understanding of children. However, other educators expressed the opinion that dining room supervision should be assigned to professionally qualified personnel who had an understanding of child development and of the educational experiences inherent in the school lunch program.

State Legislation

By this time, at least three states—Louisiana, Massachusetts, and New York—were providing sufficient tax funds to maintain a 9¢ or higher reimbursement rate for all schools. In 1965, Utah increased its tax on wines and liquors from 4 percent to 8 percent to provide more school lunch funds. Other states appropriating earmarked state school food service funds during this year included Georgia and Florida.

In the last minutes of its General Court session of 1965, Massachusetts took a significant step toward strengthening the educational aspects of its school lunch program by enacting a bill which made the State Department of Education, in cooperation with the Department of Public Health and the local superintendents of schools, responsible for the development and supervision of nutrition education programs in the schools. It provided for the employment in the school lunch office of a senior supervisor in education, whose duties would include the development and supervision of nutrition education.

Facilities

The facilities picture had changed significantly. States not only were basing their school planning on educational specifications, but they also were including the school food service director as an important member of the administrative team drawing up those specifications. Among new schools, 9 out of 10 included a kitchen and serving facility within the plant; but there were many older urban schools where installation of kitchen facilities was not feasible. In the interest of extending the national school lunch program to these schools, the USDA underwrote a study of centralized kitchens in eight school systems, which was known as the Battelle Study (23). Some of the advantages reported were savings in initial costs of facilities, savings in labor costs, standardization of quality, and centralized purchasing. Disadvantages included distribution costs, menu limitations, and problems of work scheduling and job specialization. In conclusion, the Battelle Study pointed out that the administrator, when planning central kitchens, must balance the benefits and weaknesses, and that savings achieved in large-scale kitchen operations may be offset by higher distribution costs.

Food Service Management Companies and Vending Machines

Although USDA regulations for the national school lunch program clearly state that any school which operated the food or milk service under a contractual agreement with a concessionaire or food service management company was ineligible for participation in the program, many a harried administrator was lending an ear to spokesmen for food service management companies when they said schools should get out of the restaurant business. In a resolution adopted in April of 1964, the Florida School Food Service Association mentioned its awareness of the efforts of food management companies to persuade county school boards to contract with them for the operation of the school food service program. It also called attention to the responsibility of the school boards to assure the most adequate lunch for the least cost to the child, to provide for economically needy pupils, and to establish sale prices that permit maximum participation. Further, it indicated that these goals are incompatible with the profit motive of food management companies. In November of 1965, the executive board of the American School Food Service Association adopted a resolution urging the Secretary of Agriculture to continue existing regulations on the matter.

In the mid-1960's, vending machines were a much discussed issue. They had been used in many schools for dispensing milk, and vending machine companies now proposed that school lunch rooms be completely automated. A bank of vending machines could be so regulated as to dispense a Type A lunch priced as a unit, thereby meeting USDA requirements for federal reimbursement—provided that the vending operation was nonprofit and that the food preparation activity was school board operated. It was pointed out that such a system would require less space in the serving area and might reduce labor cost by eliminating man hours on the serving line. Some of the drawbacks mentioned were cost of equipment, cost of maintenance, and difficulty in maintaining sanitation. But a more basic objection was the system's negation of the educational aspects of the school lunch program. As Mrs. Anne Maley, state supervisor of school lunch for North Carolina, put it:

> Can a dispensing machine inspire the individual child to accept and consume the food on his plate as well as the pleasant smile of his friends behind the counter? Can a peek at food through a glass covered porthole in a machine stimulate a child's appetite as can the aroma and eye appeal of an array of appetizing food on a cafeteria counter (24)?

About this time, New York City, with a grant from Educational Facilities Laboratories, approached a new frontier when the school system began conducting experiments with frozen foods. Their researchers later reported substantial payroll savings, high acceptance, and reduction of plate waste. They rejected the TV dinner approach in favor of bulk frozen foods and issued the warning that schools should not try to develop their own frozen foods, that specialists and food technologists should do the job.

Multiple Agency Financing

With the federal government's "War on Poverty" and the civil rights movement placing increased emphasis on the plight of the poor, Congress, in 1965, passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), to be administered by the U.S. Office of Education. Title I of this Act was concerned with helping local agencies broaden and strengthen education programs in schools with high concentrations of educationally deprived children. In planning the projects under which ESEA funds were disbursed, many states and districts budgeted moneys to supplement their National School Lunch Act funds. An analysis of some 500 Title I projects revealed that more than 100 provided for breakfasts or expanded school food service programs.

In two Washington, D.C., elementary schools, breakfast followed early morning calisthenics and showers in a before-school program involving some 115 deprived boys and girls. The program was supported by ESEA Title I funds; the cost of food and paper tableware in 1965-66 was $5,100. In Berkley County, South Carolina, Title I funds provided more than food for deprived children in 25 schools; they helped pay for a warehouse to store it, a truck to haul it, and the remodeling of kitchens to serve it. Breakfasts and midmorning snacks provided 500 to 800 additional daily calories in the Grant School in Minneapolis; and in Pike County, Georgia, no child attending school went without a warm noonday meal.

Mention also should be made of the Economic Opportunity Act, under which Head Start programs were initiated for preschoolers. When local officials administering these activities found that many children were not receiving adequate diets at home, they expanded special milk program "milk breaks" into breakfast or lunch programs. USDA-donated foods were utilized, and frequently the lunches were provided on a contract basis by a school food service department.

The nutritional needs of economically needy children were also the basic concern of the Child Nutrition Act (CNA) of 1966. President Johnson, in submitting his proposal for this Act, indicated that even though 18 million schoolchildren enjoy lunches prepared and served in their schools under the national school lunch program, many children still fail to get a good lunch even though the cost is low. He said that some cannot afford the 25¢ to 35¢ lunch charge, while others in low-income districts go to schools which lack lunch facilities. He stressed the fact that no child in affluent America should be without an adequate diet and proposed the new program to help reach that goal.

The Child Nutrition Act provided for pilot breakfast programs to help close the nutrition gap by giving children a nutritious breakfast in schools having many needy pupils or to which many children travel long distances. Federal funds were made available to pay states for the cost of locally purchased food, in addition to USDA-donated foods. The required breakfast pattern for federal reimbursement included as a minimum (a)one-half pint of fluid, whole milk served as a beverage or on a cereal; (b) one-half cup of fruit or full-strength fruit or vegetable juice; (c) one slice of whole-grain or enriched bread, rolls, or muffins; or three-fourths of a cup of whole-grain or enriched cereal. It was suggested that breakfasts also should include protein-rich foods, such as eggs, meat, poultry, fish, cheese, or peanut butter, as often as practical.

Another section authorized federal aid to help schools in poverty areas purchase equipment needed to establish, maintain, and expand school food services. In addition, the special milk program was included within the scope of this new Act and extended for another 3 years as a useful supplement to child nutrition.

The total cost as originally planned was to be $56 million. The program, however, ran into money troubles born of the Vietnam War; to help defray expenses of the CNA, President Johnson asked Congress to cut back by $19 million the cash subsidy program of the national school lunch program. This regressive move was strongly resisted by school lunch personnel at state and local levels. The President also asked for a drastic retrenchment in the school milk appropriation, and dairy-state Congressmen reacted violently.

Congress rejected the President's cutbacks in both the national school lunch program and the special milk program and approved a limited version of the Child Nutrition Act by appropriating $7.5 million for school breakfasts and $12 million for nonfood assistance (equipment purchase).

Many schools lacked information regarding economically needy and long-bus-ride pupils in need of a school breakfast. Some school administrators were reluctant to initiate new school food services while the basic noonday program was suffering from underfunding. Others resisted starting new programs established on a temporary basis for fear federal aid would be temporary while the need and public expectancy became permanent. Furthermore, some breakfast programs were being funded from the Office of Economic Opportunity or Elementary and Secondary Education Act Title I funds at higher rates than those allowed under the Child Nutrition Act. The low CNA reimbursement rates did not make it possible for some schools to operate their breakfast programs on a break-even basis. These, plus the late funding, were the most common reasons why the federal breakfast reimbursement claimed for fiscal 1967 amounted to only $566,458 and why so few programs were started. (For extent of participation, see Table 3 in Appendix C.)

Eventful Third Decade

Food costs were rising, and the commodity outlook was bleak in 1967. Payroll costs skyrocketed with the implementation of the 1966 Amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act. Many school lunch programs found themselves in dire financial straits and sought to rectify the situation by raising pupil sale prices—only to be faced by a sharp decrease in participation.

The April 1967 issue of *Ladies Home Journal* criticized schools for not meeting the school day nutrition needs of all the pupils, called the situation scandalous, and recommended that parents rise up and demand that facilities and other assistance needed to correct this deficiency be provided from tax funds.

The national school lunch program entered its third decade, and the Southern States Work Conference published a new and revised third edition of its *School Food Service Policies and Standards.* The Florida State Superintendent's School Food Service Study Committee proposed in a mimeographed report on that state's school food service programs, *Goals and Recommendations,* that combined tax funds from federal, state, and local sources be provided to cover salaries and all other nonfood costs of the program and, in addition, the food cost of free and reduced-price meals served to needy pupils. R. L. Johns, professor of educational administration, College of Education, University of Florida, in a return appearance at the twentieth annual convention of the American School Food Service Association in Dallas, said:

> If the school food service program facilitates the provision of educational services and it also provides valuable learning experiences, it should be made available to all children. That is, the program should be so financed that one hundred per cent of the pupils can participate in the program (25).

In the fiscal year 1967, 71,000 schools participated in the national school lunch program. Free and reduced price lunches accounted for 11 percent of total lunches served; and of the total, more than 3 billion were Type A lunches with milk. (See Table 1, Appendix C.) The average rate of federal reimbursement per Type A lunch was 4.5¢, while the total cost per lunch averaged about 48¢. (See Table 2, Appendix C.)

Also in 1967, the American School Food Service Association surveyed states to study patterns of organization, determine performance, identify differences in policies and procedures, and discover areas of common ground which might be used to the advantage of all. With 37 states reporting, survey results give a current picture of school food service across the nation.

In the area of personnel, 9 states require the state director to hold a bachelor's degree and 12 require a master's. Two states—Florida and Connecticut—will require a doctorate or equal for all new state school food service directors. Only 11 states have definite plans of certification. Of these, 4 certify at state level, 6 at system level, and 5 at local. Certification is awarded on the basis of workshop attendance and/or college credits earned. In 20 states, school food service staffs are responsible for training; but in 14, college and university staffs share this responsibility with the school food service staffs (26).

State and local tax contributions for school food service varied widely: 15 states appropriated from 1¢ to 50¢ per child; 5 states, 50¢ to $1; 5 states, $1 to $5; and 7 states appropriated over $5 per child per year.

Only 5 reporting states failed to use Title I funds. Thirteen used them for food, 22 for reduction of lunch prices, 17 for labor, 16 for equipment, 8 for system supervisors, and 15 for breakfast programs.

What are the states doing? Nine are involved in research studies, 14 are writing training courses, 12 are developing bulletins, and 24 are promoting breakfast programs. Sixteen states process claims electronically, and two have electronic data programs for menu planning; several have computer programs to analyze the quality and quantity of lunches served. Nationwide, more and more administrative units are becoming centralized in the areas of purchasing, record keeping, and menu planning.

The survey also showed that the number of programs and the number served per school district vary widely in most states. Two states—Missouri and Minnesota—reported programs serving as few as 8 pupils. New York reported the largest system: New York City, which serves about 425,000 pupils in 1,100 schools. Florida reported the second largest system: Dade County, Miami, which serves over 123,800 in 212 schools. Eleven states reported having some school breakfast programs in 1965.

The years from 1966 to 1968 were bench mark years in school food service program history. Many highly significant events took place. Among these were four important nationwide studies. First, there was a USDA study on the nutritive content of Type A school lunches. The study was conducted by the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (27). A random sample of 300 schools in 19 states was used. A chemical analysis was made of 6,000 sample lunches collected in November 1966. The final report has not yet been released. Preliminary information reported in the fall of 1967 indicated that the lunches served are on the whole satisfactorily meeting the nutritional goal of one-third of a child's dietary needs.

A second most important study was conducted by the Consumer and Food Economics Research Division, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture (28). The study was of food consumption of households in the United States during the spring of 1965. The results of the study were disquieting, to say the least, and require a new commitment to improving the nation's nutrition education programs and food habits. The study showed that U.S. diets have deteriorated since the last parallel study was completed a decade ago, when 60 percent of U.S. diets were good; today, only 50 percent are classified as good. American families now eat far less foods than are needed to supply calcium and Vitamins A and C. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman directed that an all-out, nationwide, nutrition education program be undertaken. The first priority of efforts were to be directed toward children and young families. State school food service directors would be asked to plan and begin a well coordinated and continuing attack on the problem. Schools would be urged to include more nutrition education in their curriculum at all grade levels. Schools also were expected to identify all unmet school day nutrition needs of pupils and to expand and improve their school food service programs, including initiation of breakfast programs and supplemental nourishment, as needed, to the end that the total school day nutrition needs of all pupils will be met.

The third study was undertaken by the Committee on School Lunch Participation (29), consisting of representatives of Church Women United, National

Board of the YWCA, National Council of Catholic Women, National Council of Jewish Women, and National Council of Negro Women. The Committee functioned as a nationwide task force and conducted a study of the national school lunch program, with the purpose of promoting the full participation of children from low-income families in the program. Thirty-nine state school food service directors were interviewed, and 40 communities across the country were studied. In each, volunteer representatives of the sponsoring organizations interviewed the school food service director, the welfare director, principals, teachers, public health officials, voluntary organization leaders, and parents. The communities were selected to give a fair representation of rural and urban centers, size, geographic location, and per capita income.

The Committee held a national press conference and reviewed their findings and recommendations. The recommendations included a report which stressed the inadequate funding at all levels, pupil sale prices that are too high, the unreached pupils, and the resultant sense of defeat, dissatisfaction, and unrest among school food service administrators. It emphasized the necessity for officials, administrators, legislators, and parents to accept school lunch as an essential nutrition and education service for all children. The Committee found and lamented attitudes which held that the program is a commodity outlet, welfare burden, administrator's headache, and teaches shiftlessness for the "no good" parents who won't provide for their own children. It was recommended that a national goal of a universal free nutrition and food service program for children and youth be established and that a national effort be made to reduce lunch prices to pupils to 20¢ to achieve greater participation. It also recommended that the 9¢ federal reimbursement rate be restored and that states be required to appropriate funds to match federal reimbursement dollar for dollar—with proper adjustments for having a lower than national average per capita income. Children's fees and money spent for administration, construction, and equipment should not be allowed as matching funds, and all school food service should be under one administration to promote uniformity, simplicity, and efficiency. Local school districts should handle the cost of administration, labor, and equipment. Commodity donations should be maintained at a steady and dependable level, subject to food cost changes. A current level of 11¢ per meal was recommended.

The Committee also recommended that a uniform standard for determining need be established and that special assistance reimbursement rates be high enough to enable states to reach all needy pupils. Incentive grants to encourage development of total nutrition and food service programs were advocated.

During 1968, the USDA conducted a study, Operation Metropolitan, in all cities with a population of 250,000 or above. The project is an attempt to determine the nature, extent, and adequacy of school food services in metropolitan areas. The findings and recommendations for individual studies on completion have been made available to state departments of education for appropriate action. The studies have not all been completed, and it is not known whether or not a national summary will be prepared.

State school food service directors held a postconvention conference in Fort Worth, Texas, in August of 1967, following the American School Food Service Association convention. This was the first time many of the state directors had an opportunity to work with directors from outside their region. Through committees the group explored various aspects of the program, including finance problems, ways to initiate and strengthen nutrition education programs, and how to develop appropriate standards for the adequate operation of state school food service offices. Plans also were developed to hold such conferences in connection with future American School Food Service Association conventions. It pointed up the need for and the value of work sessions involving all state directors. Herbert D. Rorex, director, School Lunch

Division, U.S. Department of Agriculture, participated in the conference. This no doubt helped the USDA decide to sponsor a workshop for the 50 state directors.

For the first time in 22 years since the passage of the National School Lunch Act, the USDA held a workshop for state school food service directors in Washington, D.C., March 19-22, 1968. In opening the workshop, Rodney E. Leonard, administrator of consumer and marketing service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, said the real inspiration for the workshop was his participation in a Southeast area brainstorming retreat, held in Sapphire, North Carolina, in September of 1967. His participation there convinced him of the need for and value of a similar national get-together. The workshop, long overdue, provided an opportunity for state directors to share ideas, to work with USDA officials in committees, and to discuss problems and reach a consensus upon many long-range goals and plans for school lunch and nutrition education.

The first committee studied ways and means of reaching needy children. It was concluded that efforts should be made to determine the number and location of needy children not now receiving a free or reduced-price lunch, as well as the schools that need but do not have a school lunch program. It was recommended that states administer federal funds for special assistance to provide extra payments on all free or reduced-price lunches served to needy children.

The second committee studied federal-state administration, requirements, and policies. It recommended that commodities allocated to schools not participating in the national school lunch program should be based on the number of Type A lunches such schools serve, and that all schools receiving any federal school food service assistance should meet the free lunch requirements of the National School Lunch Act. It was recommended that low-participation schools should submit a plan outlining activities to be undertaken to improve participation for state department of education approval; that efforts be made to increase participation in high schools; that federal requirements be amended to prohibit the operation of snack stands during school hours at schools receiving National School Lunch Act reimbursement. The group vigorously opposed the use of outside profit-motivated food management companies and recommended that only school board-operated, nonprofit, nutritionally and educationally sound school food service programs be eligible for federal reimbursement or commodities. It was recommended that all federal school food service assistance be consolidated under one legislative authority and one appropriation. It further recommended that one department of education school food service staff member be provided for at least each 180 school lunch programs and that system-level supervisors be provided for each 4 to 10 units, or for each 1,500 to 2,000 pupils served.

A third committee dealt with financial needs and problems. It recommended a goal of a sale price of 25¢, to increase participation and decrease the need for free and reduced-price lunches. (It should be noted that this is 5¢ higher than the figure mentioned earlier as recommended by the Committee on School Lunch Participation.) An increase in both federal and state tax contributions to the program was listed as essential. The group recommended that states' tax funds be increased over an 8-year period, until federal funds are matched dollar for dollar by state-level tax funds.

The fourth committee, studying nutrition education and personnel training, recommended the initiation of a nutrition education program at all grade levels, that the program be a continuing program and avoid all earmarks of a crash program, that teenage nutrition councils be established in high schools, and that the USDA provide technical and visual aid helps. It recommended that each state department of education assign a school food service staff member full-time responsibility for developing and furthering the nutrition education program and that this program be coordinated with school food service and the curriculum division. The committee stressed the need to motivate school administrators on the value of school food service and the critical need for nutrition education. As regards training, the committee recommended that 2-year degree programs be established for managers and that 4-year degree and graduate programs and seminars be established for supervisors. The group endorsed the motion passed by the National Association of Land-Grant Colleges in November of 1967, to the end that more adequate school food service personnel training programs be developed.

The Senate, on April 17, 1968, accepted H.R. 15398, a proposed amendment to the National School Lunch Act previously passed by the House. The bill closes the legislative gap and provides federal assistance to communities to feed preschool children in nonprofit, public and private day care centers, nursery schools and other institutions, including those for handicapped children, and in such summer activities as day camps and recreation centers. The Act also extended the school breakfast program for another 3 years. Funds may be used for food and equipment.

Senator Joseph S. Clark of Pennsylvania offered an amendment to permit schools using food service management companies to be eligible for National School Lunch Act reimbursement and federally donated commodities. Some USDA officials and school lunch administrators were surprised at the support given Senator Clark by John M. Lumley, assistant executive secretary, Legislation and Federal Relations, National Education Association; R. Winfield Smith, president, National School Boards Association; and Harold Howe II, U.S. commissioner of education. As was the case, they expected Senator Clark's proposal to be supported by the National Restaurant Association, represented by Ira H. Nunn.

Opponents who spoke against the amendment proposed by Senator Clark included Senators Ellender, Holland, Aiken, and Pastore. Others on record as opposing food management operations included the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Council of Chief State School Officers, and the American School Food Service Association. Proponents contended that the local school district should have a choice of employing a management company or of operating its own school food service program. Opponents pointed out that the primary aim of management companies is profit; such operation would make it difficult to retain or obtain community support; the program would be divorced from the school's education program; the responsibility for identifying economically needy pupils to be served should be left with the school, and their decision must be final and kept confidential. The controversial amendment was not introduced in the House of Representatives but was introduced in the Senate by Senator Clark, where on April 17, 1968, it was rejected by a 39 to 13 vote.

Early in 1968, *School Food Purchasing Guide* was published (30). This bulletin was the culmination of a 3-year joint project of the American School Food Service Association and the Association of School Business Officials. It was produced by a joint committee representing the two associations and filled a long felt need, for in many school districts in most states purchasing practices represent a weak aspect of the program.

OUTLOOK FOR TOMORROW

Bernard Bard in his book, *The School Lunchroom: Time of Trial,* said:

> The school lunchroom is one of the most underdeveloped areas in American education. It is starved for facilities, and starved for funds to serve the proper food in the right amount to children who need it (31).

Admittedly, there are "missing millions" not receiving the benefits of a lunch at school, and the national school lunch program does have a number of detrimental forces working against it. One of these factors is the philosophy—held by some educators, some school board members, and a portion of the public—that school lunch programs should be profit-making, or at least self-sustaining. Other detrimental factors are antipathy for federal aid and the inadequacies of the program itself. Federal reimbursement has not kept pace with participation growth and rising costs; and only a few states have provided adequate tax support. (See Table 5, Appendix C.) A U.S. Department of Agriculture report released in March 1968 shows that only New York, Massachusetts, and Louisiana met the unrealistic federal matching requirements by state and local government contributions. Eighteen states' tax contributions equalled or exceeded the federal cash apportionment. (See Table 4, Appendix C.)

In the late 1960's, new opportunities for meeting school day nutrition needs and related education experiences are emerging at a rapidly accelerating rate. These new developments are having an unprecedented and basic impact on the program and offer a tremendous challenge to state and district people responsible for leadership and planning. State and district leadership and activities for taking advantage of opportunities and for problem solving are not well coordinated and are fragmented. Resources vary from state to state. States cannot meet school food service opportunities equally. Talents and funds beyond the means of many school districts and states are needed. More tax support is a must if pupil school food service needs are to be adequately met. As state and district school food service departments are presently functioning, many are not capable of meeting their full administrative leadership potential. Major changes regarding number of staff members, qualifications, functions, and relationships to other sections of departments of education are indicated. State departments of education need to more actively encourage, support, and coordinate state and district planning. School food service systems need to be reorganized by mergers which cross school district lines to provide administrative units of adequate size and to permit economic operations. Updated courses of study and teacher recruitment efforts need to match the broadened administrative base for training school food service personnel. Evaluation systems must be implemented or extended to reexamine the goals emerging from the rapidly changing and expanding school food service program of this nation.

Cicero said, "Not to know what happened before you were born is always to remain a child." A look backward shows that until the demise of the WPA and the initiation of federal cash assistance, state departments of education were not involved to any appreciable degree in school food service program development. Statewide programs had not developed. Since then, state departments of education have been understaffed, underfunded, and underinvolved in cooperative program planning and evaluation. Too much time has been devoted to administering federal funds and commodities and to collecting and summarizing reports, and too little to in-depth evaluation and interpretation of the significance of the data collected. Nonfederally required activities have been largely confined to personnel training and some assistance with the preparation and review of facilities plans.

A look backward also reveals many commonalities from 1900 through the foreseeable future. They include the sound philosophy and vision of program leaders; the one major goal of better nutritional status and sound food habits for schoolchildren; the recognition that economic, social, and political conditions greatly affect the program; the belief that success has and can continue to be achieved under severely handicapping conditions. There is much similarity in the problems of yesteryear, today, and, no doubt, those of tomorrow.

Despite continuing handicaps, prospects for the future of the school lunch program are good. The answer to most of its problems lies in the development of a common school lunch philosophy. The meager guidelines provided by the National School Lunch Act are totally inadequate for an age in which breakfast, supplementary nourishment, and sometimes dinner and summer feeding programs may be considered a part of the school food service program—an age in which even the serving of milk becomes controversial. Some medical authorities are now advocating the serving of skim milk, rather than the whole fluid milk prescribed by Department of Agriculture regulations. They say Americans are too fat; reduce fat intake and reduce heart attacks.

Advocates of "the child should pay only the cost of food" philosophy and the "all lunches should be free" crusaders are faced with proponents of the profit-making or at least the self-sustaining lunch department. However, if administrators, educators, and professional associations will but provide leadership in the definition of common goals, establishment of target dates for their achievement, and the implementation of needed action programs, the school food service program can approach the twenty-first century with realistic hope of solving its financial dilemma and reaching out to all the "missing millions."

FOOTNOTES

1. As quoted by Agnes E. Meyer, "School Lunches Should Be Free," an address delivered October 22, 1946, before the National Conference of State School Luncheon Officials in Washington, D.C., called by the Department of Agriculture.
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3. Robert Hunter, *Poverty* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1904), pp. 119-22.
4. John Spargo, *The Bitter Cry of the Children* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1906).
5. Willard Stanley Ford, *Some Administrative Problems of the High School Cafeteria* (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926, p. 2.
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Appendix A

NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

Legislative Digest

1933	Reconstruction Finance Corporation made loans to several communities in Missouri to pay labor costs of preparing and serving school lunches.
1934	Civil Works, Federal Emergency Relief, Works Progress and National Youth Administrations furnished labor and trained management personnel for lunchroom operations.
1935	August 24, Section 32 was signed. Federal Surplus Commodities Corporation started donating commodities to the schools.
1940-43	Penny Milk Program-Section 32 funds were used to make differential payments so children could buy milk for a penny.
1943-46	Beginning of cash payments to schools as we know the program today. This was a project in the Section 32 budget.
1947-49	Funds were transferred from Section 32 to the school lunch program. 1947 increased by $6 million; 1948 increased by $5 million in supplementals.
1950-58	Separate appropriations were authorized for the school lunch program.
1959	Separate appropriation of $110 million and a transfer of $35 million from Section 32 were authorized.
June 4, 1946	National School Lunch Act was signed. 1. At least 75 percent for cash payments 2. Not more than 3.5 percent for administrative expenses 3. Balance for direct purchases 4. Not more than 3 percent of funds available shall be apportioned for for Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and Virgin Islands. 5. Section 32 commodities continue to be available.
July 12, 1952	Not more than 3 percent of funds available (in 1959 less than $35 million) shall be apportioned for Puerto Rico, Guam, and Virgin Islands, except that in the first apportionment they shall receive not less per child than that for the lowest per capita income state.
June 13, 1958	$35 millon transferred from Section 32 for purchase and distribution of agricultural commodities and other foods pursuant to Section 6 of the NSLA, such additional funds to be used for the general purposes of Section 32.
Oct. 1962	Amended National School Lunch Act. Changed allocation formula substituting school lunch participation rate for school age census figure and added Section 11 to provide special assistance for areas of high economic need.
April 17, 1968	Amended National School Lunch Act. Provides assistance to feed preschool and handicapped children in day care centers, nursery schools, summer camps, recreation centers, and other institutions. Also extended breakfast program another 3 years.

Appendix B

SPECIAL MILK PROGRAM

Legislative Digest

Aug. 28, 1954 (original act)	$50 million for 2 years—1955-56. Price support. For children in nonprofit schools of high school grade and under.
April 2, 1956	Extended 2 years—1957-58. Increased 1956 funds to $60 million. Expanded program to nonprofit nursery schools, childcare centers, settlement houses, summer camps and similar nonprofit institutions as are devoted to the care and training of underprivileged children on a public welfare or charitable basis.
July 20, 1956	Eliminated "underprivileged" and "on a public welfare or charitable" basis.
July 1, 1958	Extended program 3 years—1959-61. Shall not be considered a price support program.
Oct. 11, 1966	Enacted Child Nutrition Act of 1966, which extended Milk Program through fiscal year 1970; authorized school breakfast and nonfood assistance programs, state administrative expense funds, and authorized the centralization of all federal food service programs in the USDA.
April 17, 1968	Amendment to National School Lunch Act. Extended Milk Program another 3 years.

Appendix C

Table 1—SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM, 1947-68

Item	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
Method of financing program					
Contributions from federal sources:					
1. Direct appropriation					
School Lunch Act					
Cash payments-food (obligations)	$ 59,853,146	$ 53,948,241	$ 58,752,066	$ 64,520,543	$ 68,156,229
Section 6 (distribution) [a]	5,735,269	13,438,329	14,474,763	16,684,026	15,089,210
Total	$ 65,588,415	$ 67,386,570	$ 73,226,829	$ 81,204,569	$ 83,245,439
2. Donated commodities					
Section 32	$ 2,312,479	$ 19,340,561	$ 21,550,031	$ 36,193,259	$ 15,194,903
C.C.C. (416)	...	...	...	1,990,606	19,641,552
P.L. 471	...	...	...	321,069	...
Total	$ 2,312,479	$ 19,340,561	$ 21,550,031	$ 38,504,934	$ 34,836,455
3. Special Milk Program	...	...	...	...	...
Total, federal contributions	$ 67,900,894	$ 86,727,131	$ 94,776,860	$119,709,503	$118,081,894
Contributions from state sources:					
1. Direct appropriation					
State and local	$ 20,616,000	$ 29,052,000	$ 35,418,000	$ 39,000,000	$ 46,477,000
2. Other local contributions	17,532,000	22,674,000	23,887,000	31,553,000	32,627,000
3. Payments by children	112,540,000	138,282,000	158,553,000	177,336,000	207,213,000
Total, state contributions	$150,688,000	$190,008,000	$217,858,000	$247,889,000	$286,317,000
Total contributions (federal and state)	$218,588,894	$276,735,131	$312,634,860	$367,598,503	$404,398,894
Matching [b]					
Federal apportionment of cash to states	$ 62,338,155	$ 54,000,000	$ 58,875,000	$ 64,565,000	$ 68,275,000
Required by states	55,877,690	43,740,894	47,965,738	52,879,949	85,210,189
Contributed by states	150,688,000	190,008,000	217,858,000	247,889,000	286,317,000
School enrollment (thousands)	26,600	26,600	27,000	27,500	28,100

Participation in Program					
1. Number of schools (month of peak participation by children) [e]	44,537	44,542	47,803	54,157	54,436
2. Number of children (peak thousands)	6,016	6,015	6,960	7,840	8,638
Type A and B lunches	4,506	4,421	5.143	5,841	6,539
Type C lunches	1,510	1,594	1,817	1,999	2,099
3. Number of meals served (millions)	910.9	972.0	1,119.1	1,275.9	1,393.1
Type A					
With milk—Number (millions)	527.4	533.8	667.6	818.3	936.3
Percent of total	57.9	54.9	59.7	64.1	67.2
Without milk—Number (millions)	129.6	129.7	134.8	115.9	103.9
Percent of total	14.2	13.3	12.1	9.1	7.5
Type B					
With milk—Number (millions)	17.8	45.9	19.4	12.4	11.1
Percent of total	2.0	4.7	1.7	1.0	0.8
Without milk—Number (millions)	7.4	5.4	5.0	4.3	3.6
Percent of total	0.8	0.6	0.4	0.3	0.2
Type C—Number (millions)	228.7	257.2	292.3	325.0	338.2
Percent of total	25.1	26.5	26.1	25.5	24.3
4. Number of free or reduced-price lunches served (millions)	109.4	123.3	165.5	212.2	177.7
Free or reduced-price lunches as percent of total lunches served	12.0	12.7	14.8	16.6	12.8
Foods bought in local markets with cash payments and state contributions	$128,648,278	$142,813,208	$168,242,258	$181,152,799	$213,510,644
Total appropriation [d]	$ 81,000,000	$ 70,000,000	$ 75,000,000	$ 83,500,000	$ 83,500,000

Source:
U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service.

[a] Represents year in which commodities were distributed; not necessarily year in which funds were obligated.

[b] State matching requirements per federal dollar are as follows: 1947–50, $1 to $1; 1951–55, $1.50 to $1; thereafter $3 to $1, except that for states with per capita income below the national average the ratio required is decreased by the percentage which the state per capita income is below the per capita income of the United States. Lowest matching requirement for 1947–50 was $.46 to $1; 1951–55, $.73 to $1.50; 1956–60, $1.41 to $3; 1961–67, $1.54 to $3.

[c] Beginning in 1959 excludes schools serving only Type C lunches.

[d] Includes funds authorized to be transferred from Section 32 for the purchase and distribution of agricultural commodities.

[e] Actual percentage is slightly less than figure given.

[f] Excludes comparative transfer to OIG-OMS.

Table 1—SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM, 1947-68 (Continued)

Item	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956
Method of financing program					
Contributions from federal sources:					
1. Direct appropriation					
School Lunch Act					
Cash payments-food (obligations)	$ 66,293,554	$ 67,071,472	$ 67,176,526	$ 68,935,105	$ 66,826,137
Section 6 (distribution) [a]	15,590,016	14,744,071	14,826,278	12,830,253	14,802,020
Total	$ 81,883,570	$ 81,815,543	$ 82,002,804	$ 81,765,358	$ 81,628,157
2. Donated commodities					
Section 32	$ 12,993,184	$ 51,724,476	$ 94,217,791	$ 26,936,287	$ 65,345,401
C.C.C. (416)	3,589,559	...	...	43,369,550	34,600,803
P.L. 471	...	...	...	...	...
Total	$ 16,582,743	$ 51,724,476	$ 94,217,791	$ 70,305,837	$ 99,946,204
3. Special Milk Program	...	...	...	17,220,281	45,842,194
Total, federal contributions	$ 98,466,313	$133,540,019	$176,220,595	$169,291,476	$227,416,555
Contributions from state sources:					
1. Direct appropriation					
State and local	$ 54,418,000	$ 57,162,000	$ 62,962,000	$ 68,991,000	$ 65,427,000
2. Other local contributions	38,457,000	46,380,000	51,782,000	53,908,000	72,335,000
3. Payments by children	242,370,000	275,926,000	303,276,000	336,362,000	377,212,000
Total, state contributions	$335,245,000	$379,468,000	$418,020,000	$459,261,000	$514,974,000
Total contributions (federal and state)	$433,711,313	$513,008,019	$594,240,595	$628,552,476	$742,390,555
Matching [b]					
Federal apportionment of cash to states	$ 66,320,000	$ 67,185,000	$ 67,266,000	$ 69,142,000	$ 67,145,648
Required by states	82,155,960	83,214,954	83,707,625	86,841,000	167,015,000
Contributed by states	335,245,000	379,468,000	418,020,000	459,261,000	514,974,000
School enrollment (thousands)	29,100	29,700	31,000	34,000	35,600

Participation in Program					
1. Number of schools (month of peak participation by children) [c]	55,663	56,851	56,337	58,468	56,140
2. Number of children (peak thousands)	9,321	9,795	10,139	10,972	10,536
Type A and B lunches	7,093	7,542	8,213	8,997	9,820
Type C lunches	2,228	2,253	1,926	1,975	716
3. Number of meals served (millions)	1,489.9	1,583.6	1,661.4	1,806.6	1,726.6
Type A					
With milk—Number (millions)	1,029.2	1,124.6	1,267.8	1,438.6	1,576.1
Percent of total	69.1	71.0	76.3	79.6	91.3
Without milk—Number (millions)	91.1	80.5	67.3	37.8	29.4
Percent of total	6.1	5.1	4.0	2.1	1.7
Type B					
With milk—Number (millions)	10.6	12.5	9.4	4.1	2.6
Percent of total	0.7	0.8	0.6	0.2	0.2
Without milk—Number (millions)	2.8	2.2	1.5	0.8	0.5
Percent of total	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.05[e]
Type C—Number (millions)	356.2	363.8	315.4	325.3	118.0
Percent of total	23.9	23.0	19.0	18.0	6.8
4. Number of free or reduced-price lunches served (millions)	169.6	167.4	173.3	189.9	118.0
Free or reduced-price lunches as percent of total lunches served	11.4	10.6	10.4	10.5	10.5
Foods bought in local markets with cash payments and state contributions	$249,541,257	$264,788,732	$278,336,323	$324,012,009	$367,391,225
Total appropriation [d]	$ 83,367,491	$ 83,367,491	$ 83,365.000	$ 83,236,197	$ 83,236,197

Source:

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service.

[a] Represents year in which commodities were distributed; not necessarily year in which funds were obligated.

[b] State matching requirements per federal dollar are as follows: 1947–50, $1 to $1; 1951–55, $1.50 to $1; thereafter $3 to $1, except that for states with per capita income below the national average the ratio required is decreased by the percentage which the state per capita income is below the per capita income of the United States. Lowest matching requirement for 1947–50 was $.46 to $1; 1951–55, $.73 to $1.50; 1956–60, $1.41 to $3; 1961–67, $1.54 to $3.

[c] Beginning in 1959 excludes schools serving only Type C lunches.

[d] Includes funds authorized to be transferred from Section 32 for the purchase and distribution of agricultural commodities.

[e] Actual percentage is slightly less than figure given.

[f] Excludes comparative transfer to OIG-OMS.

Table 1—SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM, 1947-68 (Continued)

Item	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962
Method of financing program						
Contributions from federal sources:						
1. Direct appropriation						
School Lunch Act						
Cash payments-food (obligations)	$ 83,775,269	$ 83,708,130	$ 93,793,701	$ 93,647,348	$ 93,627,550	$ 98,679,938
Section 6 (distribution)[a]	14,659,931	14,802,256	42,669,843	61,108,847	61,080,734	69,074,090
Total	$ 98,435.200	$ 98.510,386	$136,463,544	$ 154,756,195	$ 154,708,284	$ 167,754,028
2. Donated commodities						
Section 32	$112,496.228	$ 61,781,775	$ 44,414,788	$ 28,602,391	$ 58,617,957	$ 29,085,786
C.C.C. (416)	19,475,774	14,180,058	22,406,903	42,313,432	13,005,475	83,940,904
P.L. 471	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	$131,972,002	$ 75,961,833	$ 66,821,691	$ 70,915,823	$ 71,623,432	$ 113,026,690
3. Special Milk Program	60,023,914	65,140,519	72,357,821	77,876,802	81,403,897	85,834,823
Total, federal contributions	$290,431,116	$239,612,738	$275,643,056	$ 303,548,820	$ 307,735,613	$ 366,615,541
Contributions from state sources:						
1. Direct appropriation						
State and local	$ 71,671,000	$ 83,623,000	$ 90,478,000	$ 92,608,000	$ 94,943,000	$ 93,920,000
2. Other local contributions	83,651,000	98,018,000	113,203,000	127,522,000	134,898,000	151,519,000
3. Payments by children	418,151,000	453,227,000	505,083,000	555,707,000	594,840,000	642,374,000
Total, state contributions	$573,473,000	$634,868,000	$708,764,000	$ 775,837,000	$ 824,681,000	$ 887,813,000
Total contributions (federal and state)	$863,904,116	$874,480,738	$984,407,056	$1,079,385,820	$1,132,416,613	$1,254,428,541
Matching[b]						
Federal apportionment of cash to states	$ 83,915,000	$ 83,830,000	$ 93,890,000	$ 93,814,400	$ 93,746,304	$ 98,760,000
Required by states	211,218,187	211,123,000	236,667,967	237,439,706	241,092,465	254,349,014
Contributed by states	573,473,000	634,868,000	708,764,000	775,837,000	824,681,000	887,813,000
School enrollment (thousands)	36,700	38,400	39,480	40,664	42,205	43,416

Participation in Program						
1. Number of schools (month of peak participation by children [c]	57,261	59,929	60,862	62,325	63,961	65,965
2. Number of children (peak thousands)	10,656	11,492	12,124	12,915	13,527	14,265
Type A and B lunches	10,588	11,428	12,054	12,839	13,454	14,184
Type C lunches	68	64	70	76	73	81
3. Number of meals served (millions)	1,777.2	1,882.1	2,008.7	2,153.0	2,275.4	2,427.7
Type A						
With milk—Number (millions)	1,738.4	1,846.1	1,995.0	2,134.2	2,255.0	2,403.8
Percent of total	97.8	98.1	99.3	99.1	99.1	99.0
Without milk—Number (millions)	26.6	24.4	3.1	8.1	10.0	11.5
Percent of total	1.5	1.3	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5
Type B						
With milk—Number (millions)	1.9	2.0	...	...	...	...
Percent of total	0.1	0.1	...	...	...	...
Without milk—Number (millions)	0.3	0.1	...	...	...	...
Percent of total	0.05[e]	0.05[e]	...	...	...	...
Type C—Number (millions)	10.0	9.5	10.6	10.7	10.4	12.4
Percent of total	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.5
4. Number of free or reduced-price lunches served (millions)	186.0	202.9	211.8	217.2	228.1	240.1
Free or reduced-price lunches as percent of total lunches served	10.5	10.8	10.5	10.1	10.0	9.9
Foods bought in local markets with cash payments and state contributions	$400,822,056	$469,162,104	$509,044,458	$539,488,462	$581,880,975	$598,794,714
Total appropriation [d]	$100,000,000	$100,000,000	$145,000,000	$153,657,248	$155,000,000	$170,000,000

Source:

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service.

[a] Represents year in which commodities were distributed; not necessarily year in which funds were obligated.

[b] State matching requirements per federal dollar are as follows: 1947–50, $1 to $1; 1951–55, $1.50 to $1; thereafter $3 to $1, except that for states with per capita income below the national average the ratio required is decreased by the percentage which the state per capita income is below the per capita income of the United States. Lowest matching requirement for 1947–50 was $.46 to $1; 1951–55, $.73 to $1.50; 1956–60, $1.41 to $3; 1961–67, $1.54 to $3.

[c] Beginning in 1959 excludes schools serving only Type C lunches.

[d] Includes funds authorized to be transferred from Section 32 for the purchase and distribution of agricultural commodities.

[e] Actual percentage is slightly less than figure given.

[f] Excludes comparative transfer to OIG-OMS.

Table 1—SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM, 1947-68 (Continued)

Item	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968 (Estimate)
Method of financing program						
Contributions from federal sources:						
1. Direct appropriation						
School Lunch Act						
Cash payments-food (obligations)	$ 108,537,420	$ 120,792,798	$ 130,412,643	$ 139,052,369	$ 147,684,496	$ 155,000,000
Section 6 (distribution) [a]	58,875,807	59,270,071	59,458,642	58,006,289	57,938,924	55,825,000
Total	$ 167,413,227	$ 180,062,869	$ 189,871,285	$ 198,925,107	$ 208,891,796	$ 220,075,000
2. Donated commodities						
Section 32	$ 29,267,815	$ 43,666,877	$ 173,214,359	$ 49,406,415	$ 50,962,003	$ 102,575,000
C.C.C. (416)	91,702,866	91,993,534	39,735,016	67,443,365	79,456,908	147,097,000
P.L. 471	...	...	...	...	...	...
Total	$ 120,970,681	$ 135,660,411	$ 212,949,375	$ 116,849,780	$ 130,418,911	$ 249,672,000
3. Special Milk Program	90,291,543	96,147,146	94,270,454	93,085,870	96,620,373	98,079,150
Total, federal contributions	$ 378,675,451	$ 411,870,426	$ 497,091,114	$ 408,860,757	$ 435,931,080	$ 567,826,150
Contributions from state sources:						
1. Direct appropriation						
State and local	$ 97,076,000	$ 103,260,000	$ 113,682,000	$ 122,004,000	$ 146,527,947	$ 165,000,000
2. Other local contributions	156,377,000	166,323,000	178,700,000	210,380,000	253,965,941	290,000,000
3. Payments by children	694,030,000	741,856,000	797,572,000	852,773,000	925,018,113	990,000,000
Total, state contributions	$ 947,483,000	$1,011,439,000	$1,089,954,000	$1,185,157,000	$1,325,512,001	$1,445,000,000
Total contributions (federal and state)	$1,326,158,451	$1,423,309,426	$1,587,045,114	$1,594,017,757	$1,761,443,081	$2,012,826,150
Matching [b]						
Federal apportionment of cash to states	$ 108,600,000	$ 120,810,000	$ 130,435,000	$ 139,090,000	$ 147,685,000	$ 154,947,000
Required by states	280,834,574	311,269,806	335,394,555	356,473,793	381,300,000	N/A
Contributed by states	947,483,000	1,011,439,000	1,089,954,000	1,185,157,000	1,325,512,001	1,445,000,000
School enrollment (thousands)	45,194	46,936	48,152	49,676	50,509	52,100

Participation in Program						
1. Number of schools (month of peak participation by children [c]	67,728	69,616	70,132	70,597	72,944	73,500
2. Number of children (peak thousands)	15,035	16,087	17,025	18,040	18,457	19,600
Type A and B lunches	14,957	16,004	17,024	18,039	18,456	19,599
Type C lunches	78	83	1	1	1	1
3. Number of meals served (millions)	2,554.8	2,702.1	2,892.3	3,093.1	3,147.0	3,336.0
Type A						
With milk—Number (millions)	2,539.8	2,679.0	2,876.0	3,076.0	3,127.1	3,316.0
Percent of total	99.4	99.2	99.4	99.4	99.4	99.4
Without milk—Number (millions)	12.9	17.5	16.3	17.1	19.9	20.0
Percent of total	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6
Type B						
With milk—Number (millions)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Percent of total	...	...	...	...	...	...
Without milk—Number (millions)	...	...	...	...	...	...
Percent of total	...	...	...	...	...	...
Type C—Number (millions)	2.1	5.6	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.3
Percent of total	0.1	0.2	...	...	...	...
4. Number of free or reduced-price lunches served (millions)	245.7	266.1	285.8	336.0	384.8	405.1
Free or reduced-price lunches as percent of total lunches served	9.6	9.9	9.9	10.9	12.2	13.0
Foods bought in local markets with cash payments and state contributions	$646,131,955	$690,018,000	$706,943,000	$811,514,000	$873,518,000	$1,000,000,000
Total appropriation [d]	$169,677,900[f]	$181,616,000[f]	$191,400,000	$202,000,000	$213,605,000	$227,825,000

Source:
U.S. Department of Agriculture, Agricultural Marketing Service.

[a] Represents year in which commodities were distributed; not necessarily year in which funds were obligated.

[b] State matching requirements per federal dollar are as follows: 1947–50, $1 to $1; 1951–55, $1.50 to $1; thereafter $3 to $1, except that for states with per capita income below the national average the ratio required is decreased by the percentage which the state per capita income is below the per capita income of the United States. Lowest matching requirement for 1947–50 was $.46 to $1; 1951–55, $.73 to $1.50; 1956–60, $1.41 to $3; 1961–67, $1.54 to $3.

[c] Beginning in 1959 excludes schools serving only Type C lunches.

[d] Includes funds authorized to be transferred from Section 32 for the purchase and distribution of agricultural commodities.

[e] Actual percentage is slightly less than figure given.

[f] Excludes comparative transfer to OIG-OMS.

Table 2—NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM: ANALYSES OF SOURCE OF FUNDS, MATCHING REQUIREMENTS, AND PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAM, FISCAL YEARS 1947–68

Item	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957
Total cost per lunch (Includes all lunches except Type C)	30.4¢	37.0¢	36.2¢	37.2¢	36.9¢	36.9¢	40.8¢	43.2¢	40.4¢	43.2¢	45.5¢
1. Federal contributions (excluding Special Milk)	9.3	11.5	10.9	12.1	10.7	8.3	10.6	12.9	10.0	11.2	13.0
2. State and local contributions	5.6	7.2	7.2	7.4	7.5	8.2	8.5	8.5	8.3	8.6	8.8
3. Children's payments	15.5	18.3	18.1	17.7	18.7	20.4	21.7	21.8	22.1	23.4	23.7
Average rate of reimbursement from federal cash payments per Type A lunch	8.7¢	7.3¢	6.8¢	6.3¢	6.3¢	5.5¢	5.3¢	4.8¢	4.4¢	4.1¢	4.7¢
Annual contribution per child (Excludes children participating in Type C Programs)	$45.97	$59.11	$57.95	$60.48	$59.50	$58.98	$65.92	$70.78	$66.29	$70.72	$75.92
1. Federal (excluding Special Milk)											
Cash payments	12.27	11.07	10.47	10.26	9.69	8.65	8.31	7.76	7.28	6.73	7.91
Donated commodities	1.78	7.32	6.98	9.45	7.63	4.54	8.80	13.28	9.21	11.67	13.85
Total, federal	$14.05	$18.39	$17.45	$19.71	$17.32	$13.19	$17.11	$21.04	$16.49	$18.40	$21.76
2. State and local contributions	8.47	11.56	11.49	12.08	12.08	13.10	13.71	13.97	13.62	14.02	14.67
3. Children's payments	23.45	29.16	29.01	28.69	30.10	32.69	35.10	35.77	36.18	38.30	39.50
Percent of enrollment participating	16.9	16.6	19.0	21.2	23.3	24.4	25.5	26.5	26.5	27.6	28.9
Average number of children participating per school	101	99	108	108	120	127	133	146	154	175	185

Item	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968 [a]
Total cost per lunch (Includes all lunches except Type C)	43.2¢	45.7¢	46.7¢	46.4¢	48.6¢	48.4¢	49.2¢	51.6¢	48.5¢	52.8¢	57.3¢
1. Federal contributions (excluding Special Milk)	9.3	10.2	10.5	10.0	11.7	11.3	11.7	13.9	10.2	10.7	14.0
2. State and local contributions	9.7	10.2	10.3	10.1	10.2	9.9	10.0	10.1	10.7	12.7	13.6
3. Children's payments	24.2	25.3	25.9	26.3	26.7	27.2	27.5	27.6	27.6	29.4	29.7
Average rate of reimbursement from federal cash payments per Type A lunch	4.5¢	4.7¢	4.4¢	4.1¢	4.1¢	4.3¢	4.5¢	4.5¢	4.6¢	4.8¢	4.8¢
Annual contribution per child (Excludes children participating in Type C Programs)	$70.82	$75.66	$77.99	$78.12	$82.39	$82.63	$92.93	$87.68	$83.09	$90.02	$97.22
1. Federal (excluding Special Milk)											
Cash payments	7.33	7.78	7.29	6.96	6.96	7.26	7.55	7.66	7.71	8.00	7.90
Donated commodities	7.94	9.08	10.28	9.86	12.84	12.02	12.18	16.00	9.69	10.20	15.59
Total, federal	$15.27	$16.86	$17.57	$16.82	$19.80	$19.28	$19.73	$23.66	$17.40	$18.20	$23.49
2. State and local contributions	15.89	16.90	17.14	17.09	17.30	16.95	16.84	17.17	18.42	21.70	23.22
3. Children's payments	39.66	41.90	43.28	44.21	45.29	46.40	46.36	46.85	47.27	50.12	50.51
Percent of enrollment participating	29.8	30.5	31.6	31.9	32.7	33.1	34.1	35.4	36.3	36.5	37.6
Average number of children participating per school	191	198	206	210	215	221	230	243	256	267	267

Source:
U.S. Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Service.

[a] Preliminary.

NOTE:
Participation in the Type C lunch decreased rapidly after enactment of the Special Milk program in 1955. To show comparability, funds and participation have been adjusted by the Type C contributions.

Table 3—CHILD NUTRITION ACT OF 1966: BREAKFAST PROGRAM, FISCAL YEAR 1967

	Participation [a]			Breakfasts			
State	No. of schools	No. in average daily attendance	No. of children	Total No.	No. of free or reduced	Percentage free of total	Average indemnity rate in cents
Northeast							
Connecticut	2	511	511	39,435	38,669	98.1	12
Delaware	4	1,927	77	14,263	7,687	53.9	12
District of Columbia	106	69,362	9,573	252,047	252,047	100.0	15
Maine	2	204	162	14,592	12,306	84.3	14
Maryland	7	3,619	417	24,038	16,797	69.9	15
Massachusetts	4	1,017	1,017	16,398	8,695	53.0	15
New Hampshire	2	1,415	297	17,058	...	...	15
New Jersey	7	3,356	1,669	88,882	85,140	95.8	12
New York	33	19,737	3,058	268,949	237,761	88.4	14
Pennsylvania	6	1,489	471	35,611	7,913	22.2	13
Rhode Island	2	1,058	216	16,782	14,156	84.4	13
Vermont	2	104	76	4,860	4,739	97.5	11
West Virginia	51	7,053	4,239	251,545	243,561	96.8	15
District Total	228	110,852	21,783	1,044,460	929,471	89.0	14
Southeast							
Alabama	16	4,899	1,835	112,423	58,279	51.8	13
Florida	8	3,453	485	44,039	36,147	82.1	16
Kentucky	14	4,662	1,756	107,866	15,323	14.2	13
Mississippi	11	4,790	2,465	114,096	111,961	98.1	13
North Carolina	184	94,361	22,132	715,825	618,876	86.5	16
Puerto Rico	49	17,350	5,086	340,127	340,127	100.0	10
South Carolina	7	2,037	1,141	98,813	92,288	93.4	13
Tennessee	7	2,000	1,009	75,813	66,402	87.6	15
Virginia	28	15,977	2,337	177,306	110,121	62.1	14
District Total	324	149,529	38,246	1,786,308	1,449,524	81.1	14
Midwest							
Illinois	9	8,704	627	66,037	2,797	4.2	12
Indiana	6	7,496	625	32,477	8,111	25.0	13
Iowa	9	3,118	557	33,687	8,935	26.5	12
Michigan	13	9,406	1,704	70,207	38,597	55.0	14
Minnesota	13	3,953	2,566	192,267	130,536	67.9	12
Missouri	4	1,249	259	17,744	17,658	99.5	13
Nebraska	6	1,358	459	22,992	1,890	8.2	12
North Dakota	5	1,168	370	16,485	7,614	46.2	12
Ohio	18	3,817	997	65,353	42,460	65.0	16
South Dakota	2	131	98	8,175	4,628	56.6	13
Wisconsin	13	5,626	1,645	106,708	27,845	26.1	12
District Total	98	46,026	9,907	632,132	291,071	46.0	13

	Participation [a]			Breakfasts			
State	No. of schools	No. in average daily attendance	No. of children	Total No.	No. of free or reduced	Percentage free of total	Average indemnity rate in cents
Southwest							
Arkansas	9	4,502	676	52,130	44,570	85.5	14
Colorado	9	3,950	890	58,934	5,516	9.4	11
Kansas	7	1,021	323	23,854	8,353	35.0	12
Louisiana	9	1,276	722	65,684	63,139	96.1	13
New Mexico	6	2,911	392	39,022	35,520	91.0	11
Oklahoma	4	329	293	22,897	20,322	88.8	15
Texas	18	6,654	2,261	105,924	90,872	85.8	12
District Total	62	20,643	5,557	368,445	268,292	72.8	12
Western							
Alaska	1	48	28	1,877	1,877	100.0	12
Arizona	22	13,074	2,197	150,861	127,158	84.3	09
California	3	4,149	810	54,228	215	.4	26
Guam	1	720	90	9,394	9,394	100.0	12
Hawaii	1	363	50	4,648	351	7.6	14
Montana	2	349	301	28,553	26,814	93.9	14
Oregon	1	36	36	4,001	688	17.2	13
Samoa, American	1	303	302	21,007	21,007	100.0	07
Utah	1	110	61	2,478	766	30.9	13
Washington	3	784	255	15,271	7,834	51.3	12
Wyoming	4	674	609	23,582	20,062	85.1	11
District Total	40	20,610	4,739	315,900	216,166	68.4	13
Grand Total	752	347,660	80,232	4,147,245	3,154,524	76.1	14
Monthly, 1967 [b]							
January	89	23,088	9,266	120,502	92,069	76.4	14
February	238	82,378	25,875	441,662	341,712	77.4	13
March	333	134,956	36,733	665,381	489,781	73.6	13
April	587	270,303	61,818	1,066,049	811,701	76.1	14
May	752	347,660	80,232	1,560,825	1,180,670	75.6	14
June	210	74,106	21,208	292,826	288,591	81.5	15
Grand Total	...	...	...	4,147,245	3,154,524	76.1	14

Source:

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Service, Table Br-2-67.

[a] Participation of schools, attendance, and children is based on month in which peak number of children participated on a national basis (May).

[b] Program began operating January 1967. Some states combine June with May.

Table 4—NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM: ESTIMATED TOTAL INCOME FROM SOURCES WITHIN STATES COMPARED WITH FEDERAL CASH ASSISTANCE, FISCAL YEAR 1967

			Estimated income from sources within states			
State	Federal cash apportionment [a]	Matching amount required [b]	Total	Children's payments for lunches	State and local government contributions	Other local contributions
Alabama	$ 4,592,156	$ 9,659,711	$ 26,374,843	$ 22,574,594	$ 644,998	$ 3,155,251
Alaska	158,579	475,737	1,715,443	1,381,005	25,600	308,838
Arizona	1,309,760	3,332,099	11,171,791	7,571,351	1,531,179	2,069,261
Arkansas	2,756,348	5,406,449	13,604,449	9,727,917	231,924	3,644,608
California	6,078,791	18,236,373	88,074,786	56,028,794	216,907	31,829,085
Colorado	1,449,984	4,321,208	12,700,925	8,791,824	763,189	3,145,912
Connecticut	1,312,669	3,938,007	19,267,858	12,288,872	1,681,671	5,297,315
Delaware	326,610	979,830	5,424,771	2,896,031	695,150	1,833,590
Dist. of Columbia	223,139	669,417	3,746,513	1,575,506	1,961,524	209,483
Florida	5,854,455	15,603,283	51,030,181	41,398,818	4,394,366	5,236,997
Georgia	6,484,505	15,397,128	36,235,105	30,131,010	323,241	5,780,854
Guam	103,286	154,929	1,228,812	491,222	287,068	450,522
Hawaii	939,382	3,118,146	9,494,502	5,444,313	2,611,562	1,438,627
Idaho	673,272	1,733,601	4,434,958	3,879,879	50,000	505,079
Illinois	4,465,295	13,395,885	55,308,019	49,773,946	221,603	5,312,470
Indiana	3,393,309	10,179,927	39,744,916	29,595,493	4,165,595	5,983,828
Iowa	2,829,531	8,086,600	24,585,856	20,356,909	66,476	4,162,471
Kansas	1,690,888	5,013,073	15,216,442	13,177,299	61,627	1,977,516
Kentucky	4,387,814	9,872,582	26,921,671	22,599,248	702,520	3,619,903
Louisiana	6,000,144	13,619,270	39,239,514	18,314,847	17,225,970	3,698,697
Maine	808,801	1,999,734	6,037,410	4,707,918	649,663	679,829
Maryland	1,996,513	5,989,539	27,627,558	16,868,999	2,648,755	8,109,804
Massachusetts	3,396,247	10,188,741	40,199,201	25,905,527	11,145,875	3,147,794
Michigan	3,884,566	11,653,698	42,464,774	35,299,511	1,330,365	5,834,899
Minnesota	3,383,680	9,782,115	27,534,189	20,970,873	1,852,542	4,710,778
Mississippi	4,011,560	6,918,616	17,319,978	14,978,656	448,257	1,893,065
Missouri	3,615,030	10,462,884	35,199,646	26,400,132	1,471,623	7,327,891
Montana	475,118	1,260,528	3,592,339	2,484,219	433,542	674,578
Nebraska	1,118,369	3,169,123	9,716,099	7,770,150	246,266	1,699,683
Nevada	129,667	389,001	1,248,555	958,626	139,287	150,642
New Hampshire	411,798	1,165,552	4,072,535	3,014,767	324,076	733,692
New Jersey	1,956,600	5,869,800	31,066,161	15,261,588	3,988,951	11,815,622
New Mexico	1,088,939	2,670,779	7,792,629	5,517,229	1,530,966	744,434
New York	9,249,950	27,749,850	130,655,589	53,715,507	47,745,305	29,194,777
North Carolina	7,347,795	16,411,155	44,087,973	36,227,047	2,040,827	5,820,099
North Dakota	749,409	1,901,584	4,297,543	3,505,987	43,500	748,056
Ohio	5,917,687	17,753,061	67,821,282	46,401,621	106,276	21,313,385
Oklahoma	2,095,243	5,159,651	12,704,770	10,024,754	1,259,846	1,420,170
Oregon	1,375,516	4,126,548	12,083,227	9,133,151	665,923	2,284,153
Pennsylvania	5,899,169	17,697,507	81,383,146	63,306,314	5,894,218	12,182,614

			Estimated income from sources within states			
State	Federal cash apportionment [a]	Matching amount required [b]	Total	Children's payments for lunches	State and local government contributions	Other local contributions
Puerto Rico	$ 3,987,298	$ 3,895,081	$ 10,539,153	$ 109,665	$ 10,420,619	$ 8,869
Rhode Island	275,295	825,885	4,111,957	3,026,557	346,415	738,985
South Carolina	4,562,076	9,234,687	23,350,662	15,743,898	1,405,225	6,201,539
South Dakota	636,931	1,441,512	3,611,873	2,903,076	68,527	640,270
Tennessee	4,774,022	10,473,405	29,597,189	20,174,720	2,873,805	6,548,664
Texas	6,915,545	17,867,696	56,652,193	43,746,639	1,168,170	11,737,384
Utah	1,157,649	2,983,369	8,255,268	6,328,476	156,864	1,769,928
Vermont	265,180	683,393	2,084,733	1,455,679	25,851	603,203
Virginia	4,216,093	11,106,712	36,782,744	27,612,943	3,058,228	6,111,573
Virgin Islands	118,208	179,004	587,666	...	587,071	595
Washington	1,884,021	5,652,063	20,516,194	14,856,389	76,000	5,583,805
West Virginia	1,866,981	4,126,686	10,312,332	7,948,832	995,082	1,368,418
Wisconsin	2,796,660	8,260,619	24,288,767	19,020,032	3,145,848	2,122,887
Wyoming	262,467	716,581	2,202,611	1,630,218	283,956	288,437
Samoa, American	25,000	4,681	192,700	9,535	88,053	95,112
Total	$147,685,000	$382,964,095	$1,325,512,001	$925,018,113	$146,527,947	$253,965,941

Source:

U.S. Department of Agriculture, Consumer and Marketing Service, Table SL 3-67.

[a] Second apportionment.

[b] Federal funds apportioned to each state must be matched from state sources at the basic rates of $3 for each federal dollar. This requirement is reduced for states with per capita income less than the national average. For such states, the matching required shall be reduced by the percentage which such state per capita income is below the national average.

Table 5—PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED STATES, FEDERAL SCHOOL LUNCH APPORTIONMENT, AND STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT CONTRIBUTIONS, 1950 AND 1965

	Percentage participation		Federal cash apportionment in thousands of dollars		State & local government contributions in thousands of dollars	
State	1950	1965	1950	1965	1950	1965
South Dakota	12.4	34.4	161,490	536,725	19,000	57,000
Pennsylvania	16.4	28.6	2,628,817	5,719,131	1,459,000	3,960,000
Colorado	18.6	37.7	441,711	1,262,066	106,000	675,000
Rhode Island	19.1	17.9	219,603	311,515	214,000	250,000
New Jersey	19.9	16.2	1,316,330	2,027,782	554,000	2,027,000
Nevada	20.9	16.6	35,867	120,677	22,000	19,000
California	24.4	19.5	2,713,699	6,269,162	2,431,000	11,654,000
Illinois	31.6	22.3	2,389,314	4,291,236	1,707,000	222,000
Louisiana	72.9	69.4	1,819,234	5,471,625	7,285,000	12,049,000
Hawaii	54.2	67.1	89,972	785,412	359,000	1,798,000
South Carolina	38.8	58.0	1,729,027	3,683,687	519,000	1,318,000
Vermont	38.2	37.4	174,259	244,832	55,000	23,000
Utah	36.8	45.9	352,250	965,236	421,000	128,000
Kentucky	27.9	60.1	2,157,199	3,615,356	490,000	612,000
Georgia	33.6	58.2	2,412,991	5,117,187	273,000	655,000

NOTES:

States selected include those of lowest and highest percentage participation in 1950 and 1965. The percentage participation is of enrollment rather than number of schools receiving National School Lunch reimbursement or having adequate facilities for serving Type A lunches.

The states making a government contribution at least nearly equal to the federal National School Lunch Act apportionment were: 1950—California, Florida, Louisiana, Massachusetts, New York, Rhode Island, and Hawaii (not a state in 1950); 1965—Arizona, California, Delaware, Hawaii, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Wyoming.

The highest participation states, Louisiana and Hawaii, also have high state and local tax support of the program. By contrast, California and New Jersey, very low participation states, make large tax contributions to the program.

Chapter 13

Rehabilitation: Vocational-Social-Personal

Charles O. Ryan

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Rehabilitation: Vocational-Social-Personal

INTRODUCTION

Vocational rehabilitation is a program specifically designed to give a disabled individual the tools that he needs to engage in some form of competitive employment that is commensurate with his disability. Services now are being made available to any person who has a mental or physical handicap that, in the judgment of the rehabilitation counselor and his medical consultant, is severe enough to interfere with or preclude his earning a livelihood. Until recently, persons were not accepted for services until they had reached employable age (usually 16 years of age), but now in many states plans are being developed and services provided for young people in order that their rehabilitation be completed by the time they reach the employable age. The rule of thumb for the maximum age in most states has been based on the requirement that the client be able to engage in remunerative employment for a minimum of 3 years after his rehabilitation plan has been completed. A mandatory retirement age in many fields in today's labor market of employment often dictates the exclusion of those persons who are 55 years of age and older.

Experience has demonstrated that two principles are basic to a good vocational rehabilitation program: Rehabilitation services should be available to everyone, regardless of age; and rehabilitation services should be available immediately after a need has been diagnosed. This chapter reveals the unending struggle of persons committed to the concept of rehabilitation to find the ways and means that will bring these principles to reality. In retrospect, the accomplishments in this century have been considerable, but vocational rehabilitation is still in an embryonic stage when measured against these two principles.

REHABILITATION DEVELOPMENTS AND TRENDS TO 1920

Over the centuries, Western society gradually has changed its attitude toward disability and rehabilitation. Once rejected and mistreated, the disabled are now more likely to encounter compassion and assistance. One factor contributing to this change has been economic necessity, especially when the rehabilitation is vocationally oriented. The dignity and self-respect offered to the disabled through rehabilitation are quite enough for the humanitarian, but politicians and taxpayers usually insist on a financial return for their investment. The statistics on rehabilitation in relation to various dependency allotments are indisputable from an economic point of view.

Vocational rehabilitation originally was conceived as a program specifically designed to give the physically handicapped the vocational skills required to engage in some form of remunerative employment. Many of the early advocates of vocational rehabilitation were basically concerned with the industrially injured, and little thought appears to have been given to the need for a program for all physically handicapped. Congenital disabilities apparently were not considered to have much, if any, relevance to such a program. The responsibility of the state and nation for the rehabilitation of the injured worker was a major concern in the early part of the twentieth century. If a person suffered an injury while on the job, it was believed that the state and nation were obligated to provide him with vocational assistance.

Some states accepted the concept of vocational rehabilitation much earlier than others: 12 passed legislation accepting the federal act in anticipation of its approval; and 6 states—California, Oregon, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, and

Pennsylvania—were providing vocational rehabilitation from state funds prior to the enactment of the federal act.

The question of who shall be responsible for vocational rehabilitation has been debated for more than a hundred years. It first appears in the literature, according to C. Esco Obermann, when Horace Mann put forth the doctrine that "the insane are the wards of the state" (1). Years later, Dorothea Lynde Dix urged the U.S. Congress to recognize that the mentally ill "are wards of the nation"; and soon after she included those who were deaf and mute (2). When the Smith-Hughes Act was passed in 1917, the framework was established for a state-federal program for vocational rehabilitation.

Obermann's research identifies some of the first vocational rehabilitation programs in the nation. Regina Dolan made a study in 1918 for the Wisconsin Industrial Commission to determine the employability of disabled workmen. The results of her study prompted the U.S. Employment Service in Milwaukee to hire Miss Dolan to find employment for disabled workmen. She is regarded as the first person to engage in vocational rehabilitation as a full-time public employee (3). In April of 1919, Minnesota became the first state to establish a vocational rehabilitation program by state law to include "persons disabled in industry and otherwise." Although Massachusetts had passed a law in May of 1918, it limited potential clients to the industrially injured. Nevada and Rhode Island also passed laws in 1919 providing for training and placement of the industrially injured. In the next few years, many other states followed with similar laws.

As early as 1909, there were some states that had workmen's compensation laws. These laws did not make provision for vocational rehabilitation, but the implications were that the injured workman would be compensated and assisted so that he could return to employment. The first modern workmen's compensation statute passed in the United States was in New York in 1910, but it was found to be unconstitutional. An enabling amendment to the State Constitution was enacted in 1914, following which the law was again passed by the Legislature (4).

Among the leaders who advocated rehabilitation of the injured worker was Francis D. Donoghue, the medical advisor of the Massachusetts Industrial Accident Board. Dr. Donoghue insisted as early as 1916 that a basic function of workmen's compensation laws was to ensure the rehabilitation of injured workmen (5).

Some members of Congress felt that the War Risks Insurance bill, which included veterans' benefits and was introduced into Congress in 1917, was not adequate. Although it provided for pensions and medical care, it did not contain any rehabilitation features. The arguments that ensued resulted in a separate bill on rehabilitation known as the Smith-Sears Veterans' Rehabilitation Act. This Act was signed into law by President Wilson on June 27, 1918. The hearings on it indicated that considerable thought was given to including provisions for the rehabilitation of persons disabled in industry. In the interest of time, the committee agreed to leave out these provisions because of the pressure to get the veterans' bill passed. An attempt was made during the same Congress to get a separate rehabilitation measure passed for persons disabled in industry and otherwise. Senator Smith of Georgia and Representative Bankhead of Alabama introduced the bills. During the Sixty-Sixth Congress these bills were reintroduced by Senator Kenyon of Iowa and Representative Fess of Ohio. They were enacted into the law that provided for the Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation program signed by President Wilson on June 2, 1920. The details of this Act are given in the next section.

During this period, vocational education was receiving special emphasis. With the formation of the Federal Board for Vocational Education under the Smith-Hughes Act, one of the roles of vocational education that was envisioned was that of assisting disabled workers to develop new skills so that they could again be employed. Charles A. Prosser (6), director of the Federal Board, urged the lawmakers to place the Vocational Rehabilitation Act under his Board's jurisdiction in the interest of efficiency. He argued that the rehabilitation of civilians was essentially the same as that for veterans (7). Since Congress saw education and training as fundamental to vocational rehabilitation, there was little opposition to placing the administration of the Act with the Federal Board for Vocational Education.

The only real opposition to the plan for the administration of the Smith-Fess Act came from persons who believed that the workmen's compensation boards and commissions of the states might be in a better position to administer it. R. M. Little of the U.S. Employees' Compensation Commission had long been an advocate of federal aid to the states for vocational rehabilitation of the industrially injured, and he hoped the legislation would improve the status of these people (8). The lawmakers finally settled on the Federal Board for Vocational Education as the administering agency, but in answer to the arguments presented on behalf of workmen's compensation the Act provided that—

> In those states where a state workmen's compensation board, or other state board, department, or agency exists, charged with the administration of the state workmen's compensation or liability laws, the legislature shall provide that a plan of cooperation be formulated between such state board, department, or agency, and the state board charged with the administration of this act, such plan to be effective when approved by the governor of the state (9).

LEGISLATION FOR FEDERAL-STATE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION PROGRAMS

Under the original Smith-Fess Act, an appropriation of $1 million per annum was to be allotted to the states, and they were to share equally with the federal government in financing the program. The allotments to the states were to be prorated according to population on a 50-50 matching basis, but no one state was to receive less than $5,000. An additional appropriation of $35,000 was made to satisfy the "minimum" states.

A disabled person was defined as—

> . . . any person who by reason of a physical defect or infirmity whether congenital, or acquired by accident, injury, or disease, is, or may be expected to be, totally or partially incapacitated for remunerative occupation (10).

Rehabilitation was defined as "the rendering of a person disabled fit to engage in a remunerative occupation" (11). Only persons 16 years of age and older could be served, and the services were restricted in most states to vocational training and placement. No federal funds could be used for physical restoration, which certainly was not in keeping with the definition of rehabilitation.

Changes in vocational rehabilitation legislation were minor from 1920 to 1943. By reason of the growth in population and because the services became more effective through the experience of rehabilitation workers, the program gradually increased (12). (See also Appendix A, Tables 1 and 2.) During the first 15 years, the annual number of rehabilitants averaged 5,150. From 1935 to 1943, the average was 16,600. Even though the growth was significant, it was far less rapid than had been hoped. There were two primary factors that held back the growth of the program during this period:

1. The legislation was temporary. The legislation had to be renewed periodically, usually at 3-year intervals. Many people questioned the advisability of allowing any form of federal aid to become permanent. The permanence of the program was not assured until it was included in the first Social Security Act, passed in 1935.
2. The law was given restrictive interpretation. The Federal Board for Vocational Education and the Office of Education by regulation made the program almost entirely a vocational training program,

as physical restoration services were declared not reimbursable from federal funds. The purchase of appliances for clients was almost always prohibited, and there was no hospitalization, surgery, or medical treatment of any kind unless a state law permitted such expenditure without federal reimbursement, and very few did. Dissatisfaction with these regulations became strong through the years until action was finally taken in 1943.

The 1943 Amendments

The Vocational Rehabilitation Amendments, passed as Public Law 113 by the Seventy-Eighth Congress, were signed into law by President Roosevelt on June 6, 1943, and they were known as the Borden-LaFollette Amendments. As in the case of the original Act, war prompted the action that was taken. There was one major difference: In the case of the Act of 1920, Congress was aroused to the rehabilitation needs of veterans; whereas in 1943, the shortage of manpower for civilian defense prompted Congress to increase the program of rehabilitation for civilians so that the handicapped could make a more significant contribution to the war effort.

Under the 1943 legislation, provisions were made to reimburse the states for all costs for administration, guidance and placement services (including all salaries and expenses), and one-half the cost of case services. These liberal provisions led to a rapid expansion of personnel in most of the states. Prior to 1943, many of the less populated states employed only one or two people. In a few states, a secretary had handled the entire program. It was possible under the new Act to expend funds for physical restoration, including hospitalization, surgery, and therapeutic treatment; maintenance during vocational training; and occupational tools and equipment. The eligibility criteria were also liberalized to include the mentally and emotionally handicapped.

The number of persons rehabilitated under the new Act accelerated rapidly and soon exceeded 40,000 per year. (See Appendix A, Table 1.) This increase was partly due to the agencies having more staff and funds, but the major reason was probably due to the shortage of manpower for the war industries. Many of the state rehabilitation agencies devoted most of their energies to locating and recruiting handicapped people to fill jobs—people who would not have been considered for employment in other times. The services provided by the agencies for most handicapped individuals consisted of a physical examination, vocational counseling, and job placement.

During the late forties, a battle was being waged at the federal level as to who should administer the program of vocational rehabilitation. Strangely enough, the Office of Education was not involved. The battle was between the Federal Security Agency and the Department of Labor. A number of legislative proposals were introduced, and hearings were conducted by the House Committee on Education and Labor in 1946 and 1949. The Senate held hearings in 1950 and passed a bill on vocational rehabilitation, but it died in the House. These hearings did reveal to members of Congress that there were many rehabilitation needs that were not and could not be met under the act then in effect.

The 1954 Amendments

When the Eisenhower Administration came into power, legislation was introduced into Congress under the joint sponsorship of the National Rehabilitation Association and the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped. The Administration also introduced a bill that provided for expansion of rehabilitation services. The result was the passage of Public Law 565 by the Eighty-Third Congress, which was signed into law by President Eisenhower on August 3, 1954 (13).

Under the new program, a matching formula was instituted that required some state participation in all categories, and the allotments to the states were based on population and per capita income.

Rehabilitation services were defined in the law to include—

1. Diagnostic services, medical, psychological, vocational, et cetera
2. Training, guidance, and placement services
3. Corrective surgery and therapeutic treatment to correct or substantially modify a physical or mental condition which is stable or slowly progressive and constitutes a substantial handicap to employment
4. Hospitalization
5. Prosthetic appliances
6. Maintenance during rehabilitation
7. Occupational tools and equipment
8. Transportation
9. Vending stands and equipment, including initial stocks
10. Public and other nonprofit rehabilitation centers and workshops (14).

Diagnostic services and training, guidance, and placement services were to be made available to all the handicapped. Other services were dependent on financial need. This was the first time that federal funds were permitted to be used to reimburse states for expenditures on rehabilitation facilities.

Funds were also made available to the states to assist them in initiating projects for the extension and improvement of vocational rehabilitation services. The amount of the allotment to each state was based on the state's population. No one project could be funded longer than 3 years, and the federal reimbursement was set at 75 percent of the cost of the project within the limits of a state's allotment. New programs were expected to be incorporated into the state's basic rehabilitation program after the 3-year period.

The 1954 Amendments also provided for a number of special projects to be operated by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation. The Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare received funds each year to make grants to states and other nonprofit agencies to pay for part of the cost of—

> . . . projects for research, demonstration, training and traineeships, and projects for the establishment of special facilities and services which . . . hold promise of making a substantial contribution to the solution of vocational rehabilitation problems common to all or several of the states (15).

A National Advisory Council was established to review applications for special projects and to make recommendations to the Secretary for grants under this section of the law.

The Act enabled the federal office to begin supporting a training program to increase the supply of personnel needed in vocational rehabilitation programs. Grants have been made to colleges and universities to assist them in setting up training programs, and stipends have been made available to students enrolled in these programs. The training of rehabilitation counselors, physicians, and social workers has received the greatest emphasis through these grants.

The Randolph-Sheppard Act (16), which authorizes self-supporting blind people to operate vending stands on federal property, is also administered by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the state rehabilitation agencies for the blind.

After the enactment of Public Law 565, there was a tremendous increase in the breadth of services provided and the number of handicapped persons served. For the year 1956, more than 65,000 persons were rehabilitated into remunerative employment, compared to some 55,000 in 1954. (See Appendix A, Table 1.) The increase becomes much more significant when the disability of the rehabilitants has been reviewed. Many of the clients in the 1956 group received comprehensive services, including surgery and hospitalization, without which they would not have been able to perform on the job.

The 1965 Amendments and the Total Program

The 1965 Amendments to the Vocational Rehabilitation Act (17) are having broad effects on the rehabilitation program. A revision of the fiscal relationships between federal and state governments provides a much greater flow of federal money into the program. New programs have been established and older ones strengthened. A series of grant programs provides the means for orderly progress in building new workshops and facilities, as well as in strengthening those already in operation. New and more comprehensive services are provided for the severely disabled. Federal support is made available to states for projecting their rehabilitation plans into the future and for expanding their services to reach more disabled people. (See Appendix A, Table 3.)

The support for the basic programs from the federal government to the states was $300 million for 1966, $350 million for 1967, and $400 million for 1968. State allotments continue to be based on population and per capita income, but the per capita income of the states no longer affects the ratio of state to federal dollars. The matching ratio for basic rehabilitation services is the same for all states—75 percent federal, which means that for each $1 expended by the state, the federal government will supply $3, up to the maximum allotment available to that state.

Innovation Projects. Prior to the 1965 amendments, grants could be secured for extension and improvement of programs for up to 3 years. Under the new legislation, grants can be awarded to states for the introduction and development of new methods or techniques, especially for the provision of services to groups having severe or catastrophic disabilities. The federal government provides 90 percent of the cost of such projects; whereas prior to the new law, they provided 75 percent for extension and improvement projects.

Matching Local Contributions. Until 1965, local contributions were difficult to handle because they had to be turned over to the state agency, with no strings attached. The new law permits a public or private agency to contribute funds for a specific purpose. The contribution is added to the state's appropriation, but the federal funds so acquired by this method may be turned to the agency for its own use as approved. In 1966, $2.5 million in private contributions was used to match almost $5 million in federal funds. The funds thus acquired were used by 92 public and private groups in 30 states to improve, expand, or renovate existing facilities, to purchase equipment, and/or to provide staff.

Expansion Grants. Under the new law, funds were provided to encourage programs that would result in the rehabilitation of a greater number of handicapped persons. During the first year, $3 million was appropriated and obligated by 25 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. State agencies received half of the grants, and the remainder went to other public and private nonprofit voluntary agencies.

Priorities established by the federal office are for the initiation of programs that give promise of substantially increasing the number of persons rehabilitated from such groups as welfare recipients, public offenders, alcholics, epileptics, the deaf, and those persons with spinal cord injuries.

Statewide Planning Grants. These grants, limited to 1 year unless otherwise approved, were provided to pay the costs of planning comprehensive rehabilitation activities in each of the states, with the goal of having rehabilitation services and resources (public and private) available by 1975 to all handicapped individuals who need them. Grants are made on the basis of each state's application, with a maximum of $100,000 per state for any one fiscal year. The comprehensive statewide planning is to be coordinated with other planning in the state for the poverty stricken; the mentally retarded; the expansion of educational services for the handicapped; the construction of rehabilitation facilities under the Medical Facilities Survey and Construction Act of 1954; the construction, expansion, and operation of workshops and rehabilitation facilities under the Vocational Rehabilitation Act; and other pertinent programs for provision of vocational rehabilitation services.

The agency authorized to do the statewide planning is to be designated by the governor. In most states, the governor has named the state vocational rehabilitation agency to perform this service. The agency so named must include an advisory committee with representatives from the legislature, labor, management, medical and health related organizations and institutions, the Governor's Committee on the Employment of the Handicapped, education, public and voluntary agencies providing for or interested in the development of rehabilitation services.

Many states have been delayed in getting their applications approved, usually where there are two rehabilitation agencies (a general agency and one for the blind). Since these grants are to be used for planning all rehabilitation services, including those for the blind, the Act requires the approval of both agencies. The friction between the two agencies in some of the states has prevented the directors from arriving at a common understanding of how the study should be conducted and who is to conduct it. This is especially true where the governor has sought the recommendations of the state rehabilitation agencies. In a few states, neither agency has been named. For example, the agency named in Arizona was the University of Arizona. At the end of the first fiscal year, 27 applications had been submitted, of which 15 had been approved and 5 had been funded.

Creating Workshops and Facilities. Grants can be made available to states to plan workshops and facilities or to establish workshops to improve their services to handicapped people.

During the first year, 44 state agencies and 54 workshops received grants. Twenty-one grants were made to various organizations to study program needs for specific facilities and workshops.

A National Policy and Performance Council, consisting of 12 members, has been established to advise on policies and criteria for determining eligibility for grants under this section (18).

Evaluation of Severely Disabled. The earlier programs of vocational rehabilitation allowed a very brief time for state agencies to evaluate the rehabilitation potential of the severely disabled.

A special fiscal provision in the new law helps states meet the cost of services for these persons for a period presumed to be sufficient to determine their prognosis for rehabilitation. Services may be provided for as long as 6 months to determine the feasibility of a client, and in special cases up to 18 months.

Architectural Barriers. A growing concern over the difficulty experienced by handicapped people in entering public and other large buildings and in using these facilities prompted this legislation.

A National Commission on Architectural Barriers to Rehabilitation of the Handicapped has been appointed and is studying ways to encourage and assist architects and builders throughout the country to design entrances, drinking fountains, telephone booths, and other facilities that are convenient for handicapped persons.

Rehabilitation for Delinquents. The 1965 law gives recognition to the significance of vocational rehabilitation in combating crime and delinquency. The law provides for a 3-year nationwide study of the need for rehabilitation personnel and activities in correctional institutions and agencies.

Research and Training Centers. Beginning in 1962, grants were instituted by the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration to universities, medical schools, and other institutions where rehabilitation research and training can be conducted under the most favorable conditions. By 1966, 18 universities and other centers were providing specialized training and/or research in virtually every phase of rehabilitation (19).

Rehabilitation research and demonstration projects were available under the 1954 amendments, but the new legislation provided for a broader range of projects and the federal funds were increased considerably. By the close of the 1964 fiscal year, 795 projects had been funded since the law was passed in 1954, with 154 of them coming into being during 1964. (See Appendix A, Table 4.) The obligations incurred during 1966 were $20.6 million. New projects accounted for $7.7 million, and the balance of $12.9 million was for continuation of uncompleted projects (20).

Many of the new projects were concerned with specific disabilities, such as mental retardation, mental and personality disorders, visual handicaps, deafness, heart disease, cancer, and stroke. Special emphasis was given to research and demonstration projects in prosthetics and orthoptics.

The Training Program. The Vocational Rehabilitation Administration instituted a training program under the 1954 amendments, but the new Act expanded this aspect of the program considerably. By way of comparison, the program began in 1954 with $900,000; in 1966 the appropriation was $24.8 million—a 25 percent increase over the previous year. In 1966, support was being provided for 451 teaching projects in 152 schools and institutions.

Stipends were provided for 4,546 students in rehabilitation training programs or allied disciplines. General training grants included medicine, dentistry, nursing, occupational therapy, physical therapy, prosthetic-orthoptic education, counseling, recreation, psychology, social work, sociology, speech pathology, audiology, and facility administration. Specialized training programs received grants in rehabilitation of the deaf, blind, mentally ill, mentally retarded, and public offenders. In addition to the above, short-term projects provided training during the year for 8,500 people (21).

Social Security Disability Applicants. In 1965, an amendment to the Social Security Act made provision to reimburse state rehabilitation agencies for their costs in providing rehabilitation services for persons receiving benefits under the disability section of Social Security. In 1966, about 13,000 persons were rehabilitated who had been drawing a disability pension from Social Security (22).

Rehabilitating Armed Forces Rejectees. A joint responsibility for screening young men rejected by the Armed Forces for medical reasons has been given to the Public Health Service and the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration. During 1966, the first year this law was in effect, approximately 40,000 rejectees who had disabilities that might be benefited by medical treatment or other rehabilitation services accepted referral to private physicians or their state rehabilitation agencies. This number is estimated to have reached 70,000 in 1967 (23).

Services for the Blind. The number of blind persons rehabilitated has grown rapidly in recent years, but with the new legislation a wide range of occupations have become available to the rehabilitants. Blind persons increasingly have selected more highly professional areas, such as education, rehabilitation counseling, law, engineering, and social work.

The vending stand program, administered under Public Law 732 and the general supervision of state rehabilitation agencies, also has expanded rapidly. In 1966, there were 2,661 vending stands providing employment for 2,915 operators. The total gross income came to $65,309,084, which provided annual earnings of $4,932 per operator (24).

The Mentally Ill. In the past few years considerable emphasis has been given to the rehabilitation of the mentally ill, and the results of this concerted effort have been quite impressive. Most state rehabilitation agencies have established rehabilitation units within the mental hospitals which offer vocational and prevocational training for patients.

Services for Alcoholics. Under the 1965 amendments, special programs have been established by many state rehabilitation agencies to combat alcoholism. Half-way houses and rehabilitation units in state hospitals for alcoholics are being planned in many states, and some are already in operation.

International Research. For the past several years, the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration has supported international research in other countries with funds from local currencies accumulated from purchases of U.S. commodities. Such programs have been active in Burma, India, Israel, Pakistan, Poland, Syria, the United Arab Republic, and Yugoslavia. The exchange of information about rehabilitation methods, practices, and research projects has proven beneficial to the United States as well as to the other countries. By 1966, more than 100 projects had been approved for funding from foreign local currencies (25).

Other Recent Federal Changes

In recent years, a number of regulations and/or laws have been enacted at the federal level which have definitely affected the operation of the state rehabilitation agencies. A brief discussion of some of these changes, with their ramifications, follows.

Social Security Disability Insurance. In 1956, Congress enacted the Old Age Security Insurance Act as an amendment to the Social Security Act. This, in effect, provided for a pension to be paid to persons found to be totally and permanently disabled who had worked sufficiently long under Social Security to establish their eligibility. The legislation called for the determination of disability to be made by a state agency and an approved medical consultant. In most states, the agency for vocational rehabilitation was contracted to administer this program.

The basis for selecting vocational rehabilitation as the administering state agency had considerable logic. The staff in the rehabilitation agency was already working with a disabled population. Moreover, these agencies were partially geared to evaluate the severity of disabilities, and they had established a consultative relationship with area physicians to determine the rehabilitation potential of their clients.

In the case of applicants for disability pensions, an inverse decision had to be made: "Is the claimant totally and permanently disabled?" However, it was soon realized that a claimant who was not found to be eligible for a pension should be considered as a prospective rehabilitation client.

The team approach that was developed in this program has had considerable carry-over into related disciplines. The medical, psychological, and vocational liabilities and assets of each claimant were weighed and discussed before making a final decision. The same practice now is followed by most vocational rehabilitation agencies in determining the acceptability of the referrals they receive.

Since the first disability benefits were provided, the Social Security Act has been amended several times. In most cases, these amendments have broadened the program by increasing the benefits and/or liberalizing the requirements for allowance (26).

The program is now called Old-Age, Survivors, Disability, and Health Insurance (OASDHI). Since 1965, a number of changes in the Act have taken place which are significant: (a) A person who has suffered a temporary disability may be eligible for benefits. (b) The definition of "totally disabled" has undergone some changes, allowing the agency personnel to give consideration to such things as age, geographical location, education, and feasibility for vocational rehabilitation. (c) The Social Security Administration now reimburses the vocational rehabilitation agency for moneys expended on recipients of disability benefits who are in a rehabilitation program (27).

Status of the Federal Office. In recent years, the status of the federal office has been changed several times. With the establishment of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation (OVR) was created as a section in the Department with director status. In 1963, the agency was given commission status in equal rank with the other divisions in the Department, such as the Office of Education, with the title Vocational Rehabilitation Administration (VRA). In August of 1967, Secretary John W. Gardner of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare announced a reorganization pattern for the Department. The new organization plan placed five former divisions of the Department under one head entitled Social and Rehabilitation Services. The former director of OVR and later the commissioner of VRA, Miss Mary Switzer, was named administrator of the new division. Vocational rehabilitation retained its commission status under a new title, Rehabilitation Services Administration (RSA). Joseph Hunt, at one time assistant director of OVR and later assistant commissioner of VRA, became the commissioner of RSA (28).

State Agency Administration. The 1954 amendments specified that the agency for vocational rehabilitation must be either a division of the state department of education and not subservient to any other division of the department, or it must have independent (departmental) status. The 1965 amendments provided a broader range of alternatives for the administration of vocational rehabilitation. It is now permissible under the law for vocational rehabilitation to be placed in a number of other state departments, provided it has equal rank with the other agencies within the department. California has shifted the rehabilitation agency from education to a newly created Department of Health, Welfare, and Rehabilitation. (See Appendix A, Table 5.)

Changing Concepts of Vocational Rehabilitation

The early programs of vocational rehabilitation have little resemblance to those of today. The programs offered have reached a plateau on four different occasions, but at considerably higher levels of operation each time. Some major factors that prompted these important changes were (a) World War I and World War II; (b) the economy and employment situation in the United States; (c) the education, training, and understanding of the profession; and (d) the demand for the rights of the individual.

Education and Training. For the first 23 years, state vocational rehabilitation agencies were restricted primarily to providing education and training for those people who suffered physical disabilities. Some agencies confined their case loads entirely to those who had suffered injuries—usually industrial injuries. Persons with congenital disabilities often were not even considered and were even believed to be ineligible by some state rehabilitation agencies.

Physical Restoration. In 1943, the law provided for physical restoration as well as education and training. During the period between 1943 and 1954, many of the state rehabilitation agencies began to add medical consultants to their staffs—usually a practicing physician in the community who devoted a few hours a week to the agency to help the staff determine the medical acceptability of referrals for whom physical restoration was being considered. For the first few years under the new law, the rehabilitation counselor was still primarily concerned with training and/or job placement. This was partially the result of the manpower shortage that existed during World War II. If a counselor could match a client's capabilities with a job, he was considered to have done a creditable piece of work.

After the war, jobs became more difficult to find for persons with handicaps. The result was that the agencies began to adopt new procedures and to develop some different philosophies about the role of state rehabilitation agencies. Some agencies became more sophisticated, providing in-depth counseling and developing comprehensive plans for rehabilitating their clients. Instead of providing some training and/or merely placing their clients on jobs, a few counselors were developing plans that provided for medical treatment (physical restoration) followed by a training program for a specific job. In-depth counseling was carried on with the client throughout all phases of his rehabilitation program, including follow-up on the job.

A practice developed during the forties and early fifties by some counselors—and one that still plagues many state agencies today—was the stressing of medical treatment rather than training. Most of the states developed a practice of setting quotas for the number of clients a counselor was expected to rehabilitate each year. This practice was prompted by pressure from the federal agency to attain given numbers. Counselors soon learned that a quick way to get a rehabilitation closure was to seek out a client who had a physical handicap that could be corrected or improved by surgery, a prosthesis, or some other form of medical treatment, thus enabling him to secure employment or to improve his status of employment. Some counselors found that supplying eye glasses or false teeth for people was a sufficient service in certain states to qualify their clients under the rehabilitation program. Sometimes a coalition would develop between a medical doctor and a counselor—a coalition which was lucrative for the doctor, who was assured of getting paid for all services billed to the state rehabilitation agency, and expedient for the counselor, who was able to meet his quota with little difficulty. The medical profession as a group frowned on this practice and accused the rehabilitation agencies of running a welfare program.

This criticism prompted the federal office to hold spot checks on closed cases to see just how much service was being provided. The case reviews made by the federal office resulted in the development of some guidelines that called for a series of actions by the counselor and his client that had to be followed to get credit for the case. If these procedures were not followed, the agency stood a chance of getting a federal exception—any federal money expended on a client found to be unacceptable for rehabilitation services would be deducted from the next allotment to that state agency. The rehabilitation procedures and guidelines gradually developed into a "procedural manual," which over the years became the bible for the state rehabilitation agencies.

The federal regulations and requirements thus developed over the years have for the most part been very beneficial. These procedures have been especially helpful in states where new and inexperienced staff members have been employed, particularly for top administrative positions. There are, of course, some disadvantages to having a detailed procedural manual in that the flexibility in administration of state programs is curtailed. The case that prompts the need for a regulation may be the exception, but when the regulation has been adopted it may preclude many similar practices that were justifiable. It is also evident that regulations are subject to a variety of interpretations, and many times these interpretations have little resemblance to the purpose the originator had in mind. In the case of the federal procedural manual for vocational rehabilitation, it is believed that the advantages certainly outweigh the disadvantages.

Mental and Emotional Handicaps. The 1943 amendments did not preclude mental cases from receiving rehabilitation services, but very little concern was given to this disability group until about 1962. President Kennedy was vitally interested in having programs instituted to serve what had been a neglected population. He was particularly anxious to get some concentrated effort directed to the problems, needs, and rehabilitation of the mentally retarded. The White House Conference on Mental Retardation in 1963 stimulated considerable interest, and many action programs for rehabilitating the retarded were launched soon after it was held.

The Federal Civil Service Act, which was amended by Executive Order, allowed for a trial work period of 700 hours for the retarded to determine if they could perform the tasks required for a particular job. Some state civil service and personnel merit systems have adopted plans similar to the federal civil service. In 1965, Nevada became the first state to amend its personnel act to implement such a plan.

National interest and funding programs for the mentally and emotionally disturbed have resulted in a vast change in the case load of vocational rehabilitation agencies. Half-way houses for the mentally ill, rehabilitation units in state hospitals, and schoolwork adjustment programs for the mentally retarded are some of the innovations that have been initiated and sponsored by state rehabilitation agencies. Training programs—short- and long-term—for the professional staff in rehabilitation agencies are numerous. The attitude of the public and the agencies has changed considerably in recent years. Rehabilitation counselors are no longer so prone to avoid accepting the mentally afflicted as clients. Some states are now employing counselors who are specialists in the rehabilitation of the mentally ill or mentally retarded. As in all areas of disability, experience and training have enabled rehabilitation workers to meet with greater success in each successive year.

Vocational Handicaps. Vocational rehabilitation was the major emphasis of the state rehabilitation agencies in the first programs that were offered. Even though the clients were suffering from physical disabilities, money could only be expended to train them for jobs commensurate with their disabilities. In recent years, many services in addition to training have been given clients, but the ultimate aim still is to prepare people for jobs. In 1956, the state of Washington saw fit to pass a law which enabled their Division of Vocational Rehabilitation to accept persons into its program whose only discernible disability was vocational, provided they were recipients of public welfare. Washington's program was financed entirely from state appropriations.

The approach the state of Washington took was very sound in that any person who is in need of rehabilitation services must have, among other things, a vocational handicap. The federal act for vocational rehabilitation should have been expanded to include those persons who had a severe vocational handicap, regardless of their welfare affiliations. Since Congress has seen fit to pass a law to provide a service for the vocationally handicapped, it appears that the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation and the state rehabilitation agencies should have been the leading advocates of such a law.

The major disadvantage to including this population group under the state agency for vocational rehabilitation would have been in the establishment of an adequate organization to identify persons in need of the service and in the development of a good procedure for placement of those persons who had completed their training.

The Manpower Development and Training Act (MDTA) passed by Congress in 1962 provided for basically the same services as those which had been provided by vocational rehabilitation for the past 42 years. The only real difference was in eligibility. To meet the requirements for training under MDTA, a person must furnish proof that he was not able to secure employment because of lack of training for available jobs or that the job he had held had been eliminated by automation and that he was of employable age. The primary advocates of MDTA were in the Department of Labor, and when the Act was passed the Labor Department was named as the administering agency. At the state level, the responsibility was assigned to two agencies: (1) The employment service was given the responsibility for locating and screening applicants, determining the areas where shortages in manpower existed, and placing people on jobs after their training had been completed; and (2) Vocational education was given the responsibility of organizing and directing the training programs for the people selected by the employment service. The Act called for cooperative arrangements between these two agencies and other state agencies, including vocational rehabilitation. The cooperative arrangements have been quite superficial in many states, partly because it is difficult to get a decision under such an administrative makeup. This two-headed monster is so designed that buck-passing can be the easy way out.

To resolve this dilemma, it would seem that all authority for MDTA should be vested in one agency. The agency that has the best potential for rendering a well rounded quality program would appear to be vocational rehabilitation. If one of the two agencies currently responsible for the administration of the program were to be given the sole responsibility for the administration of MDTA, it is suggested that it be given to vocational education. This judgment is based on the premise that MDTA is basically a vocational training program. The primary difference between MDTA and other forms of vocational education is in selection and placement. It is reasonable to assume that a satisfactory referral system could be established between the state vocational education and employment service agencies.

It is imperative, however, that one state agency be given the sole responsibility for the administration of MDTA if the vocationally handicapped are going to be afforded the type of service called for under the law.

It was unfortunate that the Vocational Rehabilitation Administration did not take the leadership in sponsoring this legislation, because the states' vocational rehabilitation agencies were well organized to handle the vocationally handicapped. The State of Washington, for example, had 6 years of experience in doing the very thing called for in the Act and was in an ideal position to pilot this program and to help develop the guidelines for the other states.

Remunerative Employment. MDTA was designed specifically to train the unemployed for unfilled jobs in the labor market. The success of any given MDTA training program is measured by the number of people who have been placed on jobs for which they have been trained. This has been the basic requirement of vocational rehabilitation—to document that a client is successfully engaged in remunerative employment as a result of the services he received from the agency. This concept has been changed in recent years with the tremendous push to serve the severely disabled. Rehabilitation can now be claimed where remunerative employment is indirectly involved. For example, in the case of a person who is completely disabled and dependent on others for care, is it not sensible to provide the necessary services that will enable him to assume the responsibility for self-care? This does not move the severely disabled person into remunerative employment, but it can free another member of a household to take a job, which in turn may remove a family from the welfare rolls.

In the jargon of vocational rehabilitation, the terms *disability* and *handicap* are used continuously and often interchangeably. In the past few years, the professionals have advocated that a distinction be made between these two terms. They suggest that a person who qualifies for the services of vocational rehabilitation did and probably still does have a disability—a mental or physical impairment—but they further suggest that a person who has completed a plan for vocational rehabilitation and is ready for placement on the job no longer has a handicap for that occupation even though the disability may still exist.

Civil Rights. Much of what is advocated in the civil rights movement is and can be related to vocational rehabilitation. Civil rights is concerned primarily with minority groups, one of which is the disabled population. Beatrice Wright discusses the commonalities of the psychological aspects of disability and those of the underprivileged ethnic minority groups—e.g., employment opportunities and social ostracism (29). The "war on poverty" has many things in common with vocational rehabilitation. The purpose of both these movements is to improve the lot of less fortunate members of society and to give them basic tools that will enable them to become contributors to society. Often the civil rights movement, the war on poverty, and efforts to aid the disabled are concerned with the same people. The rate of disability among the poverty-stricken runs considerably higher than it does in the rest of the population. With a gradual change in attitude about all of the problems of the disadvantaged, it can be anticipated that the disabled will continue to receive more recognition and consideration.

STATE DEPARTMENTS OF EDUCATION

Although the role of state departments of education in relation to vocational rehabilitation is constantly shifting, until the 1965 amendments, the education departments had an administering function for the rehabilitation agency in all but a few states. Nevada and Wisconsin have removed rehabilitation from education and added it to health and welfare.

Trends in Organizational Structure

Until 1954, nearly all state agencies for vocational rehabilitation had been under the administrative umbrella of the state departments of education. (See Appendix A, Table 5.) The original act, Public Law 236, passed in 1920, placed the administration at the federal level with the Federal Board for Vocational Rehabilitation—a newly formed agency under the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917. The law further stated that the cooperating state agency was to be a state board for vocational education, which was invariably located in the state department of education. One of the first concerns of the Federal Board was that many states did not immediately cooperate with the program. The assistant director for industrial rehabilitation on the Federal Board spent much of his time visiting these states to encourage them to accept the act (30). Many chief state school officers were not particularly interested in assuming the responsibility for vocational education, but they were even less interested in vocational rehabilitation.

Another factor which may have delayed the acceptance of the Act was the requirement that a plan of cooperation be formulated between state workmen's compensation boards, where they existed, and the state board charged with the administration of vocational rehabilitation and that said plan required the approval of the governor of the state. Ten states initiated the plan for cooperation with the federal government under proclamations by their governors accepting the national act in 1920 and 1921. These states were Louisiana, Maine, Mississippi, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin. The records do not indicate which states had workmen's compensation boards; but with only 10 states initiating plans by means of the governor's proclamation, it appears that the need for the governor's approval of cooperative plans could have been responsible for the delay in some states. It should be noted that approval by the governor of cooperative plans between the two agencies (workmen's compensation and vocational rehabilitation) has not been required under subsequent federal legislation. The abandoning of governor approval was no doubt a good move, for it was a mundane task that could only serve to slow down the operation, and it is doubtful that any side benefits that might have accrued to an agency by the involvement of the governor in this manner have offset the disadvantages.

In some instances, the federal representative found it necessary to bypass the chief state school officer and to go directly to the legislators to get the state to accept the program. This approach no doubt created some friction between the state departments of education and the Federal Board. By late 1921, 35 states had agreed to cooperate under the Act, and 33 states had developed programs to provide rehabilitation services (31). In 1937, all but one of the states had accepted the provisions of the Act and had entered into a program of cooperation with the Federal Board. (See Appendix A, Table 6.)

It is not surprising that vocational rehabilitation did not receive much consideration in many of the state departments of education. Some of these departments were not even interested in vocational education, the agency to which rehabilitation was assigned. Many state departments of education believed their responsibility to be confined to the public schools in the state. The personnel in these departments spent much of their time visiting schools, especially in rural areas, to check on them (e.g., to verify that school was actually being held, that the number of pupils reported were actually in attendance, that the American flag was being flown during the school day, etc.). The role of the state department of education has changed significantly since the early years of the original vocational rehabilitation act, as have the ideas about the place of vocational rehabilitation in the state education agency. In a poll conducted by the Council of Chief State School Officers, the executive secretary reported that 31 chief state school officers were in favor of having vocational rehabilitation in their departments; 6 thought it should be elsewhere; 2 had no opinion; and 11 did not respond (32).

Another factor in the rejection of these programs was opposition to any form of federal aid. The operation of vocational rehabilitation was usually relegated to one person as the supervisor. There was little change in structure, number of personnel employed, or services provided in the first 23 years.

With the passage of Public Law 113 in 1943, vocational rehabilitation gained in stature and in quality. This, however, was not always welcomed by the state departments of education. Now that vocational rehabilitation could provide physical restoration services as well as training, some chief state school officers had even more doubts about having vocational rehabilitation in their departments. In plans developed by the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation, the state directors of vocational rehabilitation were to be assigned on a full-time basis, with new responsibilities and more freedom to make administrative decisions. These federal directives were threatening to some chief state school officers, for they saw their power being infringed on through federal controls. This concern was evident even though the chief state school officer served as the executive officer to the rehabilitation agency, which in effect meant that no changes could be made in the state plan (the state's contract with the federal government) without his approval.

This law did permit the services for the blind to be set up under special rules and administrative structures. By the end of the first year, the services for the blind had been transferred from 32 state departments of education to other state departments for administration, or established as independent agencies. A number of factors were involved in this sequence of events. The organizations representing the blind had become a powerful lobby, and they insisted that their disability group be given special consideration in the federal legislation, including administrative freedom of organization at the state level. The request for administrative freedom grew out of two concerns: (1) The blind wanted to be separated administratively from the rest of vocational rehabilitation because they didn't think they were being given due consideration, particularly in states where the services were being directed by a staff composed entirely of sighted people. (2) The blind were aware of a passive attitude in some state departments of education toward vocational rehabilitation. They thought they could have a more dynamic program if they were in an agency dealing with social service. In many instances, the services to the blind agencies that left departments of education were reassigned to departments of welfare.

The legislation of 1954 allowed for certain flexibilities in administration which were not available under previous legislation (33). It was permissible for states to set up independent agencies (departments) for the administration of vocational rehabilitation. The law also stipulated that for those states which retained state boards for vocational education, the state directors of vocational rehabilitation were to have direct access to these boards. This, in effect, gave the agencies division status or equal rank with the agency for vocational education, whereas they had been subservient to that agency in the past.

The freedom which this law gave state vocational rehabilitation agencies to organize as independent departments resulted in a certain amount of unrest in states where the vocational rehabilitation staff was not compatible with other agencies in the state department of education. In a few states, the legislatures were not satisfied with the rehabilitation services provided and blamed the state department of education. These states took advantage of the new law to establish departments of rehabilitation. (See Appendix A, Table 5.)

During the 11 years that Public Law 565 was in effect, seven states (California, Colorado, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) organized separate departments of rehabilitation. The number, no doubt, would have been much greater since unrest in departments of education seemed to be growing, but the National Governors Conference had been stressing a plan of reorganization to decrease the number of departments. Some governors were advocating combining state agencies into as few as 20 departments where there were currently 100 or more independent agencies. This created a dilemma for many states, for the organization of a new and separate department for rehabilitation was in direct conflict with the master plan for reorganization.

The federal law was quite specific in that it allowed only two alternatives for the administrative organization of vocational rehabilitation: (1) It could remain in the state department of education with the understanding that the director would have direct access to the state board for vocational education, or (2) It could be set up as an independent agency. A few governors and legislators attempted to organize a superagency of health, education, and welfare, only to find that the state would not be eligible for federal funds for vocational rehabilitation under such a structure. In some states, this controversy helped to cement relations in the departments of education because rehabilitation had prevented the state department of education from being placed in a superagency. The governors began advocating a change in the federal law to allow for more flexibility in the administration of vocational rehabilitation. Most of the state directors of vocational rehabilitation were strongly opposed to any change in the law, not because they were so anxious to remain with education, but because they could envision a worse alignment than they now had. Under the law then in effect, separation of the rehabilitation agency from the department of education would assure the agency of independent departmental status-cabinet rank. State legislators had a tendency to identify vocational rehabilitation with welfare, and state directors were fearful of being aligned with the state welfare agency. To the state directors, education carried considerably more prestige than did welfare; and as long as the administration of rehabilitation maintained complete separation from welfare, they felt more comfortable. Vocational rehabilitation personnel have been adamant that their agency is not in the welfare business. In fact, they have suggested that a major purpose of vocational rehabilitation is to preclude persons from becoming recipients of welfare or to remove persons from the welfare rolls.

In most states, the hope of the personnel in the vocational rehabilitation agency for gaining an independent administrative structure began to dwindle because of the opposition of governors to increasing the number of departments of state government. Demands by a few vocational rehabilitation agencies for separation from the state department of education merely fanned the flames and increased the pressure on Congress to lessen the restrictions on the administrative structure for vocational rehabilitation.

Perhaps because of the attitudes of many governors, one of the 1965 amendments authorized a more liberal policy for the administration of the state vocational rehabilitation agency. The 1965 amendments provided in part for an expansion of the list of agencies authorized to administer or supervise a state's plan for vocational rehabilitation services. This amendment permitted the designation of the state education agency as the administering agency or the designation of an agency which included two or more major organizational units, each of which administered one or more of the major public education, public welfare, or labor programs of the state. The effective date of this amendment was July 1, 1967, ". . . except in those cases where a state has in effect at an earlier date an approved plan meeting the requirements of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act as amended November 8, 1965" (34).

As of July 1, 1967, Nevada reorganized its state agencies to incorporate this change by adding Vocational Rehabilitation to the Department of Health and Welfare and renaming the agency the Department of Health, Welfare, and Rehabilitation. Prior to this date, the State Vocational Rehabilitation Agency had been a division of the State Department of Education. The State Vocational Rehabilitation Agency in Wisconsin has been transferred to another department as permitted under the 1965 Amendment. (See Appendix A, Table 5.)

Reorganization of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare

The reorganization of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare in August of 1967 merged five bureaus to form the new Social and Rehabilitation Services: Rehabilitation Services Administration, Children's Bureau, Administration on Aging, Medical Services Administration, and Assistance Payments Administration. Commenting on the merger, Administrator Mary E. Switzer said that this action had been considered for years but the decision was taken "at about the zero hour" (35).

In an interview with the *Washington Post,* as quoted in *Labor Rehabilitation Report,* Miss Switzer suggested that American cities will need "almost a mass WPA type of thing." She stressed that her WPA theory came from a belief in "an enclave approach to community problems," with workshops for immediate training and employment, testing and counseling services, and day care centers for children—all under one roof—thus eliminating the constant referrals and travel from one agency to another that can deprive individuals with low incomes of the incentive to train for employment (36).

Miss Switzer's statement appears to imply that the social services for children and adults will all be under one administration and thus result in a smooth, coordinated program for the individual. This would eliminate the buck-passing that has been so prevalent in the past. However, this would not include the social service programs administered by the U.S. Office of Education and the Labor Department.

It is evident in each successive set of amendments from the first vocational rehabilitation act that the trend has been to move away from the state departments of education for administrative purposes. (See Appendix A, Table 5.) This is true even though vocational rehabilitation expends considerably more for education and training now than ever before. Another factor which must be kept in mind is that the state agency is now in a position to offer a comprehensive program of services, many of which have little relationship to education and training as viewed by members of other divisions in state departments of education. Even with the merger of many social service programs at the federal level, there is no guarantee that the states will follow with the same organizational pattern; and if they did, many social service programs (i.e., Head Start, special education, Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965) would remain under distinct and separate administrations.

EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES AND ORGANIZATIONS ON VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION

Throughout the history of vocational rehabilitation, its role and function in state and federal government often have been misunderstood. All too frequently it has been neither fish nor fowl. Many state agencies have clamored for the inclusion of vocational rehabilitation in their unit; some have not seen its role at all, if they were even aware of it; while others have decried the fact that they were saddled with the administration of vocational rehabilitation. It is worth reviewing some of the effects state and federal agencies and organizations have had on the development of vocational rehabilitation.

Workmen's Compensation

Vocational rehabilitation has long been considered the third step in dealing with the industrially injured. The first step was accident prevention; the second was compensation for those who suffered injuries; and the third was treatment and, if necessary, retraining for those who could not return to their former occupations.

As early as 1916, New York provided that a fund be set up to finance the vocational rehabilitation of injured workmen. Since then, many states have attempted, through workmen's compensation, to provide vocational rehabilitation to the industrially injured. Some have set up their own programs, while others have cooperated with the state agency for vocational rehabilitation. It is not surprising that some Congressmen felt the administering state agency should be the workmen's compensation agency. Many states have developed cooperative agreements between the two agencies whereby state funds from workmen's compensation are utilized to match federal funds for vocational rehabilitation clients who were covered by workmen's compensation at the time of injury. Even though many of these programs have had considerable success, it has come primarily from the added resources made possible by these agreements. There is one basic philosophical problem that makes it difficult for these two agencies to provide the maximum service: Workmen's compensation is interested in settlements, and its allegiance is to the employers in the state who support the agency through the fees they pay on their employees; whereas, vocational rehabilitation's main loyalty is to its client, the worker.

Even though workmen's compensation took the initiative in establishing vocational rehabilitation in the United States (37), the paradox still exists today: Does one serve the injured worker or the employer's interest? Organized labor has always shown a strong interest in vocational rehabilitation, but often its immediate concern for compensation to the injured worker has been a hindrance to effecting a good vocational rehabilitation program. In spite of the favorable attitude toward a good working relationship between the two agencies, the fact remains that in 1960 only 19 of the 50 states had set up a special fund or made other arrangements to cover the cost of rehabilitation of persons covered by workmen's compensation (38).

Health and Public Welfare

These two departments have had working relationships with vocational rehabilitation, but here again vested interests and undertrained and overworked personnel have prevented the development of a satisfactory program for rehabilitation. Public welfare agencies in many states have expressed a strong interest in having vocational rehabilitation placed under their administration. The agencies for the blind have passively accepted this type of organization in preference to being with the state education agency, but the general agencies have not wanted to be aligned with welfare in any respect.

The first reorganization which would even permit the assignment of vocational rehabilitation to a department where health or welfare were also included was passed in 1965, but the vocational rehabilitation agencies generally do not look on this favorably. It can be expected, however, that a department of health, welfare, and rehabilitation may become the organization of the future in some states, partly because it can facilitate the governors' plans of reorganization to get more agencies under their administration and partly because many legislators believe rehabilitation services to be more compatible with health and welfare.

State Departments of Education

Departments of education were undoubtedly the best choice to administer vocational rehabilitation in 1920. Most of today's social service agencies were not in existence at that time. Since the program consisted primarily of education and training, this made the department of education the logical one to administer the program.

A number of problems have existed throughout the history of vocational rehabilitation with respect to its relationships to departments of education: (a) Vocational rehabilitation requires an operating agency, whereas the rest of the department of education is primarily concerned with supervisory, regulatory, and service functions. (b) Vocational rehabilitation has broadened its services to the point that education and training are just two of many aspects of its program. (c) Some chief state school officers never have been particularly interested in having the agency in their departments, nor have they given the agency much support with the state boards for vocational education, the legislature, or other governmental agencies and organizations.

Public Schools

Little work or cooperation was evidenced between vocational rehabilitation and the public schools in most of the states until very recently. When special education came into prominence, a few states (e.g., Texas and Wyoming) chose to assign this responsibility at the state level to the vocational rehabilitation agency, and in these states the involvement of rehabilitation with the schools increased considerably.

In 1962, some of the first cooperative programs were developed between the vocational rehabilitation agencies and the public school systems. Texas was the first state to develop a statewide plan for rehabilitating handicapped students (with emphasis on the mentally retarded) in cooperation with its public school system. Certain state moneys were expended for staff within the schools, and these funds were in turn used as matching for federal funds by vocational rehabilitation to employ staff as coordinators of the program. The purpose of the Texas cooperative venture was to develop a sequential plan for the mentally retarded that would bridge the gap from school to job. Many states are currently involved in similar cooperative arrangements. In some states, these agreements are handled at the state level between vocational rehabilitation and special education. In other states, it has been necessary for the state vocational rehabilitation agency to initiate agreements with individual school districts.

These types of cooperative programs have demonstrated that there is considerable value to be gained from such working relationships. A potential exists for a greatly improved program for the handicapped student if appropriate working agreements can be developed by utilizing the school setting to disseminate the many services available for this student population. Several poverty programs (e.g., adult basic education, the Job Corps) can be utilized to further bolster the services to the disadvantaged, including the mentally and physically handicapped. Vocational rehabilitation is making a conscious effort to coordinate all of these programs in the interest of the individual. Unless services are coordinated, the student (client) programs can easily become fractionalized, and the costs are apt to be considerably higher. Guidelines need to be developed by the states in cooperation with the federal agencies that call for coordination of efforts among the several agencies concerned with the welfare of handicapped students. This would seem to be reasonable since federal funds are now being made available under numerous titles and they should enable local school systems to build comprehensive programs based on rehabilitation concepts.

Employment Service

With the passage of the Wagner-Peysner Act by Congress in 1933, a system of state employment offices was established. Many people in vocational rehabilitation saw what they believed to be an answer to one of their most difficult tasks—job placement. Rehabilitation counselors could foresee the opportunity to devote most of their time to planning services and providing in-depth counseling for their clients, rather than finding jobs for them. As it turned out, the hopes of the vocational rehabilitation people were unfounded. It soon became evident that vocational rehabilitation was going to have to continue doing most of the job placement for its clients. There were several reasons why this was necessary: (a) Vocational rehabilitation must have a knowledge of and keep abreast of the world of work, and unless it kept staff working in the field, it soon lost contact, with the result that vocational counseling and training programs could easily become outdated and impractical. (b) Referrals to the U.S. Employment Service could easily be lost among the multitude of other applicants. (c) The Employment Service had the responsibility to recommend the best applicants they had to employers. With all else being equal, the applicant with a handicap was not likely to be recommended for employment over a nonhandicapped person. The only time the handicapped could be expected to be placed in quantity was when a shortage of manpower existed, as was the case during World War II.

The Subcommittee of the House Committee on Labor began holding hearings in August of 1944 to determine what further legislation might be introduced to improve the services to disabled people. One of the recommendations by the Subcommittee was that the U.S. Employment Service be strengthened. The Subcommittee also gave its full support to the newly created "Employ the Physically Handicapped Week" (39). This recommendation resulted in an expansion of services to be provided by the Employment Service. In recent years, the larger offices have hired employment counselors, including at least one for the handicapped. In the past 5 years, several new programs have come into being which are partially or wholly administered by the Employment Service and which have a bearing on the employment of the handicapped: Area Redevelopment, Manpower Development and Training, and the Economic Opportunity Act. In spite of all these legislative programs, vocational rehabilitation agencies suggest that their problems in job placement of clients, with the exception of a few isolated areas, are basically the same. Many vocational rehabilitation agencies have concluded that they must plan to provide a total service for their clients from referral to job placement and follow-up rather than depend on another agency to perform one or more of the functions required to complete a rehabilitation program. It is evident that the sharing of responsibilities by cooperative agreements seldom effects any major changes of improvements unless the responsibilities are directed by a legally constituted coordinating board or council.

National Rehabilitation Association

There are numerous service organizations and associations that have given some attention to vocational rehabilitation: Goodwill Industries of America, the National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, and the National Association for Mental Retardation, to name a few. Of such organizations, the National Rehabilitation Association (NRA) is the only one working full-time in the field of vocational rehabilitation.

The National Rehabilitation Association was organized in 1925 by rehabilitation workers, but the credit for its founding goes to William F. Faulkner, administrator of vocational rehabilitation in Wisconsin from 1921 to 1951. Since the Association was founded, it has never lost sight of its original purpose: to serve the workers in the state-federal program of rehabilitation and to advance the cause of disabled persons—children and adults—everywhere. It has emerged as the organization that can best speak for the movement in America and best serve as the focal point for the several professions involved in the rehabilitation of disabled people (40).

The National Rehabilitation Association has fostered much of the legislation for the state-federal program that has been passed since the Association was founded, but it really came into its own in the early forties. In 1941, the Association employed its first full-time director, Walter C. Chapman. Considerable effort was exerted by the Association through its executive director in getting the legislation drawn up and passed in 1943.

The present executive director, E. B. Whitten, a former state director of vocational rehabilitation from Mississippi, was appointed to this office in 1948. Under Whitten's able leadership the Association has become a dynamic organization that has had considerable impact on the direction and growth of rehabilitation services in the intervening years. Mr. Whitten has been called upon to give testimony at hearings before the House and Senate subcommittees whenever rehabilitation services have been considered. He and the legislative committee of the Association were responsible for developing much of the legislation enacted in 1954 and 1965. Throughout these years, the Association has insisted that as long as vocational rehabilitation was to be a division in a state department, that department should be the state education agency.

The Association has grown in membership from 54 in 1930 to more than 22,000 in 1965; its income has increased from $150 in 1930 to $224,000 in 1964 (41). The greatest challenge facing the Association today, according to Obermann, will be to find a way to work with the whole complicated area of social disability and handicap being dealt with by federal programs (42).

ADMINISTRATIVE CHANGES IN REHABILITATION—STATE AND FEDERAL

The question of who should be responsible for vocational rehabilitation at the state and federal levels was debated even before the first bill in 1920 was passed into law. In this section, some of the arguments are presented for and against a series of plans that have been discussed through the years for the administration of rehabilitation at the federal and state levels.

Federal Administrative Structures

From 1918 to 1920, the period when Congress was considering the enactment of a law to rehabilitate civilians, it was suggested by a number of people that the workmen's compensation boards and commissions in the states might be the appropriate agencies to administer the act. Charles A. Prosser, however, was successful in getting the Federal Board for Vocational Education named as the administering agency.

Vocational rehabilitation remained under the Federal Board for Vocational Education until 1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt, through Executive Order, had the functions of the Federal Board transferred to the Department of the Interior (43). The Secretary of the Interior assigned the functions of the Federal Board to the Office of Education which was within his Department. By this means, the commissioner of education became responsible for vocational rehabilitation in 1933.

Advocates of a stronger program for vocational rehabilitation saw an opportunity through political maneuvering to get their ideas passed into law by having them tacked on to the Social Security bill pending in Congress. These people had serious doubts that their suggestions would be accepted by amending the original act of 1920; but by including the changes in the highly favored Social Security Act of

1935 (44), they succeeded in getting the amendments enacted into law. In the passage of the Social Security Act, the administering bureau of vocational rehabilitation was considered. The Senate named the U.S. Office of Education, but the House version did not suggest assignment to any bureau or department (45). The House version won out, and thus the way was paved for flexibility of administration at the federal level without regard to the administrative location of the Office of Education.

The flexibility for administration of vocational rehabilitation in the Social Security Act gave the leaders in rehabilitation hope that they could get out from under the Office of Education. Vocational rehabilitation had its hopes raised in 1939 when President Roosevelt issued a reorganization plan of the executive branch of the government. Under one of his plans the Federal Security Agency was established, and the Office of Education was transferred from the Department of the Interior to the new Agency, but it was kept intact and the Vocational Rehabilitation Service went with it (46).

Public Law 113 resulted in the establishment of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation by the Federal Security Administration in 1943, with Michael J. Shortly as its first director. For the first time in the history of the program, vocational rehabilitation acquired director status and the independence commensurate with that status. Eight regional offices were established at locations where there were other regional activities of the Federal Security Agency.

Since this time, all activities of vocational rehabilitation at the federal level have been divorced from those of the Office of Education, including vocational education. The program at the federal level has continued to gain in status, especially since the formation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. During the early fifties, there was a concerted drive by the American Federation of the Physically Handicapped, headed by its president, Paul A. Strachan, to have the functions of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation transferred to the Department of Labor. E. B. Whitten, as executive director of the National Rehabilitation Association (NRA), spoke of the importance of keeping rehabilitation services in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW), where it could be better coordinated with medicine, education, and social welfare. Whitten further pointed out that vocational rehabilitation was much broader than the interests of the Department of Labor and that it certainly consisted of more than placement (47). The Council of Chief State School Officers, through its executive secretary, Edgar Fuller, took the same position as the NRA and gave strong support to keeping vocational rehabilitation in the Department of HEW.

Since 1954, there appears to have been less concern about the location of the Office of Vocational Rehabilitation; the main concern has been to raise the stature of the Office within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

State Administrative Structures

Through the years, the state vocational rehabilitation agency has been under the administration of the state department of education in most of the states. Initially, the services provided were restricted primarily to education in the states. With the Federal Board for Vocational Education serving as the administering federal agency, it was believed logical to assign the functions at the state level to vocational education, the state agency with whom the Federal Board was already working to carry out the Smith-Hughes Act. Two states that were already offering a vocational rehabilitation program retained their administrative structure: Pennsylvania continued under the Department of Labor and Industry, and New Jersey was continued as a special commission. New Jersey has retained its structure to the present time (48).

From the very beginning, the vocational rehabilitation workers in most of the states were agitating to get out from under the organizational structure of vocational education, where they were directed and supervised by persons who were not acquainted with their speciality (49). Resentment was expressed by vocational rehabilitation specialists in many of the states toward the state departments of education and their chief state school officers. Directors complained that their state superintendents or commissioners would not permit them to employ needed staff even though funds were budgeted. The chief state school officers were often fearful of criticism from legislators, state budget directors, and state personnel directors. This still poses a problem today, primarily because vocational rehabilitation is an operating agency and the staff requirements have little relationship to those of the rest of the department of education. Some state directors of vocational rehabilitation have been administering a larger staff than the combined total of the other agencies in the departments of education; but in spite of this, most vocational rehabilitation agencies still have been woefully understaffed. If a department of education were an operating agency, all of the staffs of the public schools within the state would have been under its direction and the personnel required by the vocational rehabilitation agency would have been insignificant by comparison. With the enactment of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, other divisions in the state department of education have experienced considerable growth in staff so that this aspect is not as significant as it once was.

The National Rehabilitation Association fought to keep vocational rehabilitation under the administration of the state departments of education rather than have it transferred to another less prestigious department or to one less capable of working with disabled people. The Association fought just as hard to get legislation that would remove rehabilitation from vocational education and give the agency equal status with the other agencies in the department of education.

It was not until the 1954 amendments that vocational rehabilitation in the states obtained a status equivalent to that of vocational education. These amendments provided for flexibility in the administration of the program to permit the vocational rehabilitation agency to have independent status. Six states (California, Colorado, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Virginia) took advantage of this amendment and have secured departmental status for vocational rehabilitation in the interim. It is significant that in the states where a department of rehabilitation has been in existence for any length of time, the services provided for the disabled have expanded much more rapidly than they have in the other states.

The 1965 amendments provided for more flexibility than previous legislation. Most of the state vocational rehabilitation agencies and the National Rehabilitation Association were opposed to allowing a governor or legislature to transfer vocational rehabilitation to another state department. The other amendments in the 1965 act were so important to the workers in the field that the flexibility amendment was kept in the bill for fear the entire package might be lost.

Summary

To summarize some of the issues that have confronted state departments of education in relation to vocational rehabilitation:

1. State departments of education inherited the agencies of vocational rehabilitation by reason of federal legislation. The departments were slow to accept the federal legislation, indicating that they were apathetic about including vocational rehabilitation among the services to be administered by them. (See Appendix A, Table 6.)
2. State departments of education during the first half of the century were primarily concerned with regulatory functions related to the public schools. Since then, they have gradually shifted toward a role of leadership and service. Vocational rehabilitation has been a service agency from the very beginning — a service agency primarily for individuals rather than groups or systems

(e.g., they might provide a service to a person in a school district but for the most part they were not concerned with giving a service to that school district per se).

3. State departments of education have had very few functions which have been operational in nature (and they are becoming less operational). They have regulated, supervised, or consulted with the operating agencies in their states. Vocational rehabilitation has been strictly an operating agency. Rehabilitation counselors have worked directly with a group of handicapped people, counseling their clients, developing rehabilitation plans, and following them through until their clients have been successfully employed. Their case loads might be compared to a teacher's class except that the counselors work with their group on an individual basis, although within a framework of federal regulations and limitations.
4. The clientele in a vocational rehabilitation agency are not of the same age as the people with whom most state departments of education are concerned —those students enrolled in the public schools. Where the age range of students in the public schools regulated by a given state department of education might be from 5 to 21 years, the average age of the clients in the vocational rehabilitation agency in that same department is likely to be 40 years.
5. Vocational rehabilitation was placed with the state departments of education largely because the original act restricted the services to be provided to education and training. However, the academically oriented educators in many state departments of education look on training with contempt.
6. In recent years, some cooperative programs between special education and vocational rehabilitation have enabled state departments of education to find some common ground between the agencies representing these areas. This is particularly true in the states where the divisions of special education and vocational rehabilitation have been combined or where cooperative agreements have been worked out with the local school systems to assist them financially and/or to provide additional personnel for the education and rehabilitation of handicapped students.
7. Since 1943, vocational rehabilitation has continued to broaden the services for the disabled to the point that education and training are only one of many aspects of the total program. Medical treatment, surgery, and prosthetics-orthoptics, to name a few, are certainly foreign to most people in the other divisions of the education departments.

Since so many aspects of vocational rehabilitation diverge from the philosophy of most department of education personnel outside of rehabilitation, it is not surprising to find an incompatible arrangement in many states. McGowan and Porter in their 1967 study reported that—

> . . . services are currently being provided to the disabled through 91 state vocational rehabilitation agencies in the 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and Guam. Along with the 54 general agencies, 37 states have separate agencies serving exclusively the blind. These state agencies maintain some 800 state, district, and local offices over the country. They employ about 7,400 staff, of whom 2,600 are rehabilitation counselors and 1,300 are engaged in disability determinations for Old-Age, Survivors, and Disability Insurance Program (50).

In addition to the counselors, disability determination workers, and the administrative staff, the states employ medical doctors (including psychiatrists); social workers; nurses; occupational, physical, and industrial therapists; psychologists; and vocational evaluators. The state agencies have expanded their operational field considerably in recent years. It now has two dimensions: (1) direct service to clients and (2) administration and operation of workshops and rehabilitation centers. Some of the facilities are operated in conjunction with another agency (e.g., state hospitals), while others may be free-standing institutions.

REHABILITATION IN THE FUTURE

For the purposes of this section, the term *vocational rehabilitation* is shortened to "rehabilitation," based on the assumption that comprehensive services in the future may not be restricted to those who have a good prognosis for employment or are of employable age. In trying to determine the program of the future, certain projections can be made, based on trends. These trends should not be the sole determinant in arriving at projections, for it sometimes becomes evident that other forces are or may be put in play that will radically alter the direction the trends have been taking.

As one looks at all the social forces at work in the United States and the role that rehabilitation can and may play in these relationships, it is evident that the future of rehabilitation in this country is yet to be decided. The purposes, goals, and scope of rehabilitation in the future need to be projected in relation to the organization and functioning of the state rehabilitation agency and the other public and private agencies concerned with rehabilitation.

Several alternatives are suggested, together with the possible consequences of each alternative. The very fact that projections are made can have an influence on the direction the future will take. Some alternatives are going to appear to be better than others. Long-range planning can make it possible for society to avoid those things which would be harmful and to work for the implementation of those which would be beneficial.

We again refer to the two principles of rehabilitation previously mentioned in this discussion: (1) Rehabilitation services should be available to people on all fronts at all ages, and (2) Rehabilitation services should be available immediately after a need has been diagnosed. These two principles are in keeping with the 1965 amendments pertaining to comprehensive planning to devise a plan which will ensure that by 1975 services will be available for all handicapped persons, regardless of age. In presenting the alternatives for rehabilitation for the future, these two fundamental principles should serve as the guideposts for determining the effectiveness of the alternatives.

Federal Reorganization

The reorganization of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare that resulted in five bureaus being placed under one administrator would appear to be a good move. This agency, Social and Rehabilitation Services, was formed for the purpose of bringing together under one head many of the agencies in the Department that have responsibility for the disadvantaged and handicapped who require special assistance of some kind if they are going to be able to function in today's society.

This has not accomplished coordination of all of the services in the Department by any means, because those services which are being provided by the Office of Education for persons who are disadvantaged or handicapped have not been brought into this new agency. It is, therefore evident that persons who are handicapped or need some type of rehabilitation services are still going to be passed from one agency to another unless a better organization of functions is developed at the state level.

For example, in the Office of Education under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, Title VI provides for services to handicapped children in the public schools. It appears unlikely that further reorganization will bring these services under one administrator at the federal level. As a matter of fact, it is quite possible that a separate department for education may be forthcoming within the next 10 to 15 years. If there is a department of education at the federal level and another rehabilitation agency in a department of health and welfare providing like services, the possibility of even more duplication and the passing of responsibility from one agency to another is apt to be greater than it is now. It seems unlikely that further consolidation of social and rehabilitation services at the federal level is apt to take place. Therefore, it will be imperative that the states develop better organizations than they now have for providing rehabilitation services to their children, youth, and adults.

State Reorganization and Functions

There are a number of alternatives for reorganization at the state level to provide rehabilitation services. In considering what these alternatives might be, one must give consideration to the various types of organizations at both the state and local level, the trends that organizations have been taking in recent years, as well as some of the more recent legislation which affect the services being provided for handicapped people.

There has been a gradual movement toward bringing together the operating agencies that are concerned with social service at the state level. In so doing, there also has been a tendency to remove the state agency for rehabilitation from the department of education and place it in another department or set this agency apart as a separate unit. It is quite possible that this trend will not continue. If it does, it can be expected that rehabilitation services as provided by the state agency will continue to be direct services, at least as far as handicapped adults are concerned. In any case, it is expected that a system for early referral—soon after the disability is incurred—will be encouraged. Children and youth will probably receive rehabilitation services much sooner after diagnosis than at present, but they probably will be served directly by or through the local school system.

Assuming that this procedure will continue to develop in the states, it is going to pose a great many problems if all persons who need rehabilitation services are to secure them by 1975. It is going to require considerably more and better coordination than the states have ever had among the numerous agencies involved in the field of rehabilitation and social service. An example of this type of coordinated service is discussed in a 6-point model designed for serving the mentally retarded (51). It will be necessary to have district offices located at every center of population throughout the state so that people can have ready access to the service. These centers may well be located in elementary and secondary schools, community or junior colleges, and colleges and universities. If they are not located in the schools, they probably will be a part of a community health complex. It also will be necessary to have education and training facilities as well as hospitalization and other medical services available in each population center. To envision a program that will be functional under this type of organization, it appears that some type of coordinating council with legal responsibility may be required at the state level to ensure that all public agencies who are involved in the rehabilitation program either directly or indirectly be made responsible for those aspects for which they have jurisdiction. Even with this type of coordinating council to systematize the rehabilitation program for the individual, there is still the problem of the numerous private agencies that have programs of rehabilitation (e.g., Goodwill Industries, Association for Retarded Children Workshops, the Society for Crippled Children and Adults). There is no way to bring these private agencies under the jurisdiction of a state coordinating council, and since they are all vying for funds to operate their facilities and are in competition for clients of the state rehabilitation agency, this appears to be a difficult problem to solve.

Title VI, Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965

This Title promises to be a real adjunct to the special education programs already being offered in many public schools. Since the state agency for rehabilitation is now concerned with children and youth as well as the adults in their state, it appears that there will need to be considerable coordination at this level if the best programs for the dollar are going to be provided. It is conceivable that the state rehabilitation agency can cease to be an operating agency insofar as the children in the public schools are concerned now that funds are available from both the federal and state levels for handicapped children and youth. One of the alternatives for rehabilitation in the future within the states would appear then to leave the rehabilitation services for the children and youth to the public schools and make the state agency responsible for the adults only. This, of course, will require a well coordinated program between the state agency and the public schools to ensure that the program will provide a smooth transition for those people who are leaving a school system and are still in need of further rehabilitation services.

The Future Role of Public Education in Rehabilitation

Keeping in mind the fundamental principles of rehabilitation, the following proposal has been developed to ensure that these principles can be adhered to. Since at present 31 of the chief state school officers favor having the rehabilitation agency in their department and services for handicapped children and youth in the public schools have increased, it seems possible that the trend toward removing the rehabilitation agency from the department of education may decline or even reverse itself.

In a project under Title V, Section 505, of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 in which eight Western states participated, projections were made of probable changes by 1980 (52). The project predicted that developments will have taken place in the public school systems in keeping with the principles both of rehabilitation and education. It was predicted that programs will be available for all people based on the needs of the individual. It was suggested that a program of education will be available from prekindergarten, perhaps age 3, throughout the entire life of the individual. This means that there will be adult and continuing education programs in most of the high schools and that community and junior colleges will be flourishing in the cities.

In a chapter written for this project by Paul A. Miller, he suggests that the school of the future may be a youth city or youth center. Within the youth city, Miller suggests, will be the total educational campus for a large block of a metropolitan area. On one large campus, the total educational program from preschool through perhaps the university will be found. In addition to the educational aspects, all related services, including health and welfare, will also be provided for children, youth, and adults who are in attendance at the center (53). Despite whether or not the future will see youth cities, as Miller projects, it is likely that health and welfare services are going to be more a part of the educational program provided in the public schools than ever in the past.

The State Rehabilitation Agency of the Future

It is evident that the public schools of the future will be providing education for children, youth, and adults, while at the same time offering health, welfare, and rehabilitation services. Special education programs are becoming a part of every public school; and with the aid of Title VI of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, these special education programs are being enhanced considerably. Considering the services that are becoming available in the public schools, they should soon be able to assume many of the operating functions that have been performed by the state rehabilitation agencies since 1920. It is, therefore, conceivable that the state rehabilitation agency of the future may perform functions similar to those performed by other divisions in the state department of education. This would mean a leadership and service function rather than an operating function. If the youth city which Miller projects should materialize, it seems likely that a well coordinated program for rehabilitation services will be available to individuals from a very early age throughout life. At youth city comprehensive rehabilitation centers within the complex would be available to all the students enrolled. Whether or not the concept of the youth city materializes, it is apparent that in the future a comprehensive educational program, including allied services such as health and rehabilitation, will be provided for all people from a very early age throughout their lives. In the future, the educational system seems the most logical agency to provide the multiplicity of services that will be demanded.

If the local school systems are given responsibility for the operational aspects of rehabilitation, it is reasonable that the two fundamental principles for rehabilitation services could be fulfilled. The local schools will have an opportunity to make rehabilitation services available to all who have handicaps of some form or other; and since all or nearly all people will be involved in some type of school program, the schools will have an opportunity to make rehabilitation services available to the individual as part of his total educational program. Since it is so important that rehabilitation services be provided to the individual at the earliest possible date, the schools are going to be in an excellent position to perform this function, since children will be enrolled at as early an age as 3 years. The schools will have an opportunity to diagnose any individual's congenital handicaps and initiate a program for him at a very early age—a comprehensive rehabilitation program that will meet his specific needs.

The older person who suffers a disability or whose disability may preclude him from earning a living, through the adult and continuing education program—which is expected to be a definite aspect of the high school and the community and junior colleges as well as 4-year colleges and universities—will have available to him a complete program of rehabilitation at one location, including all allied services as well as the necessary training for a new occupation. Counseling and guidance is destined to become a more important aspect of the educational system. Since the counseling services play an important role in rehabilitation, the training program for all counselors might be made much more sophisticated so that counselors could deal with students who need rehabilitation counseling as well as vocational counseling. Another approach to this situation would be to employ rehabilitation counselors as specialists for those persons who have mental or physical handicaps. Rehabilitation counselors are now employed, primarily, by the state agencies.

Under this alternative, comprehensive rehabilitation centers would be located in each of the major population centers. In large metropolitan areas, there would be several such centers. These centers would be under the administration of the school system in states where a separate board supervises the public school system from kindergarten through grade 12, as it is now, with another board over community and junior colleges, and perhaps still another board over 4-year colleges and universities. Since this would complicate the administration and coordination factors of a complete rehabilitation service to all persons when they need it, a strong coordinating council would be necessary to ensure a smooth and continual rehabilitation program.

Summary

Three major alternatives have been suggested for the future organization and functioning of rehabilitation services in the states. No one of these is the absolute answer. As each of the alternatives is considered, it becomes evident that there are certain advantages and disadvantages. The comprehensive planning grants presently being funded should provide the machinery to do the long-range planning and study in depth to design a functional organization. In summary, the three alternatives discussed in this paper are enumerated below. They are not intended to be the only alternatives, but they are presented as likely organizational patterns for the future.

1. The state rehabilitation agency, whether it be in the department of education or in another state department, would be responsible for rehabilitation services for adults, while the public schools would have the sole responsibility for the rehabilitation services of children and youth.
2. The state rehabilitation agency would be responsible for the services of all age groups. If this alternative were selected, it would be necessary for the state agency to have a very large staff since their responsibility would be at the operational level. The staff would have to be multidisciplined in nature, and the organization would require a decentralized program if people throughout the state were going to be provided with the services they would require at the time they are needed. Organizationally at the state level, the agency would be so large that it should have departmental status to be really functional.
3. The state agency would continue to be or be made a division in the state department of education for the purpose of providing leadership and service to local schools, school systems, and colleges and universities in the states that are operating rehabilitation programs. The local school systems, community and junior colleges, and 4-year colleges and universities would assume full responsibility for the operational aspects of rehabilitation for all age groups. These functions would not only include the educational and training aspects of rehabilitation but all of the other services, including physical restoration, guidance, counseling, and placement services. This plan would not preclude the schools from developing a coordinated plan with other agencies (e.g., comprehensive rehabilitation centers in the private sector, medical societies, hospitals, the State Employment Service).

It is not the role of the writer to support any one of these alternatives nor to suggest that these are the only possible alternatives, but rather to present a few examples of systems of organization that might better serve the handicapped of the future. Rehabilitation's future will ultimately be determined by the nation's citizens as they relate the concept to their value system.

FOOTNOTES

1. C. Esco Obermann, *A History of Vocational Rehabilitation in America* (Minneapolis: T. S. Denison & Co., 1965), p. 212.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
4. New York University Center for Rehabilitation Services, *New York University Workmen's Compensation Study* (New York: New York University, 1959), p. 12.
5. Obermann, *op. cit.*, p. 215.
6. Prosser was probably the first advocate of the "life adjustment" concept. His philosophy came back to haunt educators when the concept was used by such critics as Bestor and Rickover to drive education to cover during the 1945-59 period.
7. Obermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 217-18.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 218.
9. *Vocational Rehabilitation Act,* P.L. 66-236, 41 Stat. 735, 29 U.S.C. 4 (1920) as amended by *Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1924,* P.L. 68-200, 43 Stat. 430-432, 29 U.S.C. 4 (1924).
10. *Vocational Rehabilitation Act* (1920).
11. *Ibid.*
12. Statistical information about the state-federal program of rehabilitation may be found in the Annual Reports of the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and the Federal Security Agency which preceded it.
13. *Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1954,* P.L. 83-565, 68 Stat. 652, 29 U.S.C. 4 (1954).
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. *Social Security Amendments of 1956,* P.L. 84-880, 70 Stat. 807, 42 U.S.C. 401-422 (1956).
17. *Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments*

of 1965, P.L. 89-333, 79 Stat. 1282-94, 29 U.S.C. 4 (1965).

18. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, *Annual Report, 1966* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1966), p. 215.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 219.

20. *Ibid.*

21. *Ibid.*, p. 220.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, p. 221.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 222.

26. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Social Security Administration, *Disability Insurance State Manual* (Washington, D.C.: Disability Insurance, Bureau of Social Security Administration, July 1967).

27. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, "Revision of Regulations," *Federal Register,* XXXI, No. 9, Part 2, January 1966, 510.

28. U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Welfare Rehabilitation Services Administration, News Release from the Department, Washington, D.C., August 21, 1967. (Mimeographed.)

29. Beatrice A. Wright, *Physical Disability: A Psychological Approach* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960), pp. 14-15.

30. Federal Board for Vocational Education, *Industrial Rehabilitation: General Administration and Case Procedure,* Industrial Rehabilitation Series No. 2, Bulletin No. 64 (Washington, D.C.: The Board, March 1921).

31. Federal Board for Vocational Education, *Industrial Rehabilitation: Services of Advisement and Cooperation,* Industrial Rehabilitation Series No. 3, Bulletin No. 70 (Washington, D.C.: The Board, October 1921).

32. Council of Chief State School Officers, "Placement of Vocational Rehabilitation Administration in the States," as reported by the states and included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XX, Part I, Sentigram No. 152. The Council, Washington, D.C.

33. E. B. Whitten, "The State-Federal Program of Vocational Rehabilitation," *The Handicapped and Their Rehabilitation* (Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1957), pp. 848-56.

34. *Vocational Rehabilitation Act Amendments of 1965.*

35. National Institutes on Rehabilitation and Health Services, *Labor Rehabilitation Report,* V, No. 8 (September 1967), 2. A monthly journal published by The Institute, Washington, D.C.

36. *Ibid.*

37. Obermann, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

38. U.S. Chamber of Commerce, *An Analysis of Workmen's Compensation Laws* (Washington, D.C.: The Chamber, 1960).

39. U.S. Congress, House, President's Committee on Employ the Physically Handicapped Week, Committee on Labor Subcommittee on Aid to the Physically Handicapped, *Employ the Physically Handicapped,* House Joint Resolution No. 23, 79th Cong., 2d sess., August 11, 1945.

40. Obermann, *op. cit.*, p. 354.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 360, 369.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 372.

43. U.S. President Franklin D. Roosevelt, "Reorganization of Executive Agencies," Executive Order 6166, June 10, 1933 in *U.S. Code of Laws, 1934* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1935), p. 47.

44. *Social Security Act,* 49 Stat. 620, U.S. Code 1964 Title 42; 301 *et seq.* c. 531, Act of August 14, 1935.

45. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Ways and Means, Committed to the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, *The Social Security Bill,* H. Rept. No. 615 to accompany H.R. 7260, 74th Cong. 1st sess., April 5, 1935.

46. Obermann, *op. cit.*, p. 272.

47. *Ibid.*, p. 201.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

49. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

50. John F. McGowan and Thomas L. Porter, *An Introduction to the Vocational Rehabilitation Process* (Washington, D.C.: Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education,

and Welfare, November 1960; revised, July 1967).

51. Robert I. Jaslow, "A Report to the President," *A Modern Plan for Modern Services to the Mentally Retarded* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1967), pp. 3-9.

52. Edgar L. Morphet and Charles O. Ryan, eds., *Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society,* Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Citation Press, Scholastic Magazines, 1967).

53. Paul A. Miller, "Major Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society," *Implications for Education of Prospective Changes in Society,* edited by Edgar L. Morphet and Charles O. Ryan. Designing Education for the Future: An Eight-State Project (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Citation Press, Scholastic Magazines, 1967), pp. 14-20.

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Appendix A

Table 1—NUMBER OF PERSONS REHABILITATED BY STATE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION AGENCIES IN THE UNITED STATES, 1921–66

Fiscal year	Cases rehabilitated	Fiscal year	Cases rehabilitated
1966	154,279	1943	42,618
1965	134,859	1942	21,757
1964	119,708	1941	14,579
1963	110,136	1940	11,890
1962	102,377	1939	10,747
1961	92,501	1938	9,844
1960	88,275	1937	11,091
1959	80,739	1936	10,338
1958	74,317	1935	9,422
1957	70,940	1934	8,062
1956	65,640	1933	5,613
1955	57,981	1932	5,592
1954	55,825	1931	5,184
1953	61,308	1930	4,605
1952	63,632	1929	4,645
1951	66,193	1928	5,012
1950	59,597	1927	5,092
1949	58,020	1926	5,604
1948	53,131	1925	5,825
1947	43,880	1924	5,654
1946	36,106	1923	4,530
1945	41,925	1922	1,898
1944	43,997	1921	523

Source:

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Division of Statistics and Studies, *Characteristics and Trends of Clients Rehabilitated in Fiscal Years 1962–1966* (Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1967).

Table 2—SCOPE OF SERVICES IN RELATION TO MAJOR FEDERAL ACTS

Federal acts (years involved)	Eligibility	Services provided	Age range (in years)	Average number of cases rehabilitated
1920–43	Physically disabled (preference usually given to injured worker)	Education and training-placement.	16 and up at time of acceptance	7,614
1943–54	Mentally and physically disabled	Education and training. Physical restoration: including corrective surgery or therapeutic treatment; hospitalization up to 90 days where surgery was involved; transportation, licenses, tools, and equipment; prosthetic devices; maintenance, books, and training materials. Counseling and guidance. Placement.	16 and up at time of acceptance	51,855
1954–65	Same as 1943–54, but definitions were broadened to allow service to be given to the more severe cases	Basically the same as 1943–54, but with fewer restrictions. The major changes did not relate directly to client services. These provided for special grants in research and demonstration and for the training of rehabilitation personnel.	16 and up at time of closure, with a 3-year prognosis for remunerative employment or in accordance with the state plan as approved	83,494
1965–[a]	Any disabled person, with emphasis on certain hard-core cases	A complete range as deemed necessary under the state plan, with emphasis on the hard-core and disadvantaged.	In accordance with the state plan as approved	144,569

[a] Includes fiscal year 1966.

Table 3—CASE SERVICES PROVIDED AND AVERAGE COST[a] OF SERVICES FOR PERSONS REHABILITATED IN THE UNITED STATES, 1964–66[b]

Case service	Fiscal year								
	1966			1965			1964		
	Total receiving service[c]	Number with cost to agency	Average cost (dollars)	Total receiving service[c]	Number with cost to agency	Average cost (dollars)	Total receiving service[c]	Number with cost to agency	Average cost (dollars)
Total rehabilitations	154,279	143,226	518	134,859	126,301	511	119,708	112,081	478
At rehabilitation or adjustment centers	17,421	15,821	577	16,077	14,440	616	10,438	9,392	605
At workshops	6,343	5,906	458	4,859	4,500	438	3,498	3,183	432
At other sources:									
Diagnostic procedures	145,986	123,934	38	129,291	108,159	34	115,562	97,232	32
Surgery and treatment	48,549	43,532	177	43,711	39,605	164	39,903	35,985	156
Prosthetic appliances	29,561	28,461	182	27,417	26,254	175	25,199	24,114	174
Hospitalization and convalescent care	31,989	27,550	313	29,649	25,863	291	27,125	24,238	273
Training and training materials	49,288	44,089	518	42,872	39,233	498	38,212	35,447	472
Maintenance and transportation	33,947	31,275	359	30,398	27,585	357	26,511	23,989	354
Tools, equipment, and licenses	5,985	5,564	313	5,714	5,244	307	5,249	4,816	305
Other services	3,400	1,777	223	2,497	1,545	220	2,222	1,376	182

Source:

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Vocational Rehabilitation Administration, Division of Statistics and Studies, *Characteristics and Trends of Clients Rehabilitated in Fiscal Years 1962–1966* (Washington, D.C.: The Department, 1967).

[a] Cost means only cost to state vocational rehabilitation agencies. The cost of administration, guidance, counseling, and placement is excluded.

[b] Data prior to fiscal year 1964 not comparable.

[c] Any person rehabilitated may have received more than one type of service.

Table 4—VRA RESEARCH AND DEMONSTRATION GRANT PROGRAM: NEW GRANTS AND FUNDING BY YEAR, 1955–64

Year	Number of new grants	Funds obligated, net
1955	18	$ 298,000
1956	29	1,180,700
1957	48	1,999,000
1958	81	3,599,600
1959	67	4,599,700
1960	101	6,389,500
1961	116	8,112,500
1962	90	9,441,600
1963	91	10,493,500
1964	154	15,179,100
Total	795	$61,352,100

Source:

John F. McGowan and Thomas L. Porter, *An Introduction to the Vocational Rehabilitation Process* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, November 1960; revised July 1967).

Table 5—TYPES OF STATE AGENCIES DESIGNATED TO ADMINISTER THE VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION SERVICES PROGRAM[a]

Independent VR agency responsible directly to the governor	State agency responsible for education or vocational education		State agency including at least 2 other major units, each administering 1 or more of the major state education, health, welfare, or labor programs
Alaska[b]	Alabama	Montana	California[c]
Colorado[d]	Arizona	Nebraska	Hawaii
District of Columbia	Arkansas	New Hampshire	Nevada[e]
Illinois[b]	Connecticut	New Mexico	Wisconsin[e]
Massachusetts	Delaware	New York	
New Jersey	Florida	North Carolina[f]	
Oregon	Georgia	North Dakota	
Pennsylvania	Guam	Ohio[f]	
South Carolina	Idaho	Oklahoma	
Virginia	Indiana	Puerto Rico	
	Iowa	Rhode Island	
	Kansas	South Dakota	
	Kentucky	Tennessee	
	Louisiana	Texas	
	Maine	Utah	
	Maryland	Vermont	
	Michigan	Virgin Islands	
	Minnesota	Washington	
	Mississippi	West Virginia	
	Missouri	Wyoming	

Source:

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Rehabilitation Services Administration, SPPG-SPP, October 3, 1967. Based on approved state plans available in central RSA office August 31, 1967, or recent state enactments requiring revisions.

Table 5—*Source* (*Continued*)

[a] General agencies exclusive of separate agencies for the blind.

[b] The independent vocational rehabilitation agency is identical with the State Board of Education or State Board of Vocational Education.

[c] The designated state vocational rehabilitation agency, the State Department of Rehabilitation, is not itself a multi-major-program agency, as is the health and welfare agency, of which it is a part.

[d] The status as independent agency may be changed by a reorganization of the state government, which is currently under consideration.

[e] The designated agency will be a multi-major-program agency of the overall state department and not a subunit.

[f] The designated agency is the Division of Vocational Rehabilitation or comparable vocational rehabilitation unit, but it is within the State Department of Public Instruction or under the State Board of Education.

Table 6—DATES OF FEDERAL LAWS, ACCEPTANCE OF LAWS BY THE STATES, AND BEGINNING OF FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONSHIPS

State	Date of federal law	Acceptance by state	Beginning of federal-state relationship
Alabama		Oct. 2, 1920	Jan. 20, 1921
Arizona		Mar. 14, 1921	July 12, 1921
Arkansas		Feb. 8, 1923	July 1, 1923
California	May 5, 1919	June 3, 1921	Aug. 27, 1921
Colorado		Apr. 25, 1925	Dec. 15, 1925
Connecticut		July 1, 1929	Sept. 15, 1930
Delaware		...	...
District of Columbia		Feb. 23, 1929	Oct. 1, 1929
Florida		May 25, 1925	July 1, 1927
Georgia		Aug. 16, 1920	Dec. 1, 1920
Hawaii		May 14, 1935	June 1, 1936
Idaho		Mar. 1, 1921	Mar. 1, 1921
Illinois	June 28, 1919	June 28, 1921	July 1, 1921
Indiana		Mar. 10, 1921	May 1, 1921
Iowa		Mar. 8, 1921	June 1, 1921
Kansas		Apr. 2, 1937	Jan. 1, 1938
Kentucky		Mar. 23, 1922	July 15, 1922
Louisiana		July 13, 1922	May 1, 1921 [a]
Maine		Apr. 4, 1921	Jan. 1, 1921 [a]
Maryland		Apr. 2, 1929	Sept. 1, 1929
Massachusetts	May 28, 1919	May 27, 1921	Aug. 27, 1921
Michigan		May 17, 1921	Aug. 17, 1921
Minnesota	Apr. 23, 1919	Apr. 23, 1919	July 1, 1921
Mississippi		Mar. 30, 1922	Apr. 5, 1921 [a]
Missouri		Apr. 7, 1921	May 16, 1921
Montana		Mar. 5, 1921	July 1, 1921
Nebraska		Apr. 4, 1921	July 1, 1921
Nevada	Mar. 28, 1919	Mar. 28, 1919 [b]	Nov. 1, 1920
New Hampshire		Mar. 11, 1925	July 1, 1926
New Jersey	Apr. 10, 1919	Sept. 17, 1920	Jan. 1, 1921
New Mexico		Mar. 12, 1921	Apr. 1, 1920
New York	May 13, 1920	May 13, 1920 [b]	Nov. 15, 1921

Table 6—DATES OF FEDERAL LAWS, ACCEPTANCE OF LAWS BY THE STATES, AND BEGINNING OF FEDERAL-STATE RELATIONSHIPS (Continued)

State	Date of federal law	Acceptance by state	Beginning of federal-state relationship
North Carolina		Aug. 26, 1920	July 1, 1920
North Dakota	Mar. 5, 1919	Mar. 11, 1921	Sept. 1, 1921 [a]
Ohio		May 14, 1921	May 14, 1921 [a]
Oklahoma		Apr. 14, 1925	July 1, 1925
Oregon	Jan. 17, 1920	Feb. 20, 1923	May 24, 1923
Pennsylvania	July 18, 1919	Mar. 2, 1921	Dec. 29, 1920 [a]
Puerto Rico		Apr. 23, 1921	July 1, 1936
Rhode Island	Apr. 23, 1919	Apr. 15, 1921	Nov. 29, 1920 [a]
South Carolina		Mar. 1927	July 1, 1927
South Dakota		Mar. 12, 1921	May 1, 1921
Tennessee		Mar. 29, 1921	June 15, 1921
Texas		May 23, 1929	Oct. 1, 1929
Utah		Feb. 23, 1921	Nov. 1, 1920 [a]
Vermont		May 18, 1937	July 1, 1937
Virginia	Mar. 20, 1920	Mar. 28, 1922	Jan. 11, 1921 [a]
Washington		Mar. 20, 1933	July 1, 1933
West Virginia		Apr. 14, 1921	May 1, 1921
Wisconsin		July 12, 1921	July 1, 1921 [a]
Wyoming		Feb. 21, 1921	July 1, 1921

Source:

Lloyd E. Blauch, *Vocational Rehabilitation of the Physically Disabled*, Staff Study No. 9, prepared for the Advisory Committee on Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938), p. 12.

[a] Cooperation with the federal government was initiated under proclamation by the governor accepting the national act.

[b] Accepted national act in anticipation of its passage.

Chapter 14

The Organized Teaching Profession

G. Howard Goold
Arvid J. Burke

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The Organized Teaching Profession

INTRODUCTION

Profound changes in the profession of teaching and its organization occurred between 1900 and 1965. As shown in previous chapters, state education departments in all states grew and assumed new roles. Since these developments took place gradually, there usually was ample time for readjusting established relationships. Not all states were affected to the same extent nor at the same time by the shifts in power and influence. This factor also facilitated readjustment.

This chapter will review the close relationship that existed between state education departments and the organized profession prior to 1900, the status of these relationships in 1900, the gradual change in the orientation and leadership of the organized profession after 1900, and the impact of these changes upon current and future relationships between state educational agencies and the organized teaching profession.

RELATIONSHIPS BEFORE 1900

Teachers organizations in the United States prior to 1900 gave low priority to their own economic interests. In this connection, they differed from their contemporaries in Western Europe, where the organized profession gave a high priority to economic matters.

An illustration of the early orientation of the American teacher organizations may be found in the fact that the annual report of the U.S. commissioner of education for 1900 gives more attention to teachers' economic concerns than does the annual report of the National Education Association for 1900. One explanation for the orientation of teachers organizations during this period may be traced to the leadership of state school superintendents, for they were quite active during the nineteenth century in organizing teachers associations to promote and to improve state school systems and public school instruction.

Early Teachers Associations

Prior to 1845, the teaching profession was not organized by states or nationally. The American Institute of Instruction, founded in 1830, was dominated by New England, but the caliber of its leadership and its meetings attracted educational leaders from other sections of the nation. Its national influence was extended through the publications and speeches of such men as Horace Mann, the first professional head of the Massachusetts state school system, and Henry Barnard, the first head of both the Connecticut and the Rhode Island state school systems.

Between 1831 and 1845, the "Western Literary Institute and the College of Professional Teachers" performed a similar function for Indiana, Illinois, Kentucky, and Ohio. Both Horace Mann and Henry Barnard were frequent speakers at its meetings.

The first state to organize the teaching profession was Rhode Island. The Rhode Island Institute of Instruction was founded in January 1845, under the leadership of Henry Barnard. Its primary purposes were to promote public education and to improve teaching. During the same year, two other state teachers associations were established: New York's in July and Massachusetts' in November. Their purposes were almost identical to those of the Rhode Island Institute, in spite of a difference in nomenclature. All three were interested in free public schools.

The New York State Teachers Association, like the Ohio State Teachers Association (organized in 1847) and the Connecticut State Teachers Association (1848), also was concerned with reestablishing a professional state school administration. New York had abolished the office of state superintendent of schools in 1821, Ohio in 1840, and Connecticut in 1842. The success of these organizations was evidenced by reestablishment of the office in Connecticut (1849), Ohio (1853), and New York (1854).

The era of close working relationships between state education departments and state teachers associations was thus inaugurated. Henry Barnard not only returned to Connecticut as head of its Department in 1849, but he also became president of its Association in 1850. Victor Rice, president of the New York State Teachers Association in 1853, assumed office as state superintendent in 1854.

In 1849, leaders interested in state school systems organized a national body, the American Association for the Advancement of Education, and selected Horace Mann as its first president. It continued to function until 1857. Many state superintendents and other founders of state teacher associations attended its annual meetings. Before 1857, the teaching profession had been organized in 10 states besides Rhode Island, New York, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Ohio, making a total of 15.

These early state associations has positive goals, such as free tax-supported schools, professional supervision of teachers, professional qualifications for teachers, and other school improvements. They also helped state education departments in their struggles against those opposed to taxation for schools and school progress generally.

The National Teachers Association, which superseded the American Association for the Advancement of Education in 1857, was the creation of the new state teachers associations. It reflected their concerns for advancing public education, improving teaching, and elevating the profession. Its founders sought an association of teachers from public and private schools as well as colleges and universities, educational writers, and school superintendents. But specialized interests soon emerged: The normal school faculties organized separately in 1858, and the school superintendents in 1865. In 1870, when the National Teachers Association was reorganized, these separate groups became departments. At that time, the organization's name was changed to the National Education Association.

State Department Leadership in Organizations

After the National Teachers Association was organized, state associations spread rapidly. The state superintendent of schools usually called the first meeting, often in connection with an institute for teachers. In 1859, for example, the state superintendent of schools in Maine called a meeting in Waterville to organize the Maine State Teachers Association. Although reorganized and renamed in 1881, and again in 1902, it retained its close official association with the state education department until 1940.

During the nineteenth century, it was hard to distinguish between many state education departments and the state teachers associations. The Maryland Association, for example, was established by state law. In Wyoming, the fee for a license to teach and the dues for the Association were one. The Illinois Association had a board consisting of its president and nine vice-presidents to advise with the state superintendent; from 1890 until 1900, the records of the Association were kept in his office. Many instances can be found in which state education departments published the proceedings of associations, e.g., Maine and New York. Frequently, the official organ of the departments and the associations were the same, as in Iowa in 1862.

Prior to 1900, the state superintendents played a big role in a majority of the state associations and often used their offices to promote membership in the associations. At one meeting of the Florida Association, State Superintendent Sheats even called the roll. Kentucky had a law, enacted in 1868, which made the state superintendent the ex officio president of the association. The state superintendent in West Virginia was president of the association for the first 39 years of its existence, from 1865 to 1904.

Prior to 1900, many other state superintendents served as presidents of state associations or as members of their governing boards, often in an ex officio capacity. The superintendent usually was given a prominent place at meetings and on important committees. Many state association presidents became state superintendents, and a number of early state superintendents of schools were elected president of the National Education Association.

Both the national and the state associations of teachers were led and controlled by state superintendents, local superintendents, and college administrators prior to 1900. Of the first 46 presidents of the Indiana Association, only 6 fell outside these three categories, and 3 of those were principals. The stated purposes of the organizations, the purposes of their leaders, and the purposes of state education departments were almost identical. The organized profession, so closely meshed with the state school systems, usually was set up to promote, improve, and defend them.

Up to this time, presidents of large universities—such men as Butler of Columbia and Eliot of Harvard, both of whom served as presidents of the National Education Association—had time to give to teacher organizations. Indeed, college and university leaders had been active since 1830, when President Wayland of Brown formed the American Institute of Instruction and interested another Brown graduate, Horace Mann, in organizing the profession at the federal, state, and local levels. Higher education had not yet become alienated from public elementary and secondary education. Many leaders in public education also became leaders in higher education—such men as Barnard and Mann. Specialization had not yet erected high barriers, and the meetings of professional organizations permitted the college scholars and the school administrators to mingle.

The National Council of Education, incorporated into the National Education Association structure in 1880, served a useful function in fostering communication among the various special interest groups. Similar councils were created in a number of states: New Jersey, 1886; California, 1891; and New Hampshire, 1898. These councils were study and deliberative bodies, generally responsible for recommending legislative policy. The state superintendent usually was much in evidence at such gatherings. In California, he was chairman ex officio of the Council. In 1899, it was this Council, under Superintendent Kirk's leadership, that called for a study of the entire structure of education in California.

Accomplishments Prior to 1900

The organized profession, working closely with state education departments, accomplished much prior to 1900. Systems of public education were established in all states, often against bitter opposition. In New York, the teachers association, the superintendents council, and the department of public instruction battled all during the latter half of the nineteenth century with the academic principals association, the regents, and other organizations representing the private school and college interests. Progress also was made in establishing normal schools, state teacher certification, compulsory education and minimizing child labor, minimum school terms, free textbooks, equal rights for women in education, consolidations of schools, school supervision by educators, public secondary schools, and various other facets of school organization and administration.

However, the associations and the state departments of education were not so successful in eliminating certain weaknesses that had developed within the systems prior to 1900: the small district structure, the elected county superintendents, the elected state superintendents, extreme inequalities in educational opportunities, low standards, political control, inadequate financing, teacher turnover, overcrowding, inadequate facilities, dropouts at the end of the compulsory school age, truancy, meager preparation for teaching, and secondary school curriculums designed for those not going on to college. These problems were to challenge the state education departments and the professional organizations in the twentieth century.

Signs of Changes To Come

Certain events had occurred before 1900 that later were to disturb the close working relationships between the organized profession and the state education departments. In 1866, the National Teachers Association repealed the provision in its constitution that limited active memberships to "any gentlemen" and that allowed ladies to become honorary members only. Women were seeking new outlets for leadership in education, and they found them in local associations in cities and in the classroom teacher movement in the states and in the nation.

Local associations dedicated to bread-and-butter issues had been formed in Boston, New York, Chicago, Minneapolis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and St. Paul during the nineteenth century. They had become active in state legislation to seek benefits for teachers. Conflicts between the leaders of urban associations concerned with teacher welfare and leaders of state associations concerned with the advancement and improvement of public education already were occurring in Massachusetts, Illinois, and New York.

The emergence of local associations concerned with economic and welfare issues caused state associations and the National Education Association to become more active in promoting teacher welfare measures. The West Virginia Association, of which the state superintendent was president ex officio, had secured a minimum salary law for teachers as early as 1882. The National Education Association in 1885 appointed a committee on salaries and tenure. The New Jersey Association in 1896 had secured pension legislation. It was soon to take the lead in obtaining a tenure law.

Three other events occurred which were to affect future relationships: (1) In 1887, higher education began to organize separately. (2) The National Education Association employed a paid secretary in 1898; states were soon to do so. (3) Strong regional associations were emerging in Arizona, California, Indiana, Kansas, Ohio, Oregon, and Washington. These owed allegiance to local school administrators rather than to state leaders.

The Organized Profession in 1900

Henry Barnard was still alive in 1900. During his lifetime, the teaching profession had been organized nationally, as well as in every state except Delaware. This did not mean, however, that a high proportion of the profession was organized at the time. There were over 420,000 public school elementary and secondary school teachers in the United States in 1900, with about 400,000 of them in the elementary schools. However, a very small percentage belonged to professional associations. The National Education Association had only 2,332 active members, and many of these were from colleges, universities, state education departments, private secondary schools, and educational institutions other than the public schools. Only seven states had over a hundred members in the National Education Association.

State associations probably had less than 10 percent of the public school teachers enrolled as active members. The only states in which more than one-half the teachers were organized were Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Utah. Associations in states with the largest number of teachers —Illinois, Iowa, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania—tended to have extremely low percentages.

All teacher associations at that time were weak in number of members, financial resources, or both. Their activities were confined largely to holding annual meetings and to publishing a journal. Without the inducement of excursion rates by railroads and vacation attractions, neither their membership nor their meetings would have been as large as they were. They usually had legislative committees which worked closely with the state departments in promoting goals agreed upon at the meetings. The journal also was used to build support for these goals.

In 1900, Professor Dewey's *The School and Society* was widely discussed at national and state meetings of the organized profession, but this was a small and select audience of teachers.

The National Education Association and the state associations really could not speak even for the small minority that was organized. The college and secondary school teachers tended to gravitate toward organizations promoting various subject matter disciplines. Regional associations sometimes had more members and influence than state associations. Local associations in the larger urban centers acted independently of state associations. They sometimes sought to control the annual meetings of both the national and the state associations, depending upon where the meetings were being held. Within many cities, there were separate educational organizations for men, women, various classes of teachers and other school employees, various parts of the city, and so forth. New interest groups, such as manual training teachers, tended to organize separately on the state and national levels.

GROWTH OF PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The first three decades of the twentieth century were the period of greatest growth in state teachers associations. By 1930, the associations represented nearly 77 percent of all public school teachers, with a membership of nearly 700,000.

The rate of growth was even more rapid for the National Education Association, although it represented a small proportion of teachers. From 1900 to 1930 its membership increased over a hundred times and reached a total of more than 216,000—still less than 25 percent of potential.

Factors Contributing to Membership Growth

The large membership of the state and national associations during this period was built largely through the efforts of local school administrators interested in finding new state sources of revenue to meet the increasing costs of public education.

As in the past, the annual professional meeting—the successor to the annual teacher institute—continued to be a major inducement to members. But in order to reach larger numbers, these meetings often were regionalized. Organization of members by areas, counties, or local school systems emerged. When the delegate or representative assembly replaced the annual business meeting, the local unit became important in state association structures. Membership promotion became localized under the superintendent, and the state association became meaningful at the local level.

Initially, delegates generally were elected at meetings called by the superintendent, and the majority of those elected often were administrators. However, elections by local associations and increased classroom teacher representation were on the rise before 1930. As early as 1910, local associations were closely tied to the state associations in Colorado, Maryland, and Virginia. Arizona and Maine were using the county institutes to build a high proportion of membership. Prior to 1920, local units had become strong in Washington and were merged with the state association in 1921.

By 1923, most state associations had delegate assemblies, and the number continued to grow; state superintendents often were ex officio delegates. The National Education Association (NEA) adopted the delegate plan in 1920. Until 1934, every state superintendent was an ex officio delegate to the NEA convention.

One effect of the delegate system was to enable the individual member to exercise an influence in an association without attending a meeting that was often far from home. Another consequence was an increase in the local orientation of state and national associations. Over 460 locals were represented at the first NEA delegate meeting. It resulted in more resolutions on teacher welfare—salaries, retirement, and tenure in particular. In 1923, an NEA standing committee on tenure was established. Whereas in 1920 only eight states had tenure or continuing contract laws, by 1930 this number had grown to twelve.

A major factor contributing to membership growth was the emergence of classroom teacher interest in state and national associations. After 1910, local classroom teacher associations began to organize on a state and national basis. In 1911, the Massachusetts Teachers Federation, representing local associations, was formed. Its purposes were teacher-welfare oriented —higher salaries, pensions, tenure, and other benefits—as contrasted with the educational and professional goals of the old Massachusetts Association, which was still controlled by the State Department of Education. The Association went out of existence in 1919.

A federation similar to the one in Massachusetts was formed in Indiana, and it later became the Indiana Classroom Teachers Association. Leaders of local associations from Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York in 1912 founded the National League of Teachers Associations, which was open to local associations representing only classroom teachers.

A year later, the National Education Association approved a new Department of Classroom Teachers, which actively began to promote teacher welfare as an end in itself. Not long after the Department made provision for affiliating locals in 1922, the National League of Teachers Associations went out of existence. After 1913, classroom teacher departments began to appear in state associations.

The classroom teacher movement was closely allied to the women's rights movement, for the vast majority of classroom teachers were women and control of professional organizations was in the hands of male school administrator. The Kentucky Association elected its first woman president in 1900. That same year Elizabeth Allen, after a bitter contest beween men and women members, gained control of the New Jersey Association and forced it to do more in welfare areas, such as tenure and pensions. Finally, after a long period of unofficial leadership, she was elected the first woman president in 1913. Soon women were seeking office in many other state associations, and many were elected president of city associations and state classroom teacher departments.

The membership of the National Education Association in 1910, led by women teachers from the large cities, rejected the male candidate for president selected by its nominating commmittee and elected Ella F. Young, the Chicago superintendent of schools, as its first woman president. Another attempt to elect a woman president failed in 1912, but after 1917 a woman was elected every other year. This change did much to develop classroom teacher interest in the NEA.

The national classroom teacher movement also had a local school system orientation and a local leadership that enabled it to bypass state and local school administrators who controlled the state associations. Classroom teacher leaders at the national level launched the drive for teacher tenure in most states. Administrators often were opposed to tenure for teachers, as was the case in New Jersey and New York. One of the first acts of the new Classroom Teachers Department of the National Education Association was to denounce teacher ratings by school superintendents. Starting in 1918, it launched a strong campaign for higher teachers salaries within the states.

Tenure or continuing contract laws in large states, such as California, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Wisconsin, were making for a more stable profession. A corps of classroom teacher leaders was being developed in such states, as well as in the urban centers of other states. Many of these leaders received leadership preparation and experience in the Department of Classroom Teachers of the National Education Association.

Classroom teacher leadership was being enhanced by two other trends. The proportion of secondary teachers, who traditionally were college graduates, increased rapidly, particularly after 1920. From 1900 to 1930, public school teachers in high schools grew from 5 percent to 25 percent of the total. Normal school preparation for elementary school teachers was increased from 1 to 2 to 3 years. Some school systems had begun to employ college graduates for elementary school teaching before 1930.

Some administrator-led state associations soon responded to these new pressures. The New York Association began in 1904 to promote tenure and pension legislation. It first pension law came in 1911, and its first tenure law in 1917. The Maine Association appointed a committee on salaries in 1904. The New Jersey Association in 1905 began to seek tenure, and it was successful in 1909. Other state associations promoting teacher tenure prior to 1910 included Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, and Oklahoma. Among those promoting pensions at the time were Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, Missouri, Ohio, South Carolina, Washington, and Wisconsin. Illinois had a state minimum salary law by 1908 and a pension law by 1915.

Another factor causing membership gains in associations was the opening of permanent headquarters and the employment of executive secretaries. California was able to federate its regional association in 1909 with a full-time secretary. This marked the beginning of permanent staffs and headquarters for state associations, which by 1920 were established in New York, Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, Iowa, Oklahoma, and Texas. Within another decade most state associations had taken this step. The National Education Association opened its headquarters in Washington in 1917 and established its own editorial and research staffs in 1921 and 1922, respectively.

World War I contributed indirectly to the rapid growth in membership. In seeking higher salaries for teachers, local associations often were thwarted by property tax limitations. Along with the school administrators, they turned to the state legislatures for relief. The administrators fostered increased membership in state teachers associations in their common cause, especially in the urban areas from 1920 to 1930.

State education departments, confronted with severe teacher shortages under these conditions, had difficulty in enforcing existing certification standards. Anxious to improve the preparation of teachers, they joined the superintendents and associations in efforts to gain increased state funds for salaries and other educational needs. Teacher welfare and educational improvement became nearly synonomous.

Along with increased state financing came a renewed interest in equalizing educational opportunities in the rural areas. Rural administrators became staunch friends of the state associations. Many of them were able to enroll 100 percent of their teachers, and attaining this figure became a matter of pride.

New and Separate Organizations

In spite of growing membership, the state associations and the National Education Association during this period began to lose touch with those engaged in higher education, except for normal schools, teachers colleges, and other teacher education programs. It is true that David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, was elected National Education Association president in 1915, but this was near the end of an era in its history. The Association of American Universities had come into existence in 1900; the Association of University Professors, in 1914; and the American Council on Education, in 1918. Other associations representing various interests in higher education soon organized outside the National Education Association. These organizations eventually challenged the alliance that had evolved between state associations and state education departments in teacher education and certification.

A small segment of the teaching profession seeking new political alliances against tax-paying interests and independence from local school administrators began to affiliate with labor. The first such union was organized in San Antonio in 1902, and soon after one was formed in Chicago. By 1916, the American Federation of Teachers was founded. After that, competition for the membership and the loyalty of classroom teachers became a factor in teacher organization behavior.

Sometimes attempts to merge the various professional interests into state associations failed. New York state tried without success in 1905 to organize a council representing the New York State Teachers Association, the Council of School Superintendents, the Academic Principals Association, the English Teachers Organization, the Grammar School Principals Association, and the Training Class Teachers Association. New York City remained aloof from the state association and had only a small involvement in the National Education Association. Although it had over 50 organizations of teachers, no group was able to speak for all. Its union was small but very vocal. Chicago teachers maintained a shaky relationship with the Illinois Association, but their union remained active.

In 1930, the superintendents still had separate organizations in at least 13 states: Alabama, Colorado, Idaho, Illinois, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, New Mexico, New York, North Dakota, South Carolina, South Dakota, and Washington.

Separate associations for Negro teachers existed in 11 states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, South Carolina, Texas, and West Virginia. State education departments in these states were directed by state law to implement the separate-but-equal concept. The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools became the American Teachers Association in 1939. The National Education Association had maintained contact with it since 1926 through a committee arrangement.

Continued progress was made after 1900 in absorbing new or separate organizations into the National Education Association and the state associations. Competing organizations in California and Ohio were merged. The National Education Association had 25 departments by 1930. The elementary school principals organization became a department in 1921, and the secondary school principals in 1927. The typical state association in 1930 had over 20 departments; Missouri had 30.

Although they attempted to bring the different interests together within the associations, the councils began to lose their influence with the emergence of delegate assemblies. The National Council was losing its prestige, and the National Education Association delegate assembly, with its local orientation, began to determine policy.

A factor that tended to foster separate organizations was the growing bureaucracy within state departments of education. The first of the important categorical financial aids for secondary schools from the federal government, the Smith-Hughes Act of 1917, brought state and local vocational personnel together through their own independent organizations. Their special vocational interests and their new federal alliances and funds created a separatism in this field that still persists to some extent.

The fact that superintendents had been meeting separately from the National Education Association did not of itself diminish their influence in professional organizations. George D. Strayer, professor of education at Teachers College of Columbia University, was president of the National Education Association and its first legislative committee chairman in 1920. He was closely associated with the superintendents, and they helped him in bringing about a reorganization of the National Education Association in 1920. The Department of Superintendence employed its own executive secretary in 1922. Decisions reached at this Department's unofficial Cleveland meetings and the official February meetings were carried over into the National Education Association summer meetings.

State education associations dedicated to promoting education and improving teaching soon began to organize at the national level. A federation of state teachers associations, organized in Denver in 1909, was replaced by the National Association of Secretaries of State Teachers Associations in 1922.

The state superintendents of public instruction had begun to meet informally at the National Education Association meetings beginning about 1906. In 1909, at Denver, 25 of them were in attendance, and a committee was set up to create a permanent organization. At first the plan was to seek department status within the National Education Association, but this was never achieved. The U.S. commissioner of education began to call all these state officials together on federal-state educational business each year. This practice led to organization of the Council of Chief State School Officers in 1928 as an independent body, and annual meetings with the federal educational agency continued. In 1944, active consideration of proposals to set up an office of their own began, and plans to do so were adopted in 1947. The chief state school officers are constitutional or statutory officials of state governments, as well as professional educators, and whether to emphasize their official role or their professional role was thoroughly discussed. When Executive Secretary Willard E. Givens of NEA invited the Council to share NEA facilities in Washington, the offer was accepted unanimously. The chief state school officers had chosen to emphasize their professional role rather than to affiliate with the Council of State Governments and thereby emphasize their official role.

The Council was incorporated as a tax-exempt, educational organization in 1948, and annual meetings with the federal educational agency continued. The Council meets in its own annual conference, with the U.S. Office of Education two or three times each year, with the American Association of School Administrators annually, and it is represented at many meetings of the National Education Association.

Effects of Membership Growth and Competition

Growth in association membership and the methods by which that growth was achieved were destined to change the relationships of state education departments to the organized profession, particularly during the latter half of this century. Although most associations had not changed their original orientation as of 1930, there were more instances of differences in purpose, independence in action, and conflicts among leadership than had existed prior to that time. These divergent tendencies emerged slowly in a small number of states, but the number of states in which the state education department either dominated or strongly influenced the state associations began to decrease after 1900.

With few exceptions, state associations in 1900 were still called state teachers associations. Within 30 years, about half of them had become education associations with departments for school administrators. But nearly 90 percent of the members of boards of directors of state associations in 1930 were administrators; all but a small percentage of the presidents were administrators; programs were planned with the cooperation of the administrators. Legislative activities were largely in the hands of the superintendents. The major aims of the state associations were still the promotion of education and the improvement of teaching. Most legislative activity was directed to these goals.

The existence of a paid staff dependent upon a large membership added a new dimension to relationships between the organized profession and the state educational agencies. Although inclined to be supportive, the leaders of the associations were becoming sensitive to membership reaction, particularly to the local administrators who promoted membership.

With few exceptions, the first executive secretaries of the state associations had been drawn from the ranks of school administrators. As a rule, state education departments could depend upon their support; but with the emergence of professional leadership in the associations, the possibility of conflict increased. There was admirable teamwork between such men as Harlan Horner and Frank P. Graves in New York state; but Frank Pinet, as executive secretary of the Kansas Association, quarreled with state superintendents from 1916 to 1936. He and Superintendent Ross, ex officio chairman of the board of directors of the Association, accused each other of attempting to run the organization.

Most state superintendents still were elected and served for short periods of time, although a considerable number served long terms. Examples are Francis G. Blair (Illinois, 1906-32); W. F. Bond (Mississippi, 1916-36); and John Callahan (Wisconsin, 1921-50). Many of the early executive secretaries were able to make a career of their work: Roy W. Cloud of California served from 1927 to 1947; James W. Rickards of Florida from 1929 to 1949; and J. P. Coates of South Carolina for some 30 years after 1925. Tenure in office contributed to their influence and power.

The executive secretaries also had begun to strengthen their staffs by hiring directors of research, editors, public relations experts, and other specialists. As the office of the executive secretary developed, it became a stronger force with which state education departments had to deal. Prior to 1900, the office of the state superintendent provided both the goals and the staff for legislative activity; after 1920, the office of the executive secretary of the association performed this function with greater frequency. Some state education departments preferred to reduce their visibility in the legislatures.

State education departments made wide use of the association journals, meetings, and committees to promote in-service growth of teachers, for the institute function had been taken over by the state associations with few exceptions. Teacher education institutions also became interested in the in-service education of teachers. They began to offer summer, extension, and evening courses. Salary schedules promoted by professional associations and recommended by local superintendents provided rewards for such courses.

One of the major accomplishments of the state education departments and the state associations in the twentieth century was the shift of control of teacher certification to the states. As a result, a close working relationship developed between these two agencies and the institutions preparing teachers. With the rapid improvement in teacher education and certification requirements after 1930, this alliance was strengthened in spite of occasional conflicts of interest. The NEA Committee on Supply, Preparation, and Certification of Teachers, which had advocated 4-year college as the minimum preparation as early as 1920, was an additional factor in raising the levels of teacher preparation.

DEPRESSION AND WAR, 1930 to 1945

The immediate impact of the Depression was a drop in National Education Association membership to a low of 154,377 in 1933. From then on, its membership grew rapidly to 331,605 by 1945, when there were 880,000 public school teachers in the United States. The number of teachers enrolled in the NEA rose from 24 percent in 1930 to 38 percent in 1945.

The immediate effect of the Depression upon the state associations was to reduce regional and factional differences and to inspire a new unity within them. Attacks from the outside and the need for defending past gains aroused membership interest and support. Because of a drop in the number of teachers employed, the membership of state associations (733,000 in 1945) was not much greater than that for 1930. Yet public school teacher enrollment in the state groups had increased to 83 percent, and it was over 90 percent in 23 states. Only three state associations reported less than 60 percent: those in Maryland, Mississippi, and South Carolina.

Changes in the Profession

The Depression brought about a phenomenal change in the composition of the teaching profession. As elementary school attendance dropped, because of the lowered birthrate, the proportion of secondary school teachers rose. Unemployment among youth caused a rapid growth in secondary school attendance, and this further increased the proportion of high school teachers. It grew from 25 percent in 1930 to 35 percent in 1945.

This change alone would have done much to raise the average educational background of secondary teachers; but it was possible during this period also to improve the level of preparation for all teachers. The higher proportion of secondary teachers tended to increase the proportion of men in teaching, especially after the war. The facts that teachers were better prepared and that a higher proportion were men eventually were to affect the leadership of state education associations in the postwar period.

Widespread unemployment soon created a surplus of teachers. Even states that had suffered severe teacher shortages during the 1920's, such as Maine, soon were able to raise standards for entrance into teaching. Classes for training high school students for elementary teaching were abolished in state after state. The course in normal schools was increased from 1 to 2 years and from 2 to 3 years. Many normal schools became 4-year colleges. The requirements for high school teachers were generally raised to 4 years of college preparation and sometimes to 5.

World War II made it difficult to enforce the new standards without recourse to temporary certification and other expedients. Nevertheless, the level of education of teachers never dropped to the old levels. College graduation became the norm, and graduate work beyond that became more prevalent. Classroom teachers in large numbers were able at last to vie with administrators on more nearly equal terms for leadership in professional organizations. Administrative style had to become increasingly democratic, or participatory, to deal successfully with a more mature and better educated teaching profession. Both state education departments and state associations were to be affected by this development.

Importance of Executive Secretaries

There was little change prior to 1945 in the number of states having elected superintendents. The political vulnerability of the elected state superintendents and those appointed by governors became very clear during the Depression years. Consequently, state education departments and state associations were drawn closer together in the defense of school programs. They worked together in research, public relations, and legislation. Education organizations that had not been able to work together did so. The New York State Educational Conference Board brought the teachers association and the administrators associations into a close working arrangement after 1934, although it never reached the teacher groups in New York City. The State Education Department had tried unsuccessfully from 1929 to 1939, through the Regents Joint Legislative Committee, to mediate the conflicting interest of the New York City organizations and the groups that united to form the Conference Board. Other state associations formed analogous organizations: the Iowa Association organized the Council for Better Schools, and the Kentucky Association sponsored the Education Commission.

The long tenure and stability of the office of executive secretary of state associations became a great asset to many state education departments. Frank Grove (Alabama), Roy Cloud (California), James Rickards (Florida), Hugh Nixon (Massachusetts), M. P. Moe (Montana), Arvie Eldred (New York), J. P. Coates (South Carolina), and O. H. Plenzke (Wisconsin) either served continually from

1930 to 1945 or for most of this period. Their offices were actively engaged in the public relations and legislative activities required to protect the schools from attack or curtailment of existing programs.

Among the many outstanding examples which could be cited of states which exhibited close collaboration are Florida and Washington. The Florida Association had been doing so much to defend the schools that the governor tried unsuccessfully to abolish the job held by the 1933 president of the Association. The close alliance dating from 1937 between Executive Secretary James Rickards and J. Colin English, Florida state superintendent, brought into being the Citizens Committee on Education in 1945. Thomas D. Bailey, who later became state superintendent (1949), had been a member of the Board of Directors, president, and public relations man for the Florida Association from 1934 to 1949. The Washington Education Association also was very active in defending the state school system at this time. The Legislature called for an investigation of the Washington Education Association because of its vigorous support of State Superintendent Showater in his efforts to keep school funds from being curtailed.

The danger of conflict between the office of state superintendent and that of the executive secretary was not eliminated by the attacks on education at the time. In West Virginia, Superintendent Trent received enthusiastic support from the West Virginia Association in his "save the schools" campaign of 1933. After the Association appointed its first executive secretary in 1936, a serious rift soon developed between the secretary and Superintendent Trent over school finance. By 1945, the Association was working actively for a lay state board of education and an appointed state superintendent. A different type of difficulty arose in New Jersey. When Dr. Strahan, the deputy commissioner of education, was asked in 1940 by the executive committee of the New Jersey Association to head its headquarters operation, the delegate assembly of the Association voted to censure its executive committee for doing so.

Modified Relationships

The state associations kept up their campaigns for reform in state school administration. Utah in 1935 waged an unsuccessful campaign for a constitutional amendment to abolish the elected superintendency. Georgia obtained a lay state board of education in 1937. North Carolina succeeded in getting a constitutional provision for a state board of education in 1943.

The direct links between state education departments and the associations remained but became less active during this period. The Maine Department, which had exercised an official connection with the Maine Association since 1859, publishing its reports, planning its programs, and keeping its records, was ready by 1940 to turn this responsibility over to the new office of executive secretary. By 1945, all but a few small state associations had created that office.

The cutting of official ties in an increasing number of states did not mean a corresponding diminishing of state education department leadership in professional associations. The National Education Association president for 1932, Florence Hale, had been employed as a rural agent in the Maine Education Department. Agnes Samuelson, who had been state superintendent in Iowa, became NEA president in 1936 and served as executive secretary of the Iowa Association from 1931 to 1945. John Brooks, state superintendent in Kentucky from 1940 to 1943, had been public relations director for the Kentucky Association.

In a few states, the emergence of strong state associations did have a tendency to weaken the influence of state education departments among the educational groups. Changes were occurring in a few states that ultimately were to strain the bonds between more state education departments and the organized teachers.

One of these developments was the appearance of teachers unions in the industrialized states. The emergence of the teachers unions caused some state departments to become less openly identified with promotion of the state associations.

Another factor was the changes occurring within the associations themselves. The threat of unions to their large membership, combined with the classroom teacher movement, the growth of local associations, and the realities of the Depression itself, caused many state associations to give more attention to matters of teacher welfare. Some state associations began to provide legal assistance for teachers. The Maine Association provided legal defense for its members as early as 1933; Arizona and Minnesota were among the first state associations to recognize this need. Dismissal of teachers to save money caused a renewed drive for tenure laws by the organized teachers. By 1945, the number of states with such laws had increased to 38, or over three times the number in 1930. Much effort also was devoted to protecting pension plans and preventing cuts in teachers' salaries.

A third influence was the shift in control of some associations. As already observed, improved tenure did much to enhance classroom teacher leadership in professional associations. Classroom teacher influence in state associations grew. In 1930, the Massachusetts Teachers Federation, whose leadership was largely classroom teacher, employed a high school teacher, Hugh Nixon, as executive secretary. Three years later, the classroom teachers gained control of the Connecticut Association, employed an executive secretary (Francis Harrington) for the first time, and adopted a vigorous program for tenure, retirement, and salary legislation. In 1935, Ohio adopted a provision that at least 50 percent of its executive committee be classroom teachers; similar amendments applying to the executive committee, the delegate body, or both were passed in other states. In 1936, the Indiana Association elected a classroom teacher, Hilda Maehling, as president; soon after it employed an active classroom teacher leader, Robert Wyatt, as executive secretary. The women and urban teachers in the New Jersey Association again challenged its administrative leadership during the 1930's. The Oklahoma Association elected its first classroom teacher president in 1938. By 1940, the classroom teachers had become a strong force in the West Virginia organization. The North Carolina Association chose Ethel Perkins, the former president of its classroom teacher department, as executive secretary in 1944.

Many leaders of the classroom teachers at the state level later moved into positions of influence in the NEA structure. Hilda Maehling in 1942 became the first executive secretary of its Department of Classroom Teachers.

The spread of local associations was encouraged by the classroom teacher movement and the evolution of the delegate system for conducting association business. The delegate bodies of associations increasingly reflected the interest of local leaders. In order to strengthen their legislative influence and to promote their programs, state associations appointed committees and field staffs to organize and assist local associations. For example, this service was added in Minnesota in 1935, and in North Carolina in 1938. The effort sometimes incurred the opposition of local superintendents, as in Arizona and New York. Efforts to organize locals soon were followed by organized programs for preparing local association leaders, as was the case in Washington in 1945.

The influence of the National Education Association on the states began to be felt to a greater extent. Leaders of the local associations, which the state associations were organizing, often attended the NEA meetings and came in contact with the classroom teacher movement. An increasing number of locals were beginning to bar school administrators from membership and to affiliate with the Department of Classroom Teachers. The National Commission for the Defense of Democracy

Through Education was created in 1941, as well as the Dushane Memorial Defense Fund. The NEA began not only to provide legal protection for its members in the various states, but also to investigate school conditions within the states. It launched campaigns for salaries, tenure, and academic freedom.

The NEA Representative Assembly in 1944 adopted a program that was destined to make the National Education Association a strong force in many states. It entailed—

1. Local associations of teachers in every community as an integral part of NEA and state associations
2. Unified dues for local, state, and national associations
3. Enrollment of more teachers into the local, state, and national associations
4. Integrated committee structure for local, state, and national associations
5. An expanded program of service to the children and teachers.

Within a year its membership had increased by over 20 percent, and 14 states had over 50 percent of their public school teachers enrolled in NEA.

Accomplishments

The National Education Association asked the state education associations, including the territories of Alaska and Hawaii, to list their major accomplishments from 1921 to 1946. All except five complied with the request. In order of frequency the items mentioned related to school finance (45), teacher retirement (42), school improvements (39), teachers' salaries (24), tenure (24), other teacher welfare measures (16), teacher certification (15), school district reorganization (15), and cooperation with state education departments (11). This is ample evidence of the gradual shift in emphasis of state education associations during the period being studied. The goals of the state departments and those of the associations were beginning to become differentiated.

Administrative Leadership Still Prevalent

Most state associations in 1945 were still under the leadership of school administrators who were identified with, and supportive of, state education department objectives. Thirty-eight of the 43 state association presidents for whom data were available were administrators or supervisors. Executive committees and boards of directors usually had majority representation for administrators, as did key committees. All presidents of the Kansas Association from 1935 to 1945 were administrators. The New York Association had administrators as presidents from 1930 to 1945 (including one supervisor). All the presidents of the Virginia Association from 1930 to 1945 were either superintendents, principals, or supervisors. The president of the NEA for 1945 also was a superintendent, and over half its executive committee members were school administrators.

POSTWAR REALIGNMENTS OF RELATIONSHIPS

Membership in professional associations grew at a faster rate than the number of teachers employed from 1945 to 1965. The number of public school teachers did not quite double, rising to 1.8 million. Yet National Education Association membership nearly tripled, reaching a total of 944,000. State association membership more than doubled by 1965, attaining a new high of 1.6 million or 88 percent of potential. Over half the state associations were enrolling more than 90 percent of the public school teachers.

While the growth of membership was impressive, both the national and the state associations had become alarmed about their decreasing appeal to urban teachers. Neither had a large membership in such big cities as Boston, New York, and Chicago even prior to 1945. In the postwar period, this weakness became evident in Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Newark, New Haven, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco.

The American Federation of Teachers, on the other hand, had been gaining in the urban centers and was beginning to reach teachers in some of the suburban areas. Rivalry between the professional organizations and the AFT became intense by 1965 in some metropolitan areas, a competition that was destined to modify the role of state education departments in dealing with the organized teachers. The modified role arose from changes in the goals and methods of the organized profession as much as it did from the growth of Federation membership.

Changed Composition of the Teaching Force

Organizational rivalry for membership has been a strong force in modifying the behavior of the organized teaching profession, but the changed composition of the teaching force also underlies these developments. The profession is becoming younger, better educated, and increasingly male in its leadership. Values and behavior have changed accordingly.

The average age of teachers in 1945 was relatively high as a result of tenure laws and many years of low turnover. The first wave of enrollment growth thereafter occurred in the elementary schools, increasing the demand for women teachers primarily. Although it became difficult to adhere to the higher certification requirements for all new entrants, the general level of education of elementary teachers as a group did not drop. Single salary schedules placed a high premium on meeting the requirements while on the job. However, the average age of elementary teachers was reduced substantially, not only because of the large number of additional teachers hired but also because of the many elementary teachers leaving teaching through deaths and retirements.

After 1947, the mounting shortage of teachers, their extremely low economic status, and surpluses in state revenues made it relatively easy for state associations to improve state school financing and teachers' salaries until about 1950. By then, new taxes or tax increases became necessary, and increasing resistance was encountered. State and local associations had a harder time achieving what their members wanted.

Soon the secondary schools began to feel the enrollment increase that hit the elementary schools in the late 1940's. Men were attracted into teaching at the secondary school level in increasing numbers. The percentage of male teachers jumped from just under 17 percent in 1945, to over 27 percent in 1955, to nearly 32 percent in 1965. This trend not only lowered the average age of teachers but also increased the general educational level of the profession. The young men teaching in the secondary schools tended to pursue graduate work to a greater extent than the profession as a whole.

The leadership of the more mature women teachers long identified with the classroom teacher movement remained strong in NEA and in state and local associations. Yet the growing body of young male secondary school teachers began to assume the leadership of local associations, to become delegates to national and state associations, and to become more active at all levels. Although women were still in the majority, after 1960 they began to lose the influence in the organized profession that they had gained so slowly during the first 50 years of this century.

Born in an age of collective bargaining in private employment, often to parents identified with the labor movement, the new young male leadership was activist in outlook and often became impatient with the slow political methods and the public relations approach previously used by state associations and most local associations. Some were quick to join the labor movement; others used it only as a threat to get what they wanted; but most were willing to use the collective power approach of organized labor without joining a union. The continued shortage of teachers and the high level of employment in the overall economy during this period enhanced the bargaining position of the organized profession. Inflation and rising living standards made hard-won salary increases lose their value quickly. Tenure laws operated to assure continuity for the new male teacher leadership as it had earlier for the women classroom teacher leaders.

The rate of growth in public school enrollments and the changes in the composition of the teaching force varied from state to state. Arizona, California, and Florida were most affected due to population in-migration. Southern states, excluding Florida, felt them to a lesser extent due to the large out-migration of the Negro population. The highly urbanized states had their own variations due to the in-migration of the Negro and the fast pace of suburban growth. The agricultural states of the plains felt the trends least since they were growing slowly, or even losing population.

Changes in state education associations and in their relationships to the state education departments are closely related to such differences in the composition and leadership of the teaching profession. Although the National Education Association became a partner in the relationship to an increasing extent by 1965, its penetration into a state was correlated highly with what was happening to the teaching force within that state.

New Posture of the National Education Association

The National Education Association rapidly expanded its operations within individual states after the war, at first to bolster its membership but later to protect its membership from American Federation of Teachers competition. In 1946, it created its National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards, which became active in most states. It began to increase its field services to help local associations in securing salaries and other benefits from employers. It increased its efforts to provide leadership preparation for state and local associations. Later it opened regional offices. In 1961, it replaced the Defense Commission with the National Commission on Professional Rights and Responsibilities, and it undertook an increasing number of investigations of state and local school systems. In 1962, it added an Urban Services Division, which became identified with election of sole bargaining agents in a number of school systems.

The NEA Representative Assembly in 1960 considered a mild resolution on negotiations between organized teachers and their employers. The difference of opinion among those who wanted a stronger position and those who favored the status quo was so strong that the matter was referred to the Board of Directors for further study. The issue was considered again at the next meeting, and a resolution was adopted on the rights of professional associations in dealing with their employers. A year later, the Representative Assembly called for "professional negotiations" and state legislation establishing the right of associations to negotiate with their employers. In 1962, it also adopted the concept of sanctions, as a means for influencing action of state and local governments, and called for the development of guidelines for their use.

Adoption of these last two resolutions signaled a new role for the NEA within the states. It became active in the state legislative process, and it began to use the force of sanctions to affect policy decisions in state and local units. Up to this time, it had relied upon its leadership activities and the intellectual process. Sometimes its new activities within states engendered conflicts with its affiliated state associations and within its own structure. The American Association of School Administrators has voiced reservations on the course of action being taken by NEA.

The NEA during 1965 applied sanctions to the public schools in Oklahoma and Utah. It conducted investigations of school conditions in Florida and Idaho, the reports of which were critical of certain aspects of the state school administration. The NEA had become an element with which state education departments had to deal in their work. By this time, NEA's conflict with the AFT became the center of public attention. The NEA decided to battle the AFT on its own terms at the local level and to become the spokesman for what local organizational leaders were seeking from their employers.

Since 1950, the state education departments, through the Council of Chief State School Officers, often had taken stands different from those of the National Education Association on federal legislation. In significant instances it was similar in this respect to some independent NEA departments exercising their rights in certain policy matters. On most issues, however, the Council and the NEA have been allies.

The fact that the National Education Association was becoming increasingly involved at the state and local levels of government was partly a reflection of its policy-making machinery. Delegates to its Representative Assembly generally represented local associations. The number of locals in a state often had more effect upon delegate representation than did total National Education Association membership. Local leaders tended to view the national association as a means of strengthening their leadership at the local level.

The NEA authorized a study of its structure in 1965. A major question to be answered was whether the national association was to deal only with the state associations, allowing the latter to deal with the local associations, or whether it was to continue its direct dealings with locals. Another critical question related to its policy-making machinery. The number of NEA departments had grown to 33. NEA still had found no way of unifying the departments into its decision-making process. The tendency for separate staffing and separate operations had been growing. The influence of the Department of Classroom Teachers—the Delegate Assembly of which meets prior to the NEA Representative Assembly—was increasing. The administrators and supervisors still had good representation on the Board and Executive Committee, but this was being questioned by classroom teacher leaders. And at long last the NEA, through the Division of Urban Services (an outgrowth of the 1962 Urban Project), began to address itself directly to its membership problems in the urban centers.

Another significant development of 1965 was the recommendation of the Joint Committee of the NEA and the American Teachers Association that the two organizations should be merged.

Related National Movements

The industrial labor unions were beginning to see the implications of technology and automation for their membership. In their drive to organize white-collar workers, they began to seek collective bargaining laws for public employees. New Hampshire in 1955 passed a law permitting township employees to enter into collective bargaining with their employers. Alaska in 1959 gave the right to all municipal employees, including school district employees. Similar public employee laws were enacted in Wisconsin in 1962, and in Massachusetts and Michigan in 1965.

The American Federation of Teachers, in its drive to organize teachers, modified its strategies. It abandoned its no-strike policy, and it sought elections to determine the sole bargaining agent for teachers. Its strike in New York City in 1960 and its election as sole bargaining agent in that city in 1962 gave it considerable national publicity and exposure. Charles Cogen, who led these victories, moved from New York City to the AFT national presidency. Since 1962, the Federation has challenged local professional associations in an increasing number of cities and localities.

What happened in New York City was not so new as it was big. The 5-year period from 1945 to 1950 saw more strikes by teachers than the next 15 years. During the 1946-47 school year, there were over a dozen major strikes involving teachers. A strike in St. Paul, Minnesota, called by an AFT local, lasted until the end of December. The Teachers Association of Norwalk, Connecticut, called a strike in 1946 that resulted in a 1951 Connecticut Supreme Court decision upholding the right of teachers to organize and the right of employers to negotiate with them, without upholding its right to strike. The opinion in the Norwalk case has been cited often to support the legality of collective negotiations in the absence of state legislation. The local association in Buffalo, New York, called a strike in 1947, which led to a stronger state law against strikes by public employees.

The Connecticut State Education Department was one of the first to react. In 1951, its commissioner appointed a committee to draft a proposal regarding working relationships between employers and organized teachers. After agreement among the organizations representing teachers, school administrators, and school boards, the proposal was adopted by the State Board of Education in 1957. In 1965, a law was passed making the commissioner legally responsible for resolving impasses.

New Orientation of State Associations

All but a small number of state teacher associations had become state education associations by 1965. However, the change in name did not imply a change in emphasis. Indeed, the emphasis on teachers' economic interests had increased. The state associations, to a higher degree, were becoming instruments for securing local association objectives. They gradually were losing their close identity with state education departments and with state educational systems as a whole. They were becoming locally oriented.

The spread and growth of local associations, the increasing use of locals to collect dues and to elect delegates for state associations, the expanding influence of young male secondary teacher leaders within local and state associations—all contributed to the changing orientation. Local association leaders used their influence as local officers, delegates to state associations, and as members of committees of state associations to get state associations to help them attain their local goals. Service to locals came to rank with internal housekeeping as the most time-consuming aspect of state association administration. The size of field staff operations increased to a point where it often outnumbered all other staff positions combined. Frequently, most of the time of other staff members was consumed in field service or in providing backup for field service.

Membership maintenance was an impelling factor in the evolution, but crises generated by elections, negotiations, conflicts, and impasses eventually became the key determinant. More of the resources of state associations had to be used for legal assistance, mediation, and other help for locals. More of the time of executive secretaries and their staffs had to be allocated to the day-to-day pressing local problems. The frequently changing leadership of locals increased the necessity for expanding leadership training activities. The tendency for local leadership to use the resources of state associations to their advantage and to blame state associations for failures increased the difficulties of state associations.

The net effect of all of these trends was to reduce the amount of time and resources available to such organizations for promoting public education on a statewide basis or for improving teaching. The original goals of the associations were not changed, but the new objectives were receiving a higher priority. The efforts of state education departments and state associations increasingly were being directed toward different ends. The state associations in the large urban industrialized states moved most quickly in the new direction.

As early as 1950, a law was passed in California prohibiting school administrators from promoting membership in teachers associations. Subsequently, the California Association came under the control of the teachers, and the school administrators began to depend more heavily upon their own organization and its paid staff. The higher education groups began to challenge the influence that the Teachers Association and the State Department of Education had exercised over teacher certification.

The California Teachers Association and the AFT intensified their struggle for the support of local groups of teachers. The close tie of the latter to the Democratic party also affected the influence of the Association in state politics. Conflict developed between the State Board and the elected state superintendent. Although there are still a number of areas in which the Department and the Association cooperate, since 1961 changes have had their effects upon the established relationships. In addition, acting alone, the Association succeeded in 1965 in passing the kind of legislation on negotiations that it favored.

Other state associations on the West Coast had to make similar readjustments to new conditions. The Washington Education Association did not elect a superintendent as president from 1953 through 1965, and in 1963 only two city superintendents served as delegates. The majority of its Board of Directors were classroom teachers. In 1965, the Washington Association obtained passage of a negotiations bill that made the State Department of Public Instruction responsible for settling disputes. The Oregon Education Association that year also succeeded in passing its own version of a negotiations statute. It placed the school administrators in a new role, causing them to consider the possibility of organizing separately.

By 1950, the classroom teacher influence in the New York State Teachers Association also had become marked. School administrators always had been organized separately, but now they had begun to give up their leadership in the Teachers Association. Since 1950, the delegate body of the State Association had repeatedly rejected the idea of a classroom teacher department. This action by delegates who were overwhelmingly classroom teachers probably resulted from reasoning that they already had a classroom teachers association. Although the Association tended to be supportive of the State Education Department in its programs, it began to put its major efforts into promoting its own program, which came to be shaped by delegate action rather than Board of Director's decision. With the growing strength of local associations in the delegate body, it came to stress teacher legislation to a greater extent than institutional legislation. An increasing proportion of the resources of the Association have had to be used to maintain its membership. The AFT, fresh from its victory in New York City, became very aggressive in other cities and in the suburban communities surrounding New York City. The Association had not succeeded through 1965 in passing the kind of teacher-school board relations bill that it wanted, but it did succeed in blocking repeated attempts by the unions to secure a collective bargaining bill for all public employees. Two years later, the Association did succeed in obtaining legislative approval of a measure giving negotiation rights to all public employees—a measure which reflected many of the basic principles of its earlier efforts.

The effectiveness of the New York State Educational Conference Board gradually weakened as the State Association, a dominant supportive member, began to reflect the demands of its locally oriented leadership. Special interest groups organized on a regional basis—rural, suburban, and urban—began to appear not only among the teachers but also among the school boards and other supporting organizations. The competition among organized teachers and the resulting reaction of school boards also narrowed the areas open to cooperation, making it increasingly difficult to mobilize united support behind agreed-upon proposals. At the same time, the New York State Education Department, under the leadership of a strong commissioner, began to take a more independent posture, with the result that department positions, particularly in the area of school finance, were somewhat different from those of the Conference Board.

Other state associations on the East Coast that began to experience major changes in orientation after the war included Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Jersey. Developments in Connecticut already have been discussed. In 1965, its Association secured a negotiation law. Yet, until then, its new activities had not seriously affected its relationship with the State Department of Education or the independently organized school administrators.

The Massachusetts Federation had been a local association-oriented organization since 1911; yet, between 1945 and 1964, it had begun to act more like the other state associations—interested in state school legislation and actively cooperating with groups seeking to improve the state school system and its support. It changed its name to the Massachusetts Teachers Association in 1953. Since the passage of the collective bargaining law, which it jointly supported with the unions, it has tended to become more locally oriented again.

The New Jersey Education Association and the State Department of Education, because of the long tenure of Frederick Hipp in the Association and Commissioner Frederick M. Raubinger in the Department, developed a very close working relationship on state school policy that was later strengthened by the Princeton Group (organized by the commissioner in 1952). Nevertheless, the same changes that had taken place in New York state were occurring in New Jersey. The Association, which had provided strong support for local associations long before the union threat had become serious, was becoming involved in local negotiations. Although still affiliated with the Association, the administrators soon opened a separate headquarters with their own full-time executive secretary. Both Pennsylvania and Rhode Island also encountered new problems of teacher-school board relations.

Probably no state has felt the effects of the new attitude of teachers organizations more than Michigan. Relations between organized teachers, the State Department of Education, and the organized school administrators have been modified perhaps more than in any other state. World War II was no sooner over than the old friction between Detroit, Wayne County, and the remainder of the state began to create problems for the Michigan Education Association. No group existed or could be created that could reconcile the differences, although the state superintendents tried to do so through a council. The AFT forces were small, but they had the advantage of identification with the Democratic party. The election of a Democratic state superintendent strengthened the AFT position. The response of the Michigan Education Association was to strengthen its locals; its field staff was increased greatly, and its program of other services to locals was expanded. The passage of a tenure law in 1963 widened its differences with the administrator organizations, which subsequently broke away from it and relied upon their own executive secretary. The Michigan Department of Education, the administrators, and the teachers differed not only on purposes, but also on priorities. After the passage of legislation in 1965 giving public employees the right to bargain collectively, both the AFT and MEA launched vigorous campaigns on the local level.

Most other states in the Great Lakes region have felt the tide of events. Indiana appears to be developing in a pattern similar to that in Michigan. The school administrators are organized separately and have been based at the University of Indiana with their own executive secretary. Illinois, Minnesota, and Ohio also have had problems of teacher-school board relations.

The Wisconsin public employee legislation prohibits school administrators from promoting membership in employee associations. The Labor Relations Board ruled that superintendents and principals represent employers and are not eligible for membership in local teachers associations. The Wisconsin school administrators had been organized separately from the teachers association.

In many states, teacher leaders look upon the state education departments as being aligned with school administrators because so many departmental employees are former superintendents. The local contacts of state departments tend to be with superintendents and school boards, rather than with organized teachers.

Even the Southern states did not escape the trend. The Florida Association in 1965 requested that the NEA conduct an investigation of conditions in the state. The investigation resulted in the imposition of sanctions by the Association and the NEA. Florida had a long tradition of cooperation among the Association, the State Department of Education, and other professional groups in promoting public education. Kentucky, Maryland, and North Carolina also were beginning to experience greater unrest among organized teachers.

Two states west of the Mississippi provided evidence that this area too was feeling the shift in orientation and tactics. The Utah Association in 1963 requested that the NEA impose sanctions upon the state. During 1964, it conducted a study of the schools, but the governor ignored it and refused to call a special session of the Legislature to increase funds. The Association staged a 2-day work stoppage. On May 19, 1964, the National Education Association imposed sanctions. On March 15, 1965, the sanctions were lifted after the Legislature had passed education bills designed to give more money to the state's schools.

In 1963, the governor of Oklahoma vetoed a bill increasing teachers' salaries, and a subsequent referendum submitted to the people was defeated in 1964. Immediately after the election, the Association called a work stoppage and an NEA investigation. The state did not act on the NEA study. The Oklahoma Education Association, on March 6, 1965, and the National Education Association, on May 11, 1965, invoked sanctions. On September 14, Oklahoma voters overwhelmingly endorsed a constitutional amendment to allow local school districts to increase their school-support levies. Somewhat different approaches have been used by organized teachers in Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, and Montana.

Cooperation Persists

State departments and state education associations, even where their objectives or strategies have become far apart, have tried to avoid opposing each other. Relationships have tended to evolve rather than to change suddenly. Close cooperation between state associations and state education departments on broad matters of educational policy are still very common. Some large associations, such as those in Missouri, Texas, and Virginia, have not deviated much from original purposes. Stability in leadership probably has been a factor in such states. In Missouri, Everett Keith has been executive secretary since 1941, and State Commissioner Hubert Wheeler has been in office since 1947. In Texas, Charles Tennyson has been executive secretary of the Teachers Association since 1950, and State Commissioner J. W. Edgar began his long tenure in the same year. Robert Williams has served the Virginia Association since 1946.

In 1967, state superintendents were still ex officio members of the boards of directors of at least six state associations: those in Kansas, North Carolina, Oregon, South Dakota, Vermont, and Washington. A number of state superintendents have been leaders in state associations: Meadows of Alabama, Wilson of Indiana, Throckmorton of Kansas, Stetler of Nevada, Essex of Ohio, Robinson of Rhode Island, Anderson of South Carolina, and Edgar of Texas.

Evidence of close ties between state associations and state education departments persisted in many states throughout the postwar years through such organizations as the Arizona League for Public Schools, the Georgia Education Coordinating Committee, the Illinois School Policies Commission, the Maine Educational Conference Board, the Nevada Educational Development Council, the Tennessee United Organization for Education, and the Allied School Council of Washington. The associations in states like Pennsylvania and West Virginia work closely with the state departments on legislation without a formal structure. Furthermore, a number of executive secretaries of associations have served in state education departments: Nelson in Alabama, Gallop in Minnesota, Swan in Pennsylvania, and Keith in Missouri. The state education associations almost always have supported recent efforts toward appointed state school superintendents and toward stronger state education departments.

With the majority of states shifting to appointed state school officers and the strengthening of the office through state and federal action, the state education departments probably were not as dependent upon the continuity and staff of state associations as they had been. Yet an examination of the period from 1955 to date shows much more turnover among state superintendents than among executive secretaries. Among the few combinations lasting a decade or more have been Ford and Rozell in Arkansas, Raubinger and Hipp in New Jersey, Throckmorton and Wright in Kansas, Hodge and Phillips in Oklahoma, Wheeler and Keith in Missouri, and Allen and Goold in New York.

Relationships Being Modified

The normal schools virtually disappeared after World War II; teachers colleges generally became liberal arts colleges, and many of these became state universities. In the process, many state education associations lost some of their contacts with higher education facilities. The rapidly growing staffs of public higher education tended to become identified with the separate disciplines in higher education. There were few of these institutions in which some faculty members were not sympathetic to the union movement. Many of their graduates who entered teaching were skeptical of the value of professional associations for teachers. Some leaned toward the organized disciplines; others toward unions or protest groups.

With this shift in the nature of teacher preparation institutions, with the rising prestige of higher education, and with the growing activism of their separate organizations, state education departments were faced with two new challenges: maintaining control of higher education and control of teacher certification. The departments and the associations generally united to defend the status quo, but not always successfully.

The growth of public higher education, generally administered by a separate state agency, created new demands upon the state revenue systems. The legislative strategies of both the state education departments and the professional associations had to be modified accordingly. State education departments, more than state associations, had to weigh the priorities carefully in terms of total public welfare. Most state associations did not identify with all public higher education to the extent that they previously had identified with the normal school and teachers college faculties.

The growing university influence in public education affected state associations and state education departments in many other ways. Various institutions had been organizing study councils serving the schools in particular areas. Different departments and the disciplines within institutions were seeking the loyalties of various specialists and special interests in education. Through the U.S. Office of Education, university leaders attempted to bring about reform within the state educational agencies and within the profession itself. Through research, teaching, and leadership, they were becoming extremely critical of the "establishment" and its resistance to change. Competition among different higher education institutions within the states fostered sectionalism. Department or disciplinary competition within these institutions fostered organizational division along occupational and subject matter lines. The universities in so doing provided an outlet for the curriculum-oriented teacher who was finding it harder to find a place in the state associations that were becoming instruments for securing economic benefits from employers. Only a small part of university leadership, however, was directed toward overall institutional purposes and programs—the sphere of state education departments.

Within public elementary and secondary education itself new tensions were building. State education departments could not operate without regard to political realities. The "one man-one vote" decision increased the influence of the urban areas in state legislatures. With this came Democratic majorities in one or both houses of a number of state legislatures, and in several states, a stronger voice for organized labor. Existing arrangements for reaching consensus between state education departments and the organized profession began to lose their effectiveness. Unionized teachers and urban professional associations, often with their own executive secretaries, were not always willing to concur in the decisions reached at the state level.

With the growing strength of local associations, the ability of state education associations themselves to mobilize their membership behind accepted objectives was weakened. Local groups with strong leaders tended to select which, if any, of the approved state objectives they would concentrate on. The tendency of local leaders to unite within geographic areas of the states, because of common interests and ease of communication, tended to strengthen sectionalism in the legislative process.

The immediate effect of competition from the unions upon state associations in urban centers and other localities was not so much a shift of membership from one to the other as a loss for the state associations. Associations that had relied heavily upon the formal structure of the school system for membership promotion found that a large part of their membership easily could be lost. Realization of this fact tended to make state associations very cautious in their state leadership roles. It was no longer a matter of simply mobilizing the organized profession through the formal educational structure headed by the superintendents, supervisors, and principals.

Neither state education departments nor state associations could escape the public relations and political consequences of actions by militant local teacher groups. In urban centers, minority groups sometimes opposed what the teachers were seeking. Those responsible for municipal government at times became aroused over the impact of local school budgets upon other governmental operations. Religious groups operating their own schools sometimes became concerned over rising school taxes and demanded public support for their own schools. Business and taxpayer groups and other organized interests tended to oppose school taxes or to seek ways of avoiding them. Citizens groups primarily concerned with education sometimes found themselves unable to support teacher demands. Local school boards and/or school board organizations often became alienated. State legislators representing localities tended to reflect local public attitudes toward teachers.

As a consequence, an increasing proportion of the staffs of state education departments have not joined either state education associations or teachers unions. A small proportion have joined both. Another small group were union members before becoming members of the department staff. In states like Michigan and New York, split loyalties within the departments are likely to become a permanent aspect of the relationships of the department to the organized profession.

By 1967, all of the states with separate associations for Negroes had taken some steps to break the color lines. However, neither state education departments nor state associations were quick to assume leadership in the emerging racial issues, but they could not escape eventual involvement. The New York State Education Department was among the first to take a positive stance after the U.S. Supreme Court decision. The State's Board of Regents issued a January 1960 policy statement in which they said that they had been reevaluating the role of education in a democracy since the 1954 decision. Since then, the New York State Education Department has conducted two surveys to determine the racial and ethnic composition of individual school buildings and has required districts with racially imbalanced schools to report on progress made in eliminating imbalance.

Association Achievements from 1964 to 1967

The National Education Association annually asks state associations to report on major legislative goals and achievements. Since many legislatures meet once every 2 years, it is necessary to examine 2-year reports to see what is happening in all 50 states. Retirement legislation exceeded finance as the most frequently mentioned objective for this period by a very slight margin. These two were followed in order by salaries, welfare benefits for teachers, tenure, and higher education. No other objective was mentioned by over half of the states. School finance legislation was cited as the greatest achievement by most states, and here the departments and the associations worked toward similar general ends in most states.

As a whole, this record provides a marked contrast with the goals in 1900, 1930, and 1945. It means that state education department goals, being institutionally oriented, often had become quite different from the major goals of all but a small portion of the state education associations.

Even when the state education associations and state education departments are promoting the same ends, conflicts sometimes arise where they did not in the past. A number of state associations have initiated programs of instructional improvement that initially had the full cooperation of department officials. As these programs developed, however, they did not always go in the direction the departments had hoped. In summary, the leadership of both the associations and the departments is becoming independently self-directive.

PROJECTIONS OF RELATIONSHIPS

Some overall observations regarding the organized teaching profession are rather certain on the basis of this review:

1. Although the teachers associations of 1900 generally changed their names to education associations by 1967, they continued to behave more like teachers associations.
2. The stated purposes of the associations were not modified, but their activities became quite differentiated from those of state education departments.
3. Organizational rivalry, which contributed so much to this change in orientation, probably will continue to exist for a number of years.

The increasing power of local associations, the growing influence of locally elected teachers in determining the policy of state and national associations, and the accelerating competition with unions probably will cause marked changes in priorities and strategies in professional organizations throughout the nation.

As objectives become different, it is anticipated that state education departments and state associations will pursue more independent courses of action. In the immediate future, however, most of them will succeed in avoiding open conflict.

The new strategy of local associations and unions and the support given them by national and state organizations in achieving their objectives will definitely affect and probably alter existing relationships between state educational agencies and the organized profession in all states. It is very likely that an increasing number of organizations of school administrators will attempt to maintain their independence from organized teachers by strengthening their own organizations and by hiring independent staffs. State education departments are likely to transfer their close relationship with professional organizations to the organized administrators who will more likely continue to support their institutional goals, at least for the time being.

The effectiveness of state education departments in promoting and improving education can be impaired by their failure to maintain close relationships with teacher organizations. Yet the immediate problems arising from the emotional pitch of negotiations, coupled with a failure to understand and accept what is taking place within the organized profession, may lead to a breach between the profession of teaching and the departments which will be so wide as to be injurious to the future development of public education in this nation. If it succumbs to choosing sides in the current school employer-school employee confrontation, a state education department can only be weakened.

It is not too late for state education departments to assume a posture in which they can continue to provide the educational leadership necessary and, at the same time, continue to enjoy the confidence and support of the professional organizations. One possible way for a department to avoid direct involvement in the side effects of employer-employee conflicts and simultaneously reduce the scope of conflict would be by providing a core of information for use in negotiations by both organized teachers and their employers. Such information can be provided cooperatively with teacher organizations and school boards. As counsellor and purveyor of basic facts, state departments may serve without becoming directly embroiled. Education departments, such as those in Connecticut and Washington which have already been made responsible by law for resolving disputes between teachers and employers, will have a more difficult time; but even here the greater responsibility is not one which is impossible to meet.

As long as teachers are engaged in organizational rivalry, state education departments will have to find special avenues of identification that do not involve them directly. They will have to be realistic and treat both with equal justice. They may even have to seek some means for reaching agreements between the rival groups on issues transcending organizational conflicts in value and priority.

It must be anticipated that the use of force by organized teachers will generate new counterforces. At this time, the shape of such forces is far from self-evident. The following questions indicate some of the forces with which both the departments and the profession may have to contend in the years immediately ahead: Will taxpayers organize and refuse to pay the bill? Will parents and taxpayers become aligned? Will the public demand new restraints? Will collective bargaining have to be abandoned and some new way of preventing disputes and impasses be invented? Will the public turn to a greater extent to private education for relief? Will the barriers to public financing of private and/or denominational schools be removed?

It appears, for the present at least, that the higher education segment of the profession will continue to pursue its own independent course. Its efforts in this direction will generate conflicts with the organized profession and even with state education departments. But this may not and need not be the long-range outcome. Higher education will continue to be concerned with teacher education and certification. It will become increasingly involved in the evaluation of public education and in the development of new and more effective means for achieving school purposes. These forces are strong. For the time being, the present ferment, if left to brew, may serve education well in advancing its social purposes.

The day has passed when state education departments can use the organizations as a vehicle for promoting their own institutional needs. With increased power the organized profession is destined to become more self-directive. The speed with which organized teachers will return to fostering the improvement of education and teaching as ends in themselves will depend largely on the leadership that emerges. The role of the state education departments will be to work with that leadership. The departments will not be able to direct it.

It is possible that the strategies now being employed by organized teachers will produce better educational results as well as economic gains for members. There are states and communities with low educational standards that will not change without strong motivation. Perhaps the organized teachers will prove to be the only *modus operandi* whereby the needed motivation can be provided. The state education departments can point the way to sound public policy, but without teacher commitment and support they cannot achieve it.

On the other hand, the organized profession at the state and national level of government simply cannot afford to ignore broad matters of national and state policy in education. The very legal foundation of public education could be destroyed while the profession is preoccupied with organizational competition and struggles with local employers. Structural and functional defects in state school systems could be creating unnecessary and futile impasses.

Outmoded government structures that are unable or unwilling to provide the conditions sought by teachers could prove to be the most damaging stumbling blocks to progress. The profession must never let its preoccupation with removing the obstacles cause it to neglect to work toward some basic reforms in such areas as state and national governmental structure for education, school district organization, and tax structure for educational support.

Evidence available to date suggests that nothing short of an all-out effort involving teachers, administrators, state education departments, school boards, higher education, and the community-at-large will ensure effective solution of today's educational problems. A concern for general public school support tended to unite these forces during the thirties and tends to remain as a common concern. The emerging social and economic problems now facing our schools could have a similar effect.

During the 5-year period immediately following World War II, the United States witnessed substantial teacher unrest. After several years of relative calm during the fifties, we now are in another such period. It seems reasonable to assume that the current unrest will not be permanent. Alliances may be strained during a time of internal turmoil. However, as long as these alliances are not severed, it will be possible for state education departments and organizations representing various groups within the profession to work together in advancing common goals. The seeds of dissension and discord are present. However, they have always been present, and there is no reason to assume that future pressures for disunity will be more effective than they have been in the past. There is nothing of such magnitude as to prevent the state education departments in their growing strength and the emerging free and self-directed professional organizations from suceeding in evolving accommodations and effective relationships for moving education forward.

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Chapter 15

Higher Education Relationships

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Higher Education Relationships

INTRODUCTION

The development of higher education in America reflects the complexity of our democratic philosophies and sense of national purpose, our institutional structures and their formal and informal power systems, and our historical and economic development. The distinctiveness of American higher education reflects the energy and vision of leaders who have guided its growth within these contexts. To describe the shape of higher education in America, therefore, requires perspectives that are historical, institutional, functional, and personal.

After tracing some of these perspectives, this chapter focuses on a specific pattern of development in American higher education. It emphasizes functional relationships between state departments of education and higher education, particularly in departmental efforts to assist higher education by providing important aspects of leadership, service, and regulation.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

To the members of the Massachusetts Colonial Assembly, who appropriated £400 in 1636 to establish a "school college," college education meant the preservation of culture in a wilderness; to the men who broke the sod of our prairies, it meant a higher level of proficiency in the agricultural and mechanical arts; to men, in all times, it has represented a major contribution toward maximum personal development, toward a life of contribution and satisfaction.

After Harvard was founded, the growth of colleges and universities was very slow. So much of what had to be done in the new land required manual labor that relatively few persons needed specialized education. The number, nature, and purpose of these early institutions has been described as follows:

> Of the nation's 1,868 institutions of higher education, only nine were founded during America's colonial period. The first of these, Harvard College, dates from 1636. Established primarily to train Congregational ministers, it undertook also to provide a classical education for the sons of wealthy colonial landowners and merchants. William and Mary, in 1693, and Yale, in 1701, were founded with much the same purposes in mind.
>
> Four more sectarian colleges—Princeton (1746), Brown (1765), Rutgers (1766), and Dartmouth (1769)—were founded largely as an outgrowth of an intensive religious upsurge, the "Great Awakening" of the 1730's and 1740's, which breathed new life into the weakening religious forces of the time.
>
> The programs of the other two colleges which date from this period—King's College, later Columbia (1754), and the University of Pennsylvania (1755)—were somewhat broader in scope. Although Columbia was established under sectarian control, its curricular offering was less limited than that of other church controlled schools. Early in its history (1767) it added medical training, and some years later it was among the first few American colleges to establish a law professorship. The University of Pennsylvania, a non-sectarian institution, offered a similarly broad liberal arts program from the beginning. Both colleges, however, in response to the demand of the time, also trained young men for the ministry (1).

Important Developments

During the eighteenth century, controversy surrounded the issue of who was to control these institutions. The fact that they were founded by religious groups but also were recipients of public funds created confrontations that were both heated and extended.

> Controversy raged over the control of Yale. Beginning in 1755, the Colonial Assembly, dissatisfied with the management of the school, stopped the regular annual appropriation of public funds, and debated for nearly a decade whether to declare itself the true founder of the institution. The college, on the other hand, insisted that the ten clergymen who originally had organized the school were actually the founders. Thus their successors, the argument ran, should continue to exercise exclusive control over it. For a time, control remained unchanged. But in 1792, when Yale needed financial aid, the college agreed to a reorganization which added the governor, lieutenant governor, and six other state officials as members ex officio of the corporation (2).

If the seventeenth and early eighteenth century marked the beginning of one major facet of higher education—private higher education—by 1862 two additional streams feeding higher education were manifest, both of which were publicly supported.

The first normal school for teachers was established by Horace Mann in 1839. This marked what was to be a long history of evolution into 3-year and then 4-year teachers colleges and, by the midtwentieth century, state colleges that often became the basis for full-fledged universities.

In 1862, the Morrill Act (3) initiated the land-grant college system, which brought dramatic changes to the nature, scope, and distinctiveness of American higher education. The donation of public lands to the states for colleges of agriculture and engineering—and later of commerce and business—to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes stimulated the growth of an unusual system of primarily vocational institutions. The Act authorized funds for the endowment, support, and maintenance of at least one college in each state whose primary objective was to be the teaching of such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and the mechanic arts, in such manners as the respective legislatures of the states might prescribe. This was to be accomplished without excluding classical and other scientific studies and including military tactics. The purpose was to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the several pursuits and professions in life. Most distinctive was their initial, and profoundly democratic, commitment to a *high quality* of vocational education, an emphasis which later so distinguished the general character of American public higher education.

As these institutions began to provide college or university education for a much larger public, their expansion in size and program continued to be dominated by the commitment to higher quality—a commitment based on the massive and solid financial backing provided by public funds and intended to offset the inaccessibility of most private education institutions.

Further expansion of the programs made possible by the Morrill Act took place in 1887 under the Hatch Experiment Station Act and in 1890 under the second Morrill Land-Grant Act.

Under the Hatch Experiment Station Act of 1887, annual appropriations of $15,000 were made for establishing agricultural experiment stations "to aid in acquiring and diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects connected with agriculture and to promote scientific investigation and experiment respecting the principles and applications of agricultural sciences" (4).

The Second Morrill Land-Grant Act of 1890 raised the grants for the states from $15,000 to $25,000. The Act also denied awards to—

> . . . a college where a distinction of race or color is made in the admission of students, but the establishment and maintenance of such colleges separately for white and colored students shall be held to be a compliance with the provisions of this act if the funds received in such State or Territory be equitably divided as hereinafter set forth (5).

The Civil War period not only saw the birth of the land-grant colleges, but also marked the establishment of major Negro colleges (Hampton Institute, Howard, Atlanta University), female colleges (Vassar), and the development of technical education (Massachusetts Institute of Technology). Johns Hopkins University is often considered the first American university since it offered the Ph.D. as of 1876.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, the major roots of higher education in the United States were identifiable: private higher education, public higher education enabled through the Morrill Act of 1862, normal schools, Negro institutions, female colleges, and the American university. One last major institution of higher education emerged at the turn of the century: the American junior college. In 1901, the first permanent junior college, Joliet Junior College of Illinois, was established.

Except for legislative—or "purse string"—control, institutions of higher education were subjected to little regulation through the nineteenth century. Their development was not always orderly or entirely defensible.

> A new nation was growing, higgedly-piggedly, a nation made up of the most diverse elements, a nation called on to conquer immense new territories, to create a new body politic and a new society, to raise standards of living, to vindicate democracy and equality and religious freedom—that nation could not be too exacting or too scrupulous in the means it used. It took what was at hand, used what it had, wastefully and even recklessly, in education as in other natural resources. It used the schools, used them for purposes not really educational. Yet on the whole this worked, and because it worked we have tended to go on pretty much the same way, using the schools for whatever comes to hand, using them wastefully and recklessly (6).

In addition to the great diversity of institutions, by 1900 there were promising programmatic innovations. Largely through the efforts of President Charles W. Eliot of Harvard, the elective system was in general use. Graduate education had been introduced, and research was accepted as a primary function of institutions of higher education. In this same year, there were some 900 institutions of higher education, with an enrollment of 232,000 students. In the following 65 years, these numbers increased to 5,526,000, and community junior colleges alone enrolled 1,700,000 in 1967.

The period since 1900 in American higher education has been marked by more than dramatic numerical changes. The first half of the twentieth century saw some illustrious figures leading higher education. Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, Woodrow Wilson of Princeton, Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago, and James Bryant Conant of Harvard. There were epochal landmarks for higher education in the first half of the century. In 1910, Abraham Flexner's report, *Medical Education in the United States and Canada,* revolutionized the structure of medical education and had a "spin-off" effect upon other professional education in universities. In 1914, the Smith-Lever Act empowered land-grant institutions to operate extension programs off-campus and "to aid in diffusing among the people of the United States useful and practical information on subjects relating to agriculture and home economics and to encourage application of the same" (7).

Early twentieth-century critics cogently commented on American higher education. In 1918, Thorstein Veblen pubished *The Higher Learning in America* (8), a landmark memorandum on the conduct of universities by businessmen. He argued that the university was no longer an institution for higher learning, but had become a reflection of the commercial ideals of the period.

The alarm over interlocking directorates between boards of higher education and those of large business enterprise was sounded in 1923 by Upton Sinclair in *The Goose Step* (9). There were continous pleas to keep the universities free from strong controls.

In 1934, deep in the Depression, the National Youth Administration was established, facilitating college study for needy students by permitting financial aid for educationally useful jobs. Thus, along with other national measures for alleviating economic plight, direct aid to large numbers of students was initiated.

Two years later, in 1936, evidence of the changing American mood regarding segregation in Southern universities was manifest, and the University of Maryland was ordered by the Maryland court to admit a qualified Negro to its law school (10).

A highlight in opening the floodgate of educational opportunity was the Servicemen's Readjustment Act, or the G.I. Bill of Rights, P.L. 346, 78th Congress, 1944 (11). Doors were opened as never before, and literally millions of veterans continued their education at the colleges of their choice.

In the post World War II era, America added an international dimension to higher education in the Fulbright Act (P.L. 584, 79th Congress, 1946), which permitted teaching, research, and study abroad. In 1948, the U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act (Smith-Mundt) encouraged the international exchange of students, teachers, and specialists.

Sweeping reform, with particular reference to opening opportunities for larger numbers to attend college, was called for in the 1947-48 Report of the President's Commission on Higher Education, "Higher Education for American Democracy." This report accurately foretokened the increasing financial assistance which was to come.

In 1950, the National Science Foundation was established by Congress (12). Institutes for enhancing education in the sciences and engineering were thus made possible. In 1952, the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act, or the Korean G.I. Bill of Rights (P.L. 550, 80th Congress), was enacted (13). Increased financial aid for college students was made possible in 1958 under the National Defense Education Act, which provided for loans, graduate fellowships, and improving the teaching of science, mathematics, and modern foreign languages.

The financial plight of small private colleges competing with increasingly well supported public institutions of higher learning was highlighted by the development, in 1956, of the Council for the Advancement of Small Colleges.

In this turbulent period, higher education was marked by extremely expanded opportunity. Not only were more people going to college than ever before, but the percentage of the total population which had gone to college in 1965 was higher than the percentage that had attended high school in 1900.

With increased numbers and greater public interest in higher education, it is little wonder that by the 1960's the states realized the necessity of reassessing the rather minor role played by state educational agencies in 1900. The reassessment, marred by resentment in some instances, resulted in organizational changes and new relationships that should contribute greatly to even greater advances in the future.

State Relationships to Higher Education

In the absence of extensive historical records or formal documentation of the relationships between state departments of education and institutions of higher education, the authors sent a questionnaire to each state agency currently charged with coordination of higher education to determine relative *patterns* of relationship between state departments and higher education. Three basic questions were asked:

1. When and why was a separate coordinating agency in higher education

established in your state outside of the state department of education?

2. What are the differences in relationships, both formal and informal, between those your higher education coordinating agency now has with public and private colleges and universities and those which the state department of education previously had with such institutions?
3. What are the critical or "landmark" incidents in the development of higher education in your state since 1900? What role has the state agency (department of education or higher education coordinating group) had in that development?

The number and quality of responses suggested that the respondents have a great desire to share in recording information about these relationships in order to understand better the functions of state agencies in relation to higher education. Several major factors in keeping general control of higher education out of departments of education can be found in their replies.

First among these factors has been the lack of communication between the departments and the institutions. State departments of education apparently have trod very gingerly in their relationships with higher institutions, especially with private colleges. Some of these institutions have had little formal or informal relationships with the state board or state department, except for the approval by the appropriate state authority of degree programs for prospective teachers. Many other public and private institutions have restricted themselves largely to contacts in regard to courses in teacher education, certification, and related functions affecting teachers and instruction in elementary and secondary schools.

A second point of contact has been jurisdictional competition in certain areas of higher education. State departments of education have experienced such competition in junior college operations and technical education. An example in technical education is found in Connecticut. In 1965, a Commission for Higher Education was established to coordinate development and planning of higher education, and all publicly supported colleges were included except the two-year technical institutes. These remained a part of the state department of education.

The relationships of state departments to the new agencies for higher education created to administer the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 and other programs have involved the question of whether the junior college division of the state department should be transferred to the new higher education authority. In some instances, this authority was transferred, but in others the junior college presidents have preferred to remain under the state departments. Similar problems arose where the new college board superseded a former board for vocational education which also operated separately fron the state department. Such situations have caused the state departments to view these changes with misgivings, both in regard to community colleges and to vocational education.

Another misgiving prevalent among higher institutions concerns the political nature of the state department of education as a part of state government. In the 22 states in which the chief state school officer is elected by the people, it is understandable that the element of partisan politics might affect those institutions which seek to remain as independent from political partisanship as possible.

Major changes reported in higher education since 1900 have been concerned with expansion of normal schools into general-purpose state colleges, growth in junior colleges, and expansion of state universities to multicampuses. In summary, the replies revealed the following functional relationships:

1. It was never expected that the state department of education would coordinate all higher education.
2. State universities and private institutions particularly have chafed over any real or imagined control of their activities.

3. Relationships of state departments with institutions of higher education have been largely informal.
4. The state departments of education have had a positive influence on higher education through accrediting and certification controls.

It should be remembered that the respondents hold positions with present coordinating agencies for higher education. Had the inquiry been made of state department officials, rather than officials of coordinating agencies for higher education, it could be assumed that the replies received might have been more extensive and possibly more positive about these relationships than is indicated here.

The respondents did not emphasize some influences that may exist. One concerns the public prestige and personal satisfactions in being the president of an independently organized college or university, dealing with the state higher education authority in ways similar to those employed by the state university. Another is the practice of the federal government in defining higher education as beginning in the first year after high school for the purpose of federal aid distributions. This definition has led to denial of eligibility to share in federal funds appropriated for public elementary and secondary schools, even when the two-year colleges being denied are legally secondary schools under state law.

It does appear, however, that state departments of education have exercised an influence on institutions of higher education since 1900, and the authors found considerable evidence that this influence was far more positive than negative. State departments of education frequently attempted to provide positive leadership and protection from political interests when such action was badly needed. While their activities were largely related to protecting the public schools from undue political interference and to the establishment of the safeguards required for such protection, their activities had impact on higher education institutions. Educators in the present generation may not always be aware of the political pressures placed on public institutions in the early part of the century. The following description by a university alumni secretary is illustrative:

> But the relations between Chancellor Lindley and the State Board of Administration continued to worsen. One of the first meetings the new alumni secretary attended after he arrived on the job in July, 1924 was a political rally in South Park in Lawrence. Mr. Carney (Chairman of the State Board of Administration) was the speaker. He was critical and insinuating about the university. He likened the faculty and staff members to hogs rooting one another to the feed trough, which was the state payroll.
>
> One special target of Carney was the "Rug in the Chancellor's Office." When the Administrative Offices were moved in late 1923, to what is now Strong Hall, the Chancellor purchased for $300, with approval of the State Business Manager, a rug at a wholesale house in Kansas City. In view of the size of the rug the cost did not seem exorbitant to most people, but Carney could make it sound like a major act of malfeasance (14).

Activities of departments in relation to higher education have obviously varied greatly among states. The state that first concerned itself with such relationships presents an operational structure which has demonstrated its effectiveness, but which is quite unlike any other.

A Special Case: New York State. While there has been a move since the 1940's toward coordination of higher education outside of state education departments, an outstanding exception to this general movement may be found in New York state. Under the strong tradition of a regents system dating back to 1784, this state has operated a vast and varied centrally coordinated state university system.

While the New York Board of Regents from its inception has been charged with supervising higher education, it was not until 1904 that an assistant commissioner was appointed to carry out the designated task. In addition to the chartering of institutions, accreditation (the Board of Regents is the oldest accrediting organization in the country), and provision for teacher certification, New York state also has exercised extensive jurisdiction over the professions. Educational requirements for admission to study have been prescribed in almost two dozen fields, ranging from medicine and dentistry to certified public accounting and nursing (15).

Besides the licensing and accrediting functions, New York state's involvement in higher education included the establishment, in 1959, of the first Office of Planning in Higher Education in a state department of education. Services rendered or planned reflect the New York State Education Department's intentions to assist higher education as follows:

> 1. Help colleges and universities in the state create, develop and adopt new policies, concepts, procedures, techniques and materials;
> 2. Encourage prompt use of emerging knowledge about administration and educational practices;
> 3. Train a corps of people capable of serving as outside consultants and as members of the staffs of colleges and universities; and
> 4. Act as a permanent consultative or advisory group which would help public and private colleges and universities, upon request, to work out solutions to specific problems of internal management and educational practices (16).

Two recent examples of statewide plans reported in New York include (1) a study recommending the establishment of a statewide program of television courses at the college level, including a statewide education network linking all the colleges and universities of the state, and (2) the preparation of "proficiency examinations" to permit students to acquire regular college credit for their achievements without regular attendance at formal classes. Such examinations would be available to students involved in independent study, television courses, adult education programs, courses in industrial planning, and other courses outside regular college curriculums. Credit would be awarded at the option of the participating college or university.

In 1961, noting his state's uniqueness in this area, Commissioner James E. Allen admitted that all state departments were not comparable in resources to his own:

> In seeking the proper role of the state for coping with the crisis in higher education, college and university officials, governors, legislatures, and the public in most states have not turned, and in many states are not likely to turn, to state education departments for leadership. This is not surprising, since, as I have said, most state departments are geared only for elementary and secondary education and have not the authority, competence or inclination to provide the leadership required in higher education. From the state boards and the chief state school officers on down, the personnel in the state education departments are not generally higher-education oriented (17).

It is interesting to conjecture why New York provides almost the only example of a state department of education involved in the governance of institutions of higher education. In recent times, certainly the leadership of the Board of Regents and of Commissioner Allen has strengthened the departmental role in coordinating higher education.

Historically, one finds good reason for valued service from the Department. The concept of the Board of Regents as a board of trustees for the University of the State of New York plus the close relationship of the State Education Department to some of the oldest colleges and universities (such as King's College—now Columbia University—and Union College) certainly established a good backdrop for positive relationships with all institutions of higher education in the state. The support which the Board of Regents consistently gave private colleges and universities, when public higher education was being greatly extended, undoubtedly placed the State Education Department in the good graces of the numerous independent institutions of higher education in the state. They were amenable to regulations by the Department as a result. Indeed, when the State University of New York was established in 1948, the state was virtually the last in the nation to establish a public state university.

To whatever causes are identifiable for the viable relationship of the New York Education Department with the colleges in the state must be added the tradition of appointing distinguished members to the Board of Regents. Men of the caliber of Owen D. Young, for example, do not lend their names and talents to less than significant causes. The Board's ability to stay above the interplay of partisan politics and its choice of commissioners of national stature must also be noted as contributing factors.

The General Situation. Until the 1940's, whether or not state departments of education were "higher education oriented," they were the only official body in most states that had any considerable statewide interest in higher education. The legislature and the institutions themselves were interested, surely, but in one case the interest might not be serious and in the other not statewide.

The U.S. Office of Education, in 1934, analyzed the extent of supervision exercised over privately controlled institutions of higher education by each of the 48 states with special reference to the following two functions:

1. Obligation of the state, in the interest of public welfare, to ensure the high quality of higher education
2. Existence of continuing state supervision to require institutions, after establishment, to maintain standards of excellence and to restrain those institutions without adequate academic programs from granting degrees (18).

Two of the study's conclusions are noteworthy in their suggestion of the uniformity of the relationships between the state and institutions of higher education:

> In approximately one half of the states, the statutes provide little or no supervision over the institutions either at the time of granting their charters or after their incorporation.
>
> In the states where supervision of some type has been established, the laws apparently are designed to require the institutions to maintain a minimum quality of higher education (19).

Public institutions in the mid-Depression period were relatively free of supervision, but called attention to their need for it by their vigorous efforts in seeking state assistance, an example of which follows in this description of some rather lively educational lobbying:

> Educational lobbying became so intense during the early sessions of Montana Legislatures that it was difficult for the Legislators to consider important state matters in other divisions of government. This educational competition and head-on collision of state teaching units operated positively within the Legislature and throughout the state. It interfered with the development of service and the building of state consciousness. Effort, energy, and money which should have been employed constructively for the enrichment of institutional life and the improvement of public service were wasted in legislative and statewide rivalries (20).

State departments of education provided such assistance as they could to beleaguered legislators, but were not, in most instances, authorized or asked to provide any supervisory or coordinating influence. Data on secondary education were often useful for all types of institutions receiving students from public schools, but while acting alone without a legislative basis for action the departments had limited effect in all too many instances.

When the administrative heads of the departments coordinated their activities after the emergence of the Council of Chief

State School Officers in 1948, the impact of state departments of education on higher education increased materially. This organization of chief state administrative officers was able to accomplish what had eluded the U.S. Office of Education, the Council of State Governments, and the various professional associations: making the public aware of the importance of state departments of education and focusing the opinion and action of these agencies on issues of critical importance. A comparable record of effective action would be difficult to identify. Through the determined efforts of this Council and its professional staff, state departments of education have initiated federal legislation of far-reaching impact on higher education. They have supported, and rallied support for, landmark legislation. In addition, through informed objective opposition to ill-founded partisan proposals, they have safeguarded the welfare of the public education enterprise. No assessment of the impact of state departments of education on higher education can be made without reference to the major contribution of this Council. Reference will be made to it frequently in the pages which follow.

MAJOR FUNCTIONS OF STATE DEPARTMENTS AFFECTING HIGHER EDUCATION

In any consideration of the relationship of state departments of education to higher education, attention must be given to the historical role of departments, how they have envisioned their task, and how they have performed it. Relationships to higher education have been rooted in the legal structures, organization, staffing, and activities of departments primarily concerned with the elementary and secondary schools.

Public education is a state function even though public schools are not generally operated directly by the state government. In providing for local operation of the school, legislatures have taken the precaution of establishing a central agency that could protect the state's interest, assure compliance with the laws, carry on long-range planning, supply state funds and services, and give leadership to encourage progress. To the degree that leadership, services, and financial assistance have been provided, state departments of education have accomplished their tasks with marked success.

The Council of Chief State School Officers since 1949 has published a series of policy statements on the structure, organization, and functions of state departments of education and on curriculum, financing, special programs, administrative relationships, and other aspects of the state system generally. A number of these policy statements are out of print, but the topics were updated to some extent by a 1968 publication, *State and Local Responsibilities for Education* (21). One of the earlier statements set forth in careful detail the beliefs of the Council, and of the state departments of education it represented, with respect to higher education. The statement, though extended, deserves attention because it identifies the concerns of the departments with many of the major issues facing higher education. Its initial emphasis is that "institutions of higher education constitute an important part of our system of education." The statement points out that—

> *A. Institutions of higher education should inspire their students with high social aims, a sense of personal integrity, and a desire for fuller realization of democracy in every phase of living. College experience should help them develop a capacity for international understanding and cooperation, and enable them to apply creative imagination and trained intelligence to the solution of individual and social problems and to the administration of public affairs.*
>
> *B. Each state should make higher public education accessible without regard to race, creed, sex, or national origin.*
>
> *C. Each state should assume responsibility for the education of its citizens in the professions.*
>
> *D. The quality of teaching in colleges and universities should be improved*

through more adequate education of prospective college teachers, through greater financial recognition of individuals for superior teaching service, and through development of facilities and aids to good teaching.

E. The state should develop and support within one or more of its universities programs of research in the natural and social sciences that affect directly and indirectly the welfare of the people.

F. The states should increase opportunities for higher education by reducing the economic and geographical barriers to qualified students. Each state should reverse the present trend toward higher tuition and student fees by assuming the total cost of capital outlay and maintenance and the largest possible share of the cost of instruction in tax-supported and publicly controlled institutions.

G. Admission to the senior college should be based on evidence of the student's ability to benefit therefrom, considering both academic background and fundamental insights, skills, and abilities.

H. In order that the state may recruit its leadership from among the most competent of its youth, a system of undergraduate and graduate scholarships should be established. These should be administered to achieve both recognition of scholarship and equalization of educational opportunity.

I. Each state should endeavor to obtain practicable geographical distribution of senior colleges within its borders adequate to meet the educational needs of all the youth of the state.

J. The State Board of Education should be charged with over-all development of policy and the coordination and improvement of public education at all levels. This will concern articulation of elementary schools, high schools, community colleges, senior colleges, graduate schools, and professional schools.

K. The administration of federal funds for general assistance to institutions of higher learning or major departments thereof should be administered through the U.S. Office of Education and the State Departments of Education, operating in conformity with the laws of the state and under rules established by the state agency for education.

L. The state should safeguard the interests of the public by accreditation of private colleges, approval of their programs for admission to the licensed professions, and approval of their requirements for degrees (22).

In these policy statements, three major functions of departments were identified and have served since that time as valuable criteria for the evaluation and reorganization of the functions of such departments: *leadership, regulation, and service.* This section examines the relationship of state departments of education to higher education, primarily with reference to these three functions, noting both the areas where positive and effective actions were taken and those where such actions did not or could not occur.

The early introduction of private higher education, predating establishment of state departments of education, did much to limit the potentiality of departments for leadership, regulation, and service with respect to postsecondary institutions. The autonomy, clientele, and programs of the private institutions not only set them apart from the mainstream of departmental activities but also provided precedents for the relative independence of *public* institutions of higher education.

Since 1900, most institutions of higher education have tended to disregard departments of education to whatever extent they could. They saw little "ivy" in the departments, which seemed lacking in sufficient prestige, authority, and size to be worthy of serious attention. Departmental personnel usually were seen as public-school oriented and unable to make any significant contribution to higher education.

Such attitudes have dictated that higher education institutions be kept legally separated from state departments of education. There have been some exceptions, however, even in instances involving legal control. Oklahoma is a case in point.

The relationship of the Oklahoma State Department of Education to higher education has been for the most part limited to the years 1911-1919.

By an act effective March 6, 1911, the State Board of Education was made the governing board of the University of Oklahoma and all other institutions of higher education in the state, except the Agricultural and Mechanical Colleges. Thus, for eight years, the State Board of Education governed the University of Oklahoma, the state teachers' colleges, and the nonagricultural junior colleges.

In 1919, the Oklahoma Legislature transferred the management of all institutions formerly governed by the State Board of Education (except the teachers' colleges) to separate governing boards. In 1939, the management of the state teachers' colleges was placed under the control of a separate board of regents. Thus, the State Board of Education has not been involved formally in the management of any institution of higher education since 1939. The only informal connection which the State Board of Education maintains with higher education occurs as a result of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction's service as an ex-officio member of the Board of Regents for Oklahoma Colleges (23).

State departments of education working separately and in informal relationships with institutions of higher education have nevertheless made considerable contributions to their development, particularly in public institutions such as junior and community colleges located close to their constituents. Otherwise, relationships between state boards of education and public institutions of higher education have been generally minimal, with some significant exceptions in the field of teacher education.

Evidence exists to support the contention that state departments of education in their relationships to these large branches of higher education have provided extensive leadership and service, as well as considerable responsibility for regulation. Examples make these relationships clear.

Leadership

Where needs existed in higher education and were not being met by public or private institutions, state departments of education have frequently moved to meet them. Three major examples of this leadership function may be seen in the efforts of departments in (1) providing a planned supply of qualified teachers for the public schools, (2) initiating postsecondary technical institutes to meet specific manpower needs, and (3) opening the way for greatly increased percentages of young people to go to college by extending public educational opportunity through grades 13 and 14. These actions have had tremendous significance in higher education.

The original impetus for teacher education institutions came out of a growing awareness that an opportunity for an education would be provided for everyone's children, that qualified teachers would not be available in sufficient numbers to staff the schools, and that more attention would have to be paid to the programs established to prepare teachers (24). The first public normal school, established in Lexington, Massachusetts, in 1839, and those that followed it in the next half century were basically secondary schools with a program added to prepare elementary school teachers. The transformation of these schools into college-level institutions under departmental aegis was inevitable.

> The vital importance to a democracy of properly trained school teachers rendered inevitable the elevation of teacher education to the college level. It was not until the second and third decades of the present century, however, that the bulk of the teacher-training schools changed into college-level institutions. By 1930, most of the secondary-level normal schools had been replaced by teachers colleges (25).

These institutions often provided the only opportunity for higher education available to rural youth. They charged little tuition and were not highly selective. They were generally distributed around the state because of political insistance that all areas be represented. Their programs were geared to state certification requirements, and, while not distinguished by a great variety of course offerings in their early years, they did provide graduates who could teach with confidence and considerable capability. Their existence helped bring an end to the days when war veterans were given teaching certificates as part of their mustering-out benefits, when grammar school graduates came back in September to teach in the one-room school they had attended for the past 8 years, and when almost anyone sponsored by a political party could be employed.

In most instances, responsibility for the establishment, administration, and development of these institutions was given to state departments of education. The reason is apparent:

> Since these institutions were viewed as having a single purpose—preparing teachers for public elementary and secondary schools—the logical state-level agency to make responsible for their development was the State Board of Education because it held general responsibility for the public elementary and secondary school programs (26).

With such institutions established, state departments of education did not rest on their oars. The record is replete with their requests to legislatures for added years of instruction, summer institutes for teachers, degree-granting privileges, new programs, and new facilities. These institutions, most of which now have become state colleges or units of state university systems, owe much to the state departments of education that gave them their original reason for being and much of their impetus to move toward full collegiate status.

With the development of the land-grant college movement, an expanding nation, questioning the Latin-Greek emphasis in its colleges, insisted on more practical offerings and provided the necessary support. Many leading private technical institutions were established between the Civil War and the turn of the century. Many public universities added departments and divisions to accomplish the same purposes. State departments of education, it would appear, played only a contributing role during this period, but they played a major role in establishing and operating technical institutes and colleges after World War II. The G.I. Bill made college attendance possible for countless men who might not otherwise have gone beyond high school; an expanding technology required their services, and institutions that could provide appropriate courses were brought into being to serve them—quite typically under the administration of a state department of education.

Two-year colleges, known as junior colleges or community colleges, owe their establishment to public interest in an extension of opportunity in education and a need for a larger percentage of the work force to have a variety of professional and technical skills. Again, state departments of education were usually the primary agents in their establishment, as is suggested in the following statement:

> In the case of two-year colleges, the State Board of Education was assigned legal responsibility largely because the junior college movement in many states emerged as an upward extension of secondary schools. As a result, the State Board of Education, the State Superintendent of Schools, and Department of Public Instruction were logical agencies for setting policies for the two-year college development, offerings, and financing, as done for the elementary and secondary levels (27).

Providing Necessary Assistance to Students. Faith without works has little effect. With the growing commitment to the idea that educational opportunity should be provided so that the student could improve himself or his situation to the greatest extent possible, the public began also to question the philosophy that higher education was for the privileged few. It became apparent that many young people who aspired to higher education did not have the means of getting it. The philanthropies of a few great men notwithstanding, state departments of education have long played a major role in making college attendance possible. Their efforts to establish and maintain a low-tuition policy in public institutions can be traced from state to state. In 1908, a New York commissioner of education successfully challenged the high tuition cost (and the minimal state control) of Cornell University, a recipient of Morrill Act funds. He supported his case by publicly stating that—

> There are boys and girls in the state who want to go to college and are reasonably prepared to go, who cannot go because of the expense. The higher institutions have not got down to the heart of the lower ones. It is a hard problem [for which] the remedy will not come from fitful and piecemeal state aid to an institution here and there (28).

In 1913, New York also led the way in providing Regents' College Scholarships that granted state assistance to "A" students for their attendance at any college in the state. In later years, other states have followed the New York lead, including the additional services of financial assistance to graduate students, teaching fellowships, assistance for special teaching needs, nursing study and other specialized training, and financial awards based almost entirely on need.

Over the years, departments of education have joined with educational and civic groups to promote loan programs, student work programs, tuition refund plans, and other variations on the single theme that funds must be available to students who need them to further their education.

The impetus of the G.I. Bill after World War II, followed by the emotional response to Sputnik, brought about increased federal interest in student assistance programs. Here, as in so many instances, the Council of Chief State School Officers, the national organization of the state superintendents and commissioners, consolidated the interest and support of the departments of education in the various states in developing and implementing such programs.

Testifying before Congress in 1961, the executive secretary of the Council of Chief State School Officers clearly stated the need for scholarship assistance and indicated several important considerations when it is provided by a federal source:

> All federal scholarship programs should be administered through the states and should provide similar amounts for the purchase of similar services in either public or private colleges or universities. We believe the statutory criteria established for the selection of recipients of scholarships by Section 226(a)(1)(A) of S. 1241 should be less restrictive. The present provision may easily tend to over-emphasize so-called objective tests, and the unspecified "other measures of ability and achievement" may in practice come to mean additional commercially prepared tests.
>
> We suggest that the criteria either be left entirely to the discretion of the State Commission on Scholarships or that such factors as the applicant's total school record and the judgment of his high school principal concerning his character and ability be given equal weight with test results in selecting students to receive scholarships.
>
> Many of the most important personal qualifications for success in college that are likely to be reflected in future service to the nation cannot be measured by so-called objective tests. We believe that scores on such tests should not be specified as criteria for selection of scholars by federal law (29).

In the spirit of these principles, state departments of education have insisted that adequate financial assistance be made available to students who are qualified, with special attention to those who have serious financial needs.

Protecting Academic Freedom. In 1949, when the House Committee on Un-American Activities was very much in the public eye, the chairman requested from all states a "listing of the textbooks and supplementary reading materials used in the teachers colleges." The answer provided by Finis E. Engleman, commissioner of education in Connecticut, an outstanding educator and a recognized national leader, not only represents a skilled rebuttal against governmental interference in educational affairs but also a courageous act in a time when such acts were not common.

His letter to Chairman Wood, copies of which were sent to all state boards of education, represents a landmark in the battle to preserve academic freedom not only in teachers colleges, but in all institutions of learning. Because of its importance as an example of leadership and of the relationship between educational processes and political agencies, it is quoted here in its entirety:

Dear Mr. Wood:

Your request for lists of textbooks and supplementary reading materials used in the teachers' colleges was as a matter of policy referred to the State Board of Education.

The State Board of Education is desirous of cooperating with your committee, just as it would with any other agency which seeks to bring security to the nation and to foster the basic tenets of democracy. In a physical sense, however, it is practically impossible to comply with your request. Instruction is no longer limited to a few basic textbooks. Textbooks, supplementary books, and reference materials used in the courses in American literature, geography, economics, government, philosophy, history and political science are limited only by the library resources available in the teachers' colleges. We cannot ask the staff to take the time that would be required to list all of the materials thus accessioned, nor do we think your committee would care to have such a list if compiled.

More important, however, are the serious implications for education which are raised by your request. Let it be clearly understood that we believe that the schools have a primary obligation to teach the rights, duties, privileges and responsibilities of citizenship in a democracy. We believe in the American way of life, and we want our children and youth so taught that they, too, will believe in it and, more important, live it continuously.

We also believe that every teacher in our public schools, teachers colleges, colleges or universities should have unswerving loyalty and devotion to the United States of America and the basic democratic principles for which it stands.

We question the activities of your committee on four counts:

1. *Our schools must be free to search for the truth and, when found, to teach it.*
2. *The control of free public education must continue to be, as it has been, the right and responsibility of the states and local communities.*
3. *Any attempt at "thought control" by any agency must be vigorously opposed.*
4. *Academic freedom is a sacred tradition of American education and must be preserved.*

As to the first of these questions, our students must be free to explore, to question, to compare, and insofar as possible, to know the truth. To this end our teachers must be free to guide their students in the search for truth. Teachers who are committed to a belief in communism or any other totalitarian philosophy cannot do this. The imposition of controls is as serious a threat as communism itself.

By the same token, students must have free access to a variety of materials. Our libraries may contain the writings of Karl Marx as well as the Federalist Papers. The danger is not in the materials themselves but in this use.

No long argument is needed in support of the second point. Our schools have in the past been very close to the people. This is the very essence of democracy.

Government stems from the people, and the people have every right to resist any attempt to encroach on their inalienable rights. Federal control of education, whether direct or indirect, is a serious threat to our basic concepts of education of a free people. The control of education must remain in the hands of the people. It must not be surrendered even to their representatives.

The third is axiomatic. We have seen the horrible results of "thought control" in the recent World War. Both Germany and Japan gave these examples to the world. Our schools, colleges, and universities have helped make America great, and they have done this because they were free from warping and crippling "thought controls," foisted on them by ego-maniacs interested only in self-aggrandizement.

The last of our arguments, that of academic freedom, should require no defense. The growth and development of our democracy depends upon the freedom to seek truth and to proclaim it to the world. Fascism, communism and other totalitarian movements are afraid of a free search for truth, and seek by every possible means to tell their people what to think, to tell their writers what to write, even to tell their composers the kind of music they may produce.

Our teachers must be free to provide courses and supply reading materials in our schools and colleges so that students may know about these totalitarian threats to our democracy. They will be less easily misled by them and certainly can more intelligently cope with them if they are properly trained.

We would betray our trust to the children and youth of Connecticut if we failed to point these things out to you. The danger is real that in our zeal to drive out communism we shall resort to measures only a step removed from totalitarianism. If we do so it means the first steps in the destruction of all that we hold dear to our priceless American heritage of education for freedom, individual responsibility and a really democratic form of government.

We hope your committee will reconsider its proposed inquiry into textbooks and materials of instruction, and leave the responsibility where it properly belongs, in the hands of the people, in the various states and communities (30).

Students of administration generally agree that any measure of the effectiveness of an agency's leadership must include its informal as well as formal aspects. The operating realm of state departments of education did not normally include "surveillance" over higher education in anywhere near the same degree that it did over elementary and secondary. This relationship also was diminished by the fact that after the Morrill Act of 1862 the federal government became increasingly involved in funding higher education and increased its activities in that regard geometrically after World War II. Considering both of these factors, there is little wonder that state departments of education sought to exert leadership informally, at the federal level, through an organization of chief state school officers. What one "chief" could not accomplish alone in his own state, he often could accomplish at the national level in company with his peers. At the minimum. he found support for his proposals in his home state in the concurring opinions of leaders in other states.

The records of almost any governmental agency will reveal the positive stands taken in support of issues and, particularly, popular political issues. Finding instances of opposition to such measures is often more difficult.

The bandwagon mentality did not characterize the efforts of the Council of Chief School Officers, for when an educational principle was endangered, the Council could be depended upon to "set the record straight." The Council, with a salaried administrator in Washington, obviously provided a vehicle for concerted action. His work in devising a means of informing and accurately sounding out the minds of his membership added an important ingredient. Proposals made "on the Hill" were summarized, analyzed, and sent to the membership, literally within hours of their appearance. Opinion-taking "Sentigrams" were utilized, and the testimony offered in Congress received appropriate attention from committee members because it represented not only expert testimony but also an accurate reflection of the level of support or opposition which existed in all of the states as represented by "Sentigram" responses. Examples of effective Council opposition to undue political influence over higher education follow.

Preservation of State and Local Control of Education. The Council of Chief State School Officers has made considerable effort, from its inception, to help the public and its elected or appointed representatives understand that education is a state function and that it is important it remain so. Although the Council always has favored federal financial assistance for education, it has questioned the need for unnecessary red tape, for substituting federal judgment for that of the states, and for diminishing in any way the constitutional role of the states with respect to education. The following actions are indicative of this persistent point of view. While reference is often made to public schools, the applications to higher education are obvious.

In 1958, concerned by the prospect of excessive federal control, the Council rewrote a proposed support bill which was subsequently introduced by Representative Stewart L. Udall of Arizona and termed by the Congressman " a master stroke." The "Sentigram" describing the revised proposal drew a supporting response of 34 to 1 from the chief state school officers.

In 1959, in a letter to all Council members, the executive secretary suggested that federal controls would not be stayed unless the degree of commitment on the part of individuals and agencies became greater. He said:

> It is entirely possible that state and local control of education will be preserved in coming years only if the Chief State School Officers insist, individually and as a Council, that it must be. Finis Engleman, and AASA members generally, are sensitive to this; the NEA is less so; the U.S. Government sometimes gives the principle little more than lip service and overrides its own Office of Education on practical issues.
>
> Individually and as a Council, the Chief State School Officers *could* slow down and even reverse the trend, if such is really desired. The ability and power to do so is present. We would appreciate knowing whether you stand ready to be more active on these issues, or prefer that there be less serious effort, or prefer that things remain about as they are (31).

The 1965 Annual Meeting was the scene of continued expressions by the Council's membership regarding federal controls. In their resolutions, the Council made reference to appropriate roles for local, state, and federal governments in the field of education. The statement is classic:

> Because technology has made nations close neighbors with power to destroy each other, it is understandable that the Federal Government tends to challenge what it believes may amount to subordination of national interests to personal and local interests in education.
>
> Ever larger amounts of federally collected tax funds are being used for education, and the national interest in education is being defined in several ways by Congress. Chief among these are a number of programs to assist economically and educationally disadvantaged persons, use of federal funds to assist in the enforcement of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and in activities designated as vital to the national defense such as science, mathematics, English, health, vocational education, and research and development.
>
> Federal subsidies for education serve all these purposes but federal use of controls over education to enforce its policies in related fields may easily destroy state and local control of education.

> In any event, the taxing power of the Federal Government has been enlisted in the improvement and extension of education, as defined in terms of the national interest. This is desirable, but the Federal Government should not itself set up parallel and overlapping programs of education which adversely affect the state and local systems (32).

Whether the issue was a national assessment program, federal administration of a program of special aids that tend to violate state educational policies, or the utilization of a national crisis to usurp traditional state educational responsibilities, the Council provided active, objective, and informed opposition to federal domination or control. It rallied support for its point of view and was most effective in maintaining an appropriate relationship among the three levels of government involved.

Use of Public Funds for Nonpublic Educational Purposes Without Constitutional Review. The advent of Sputnik added a new dimension to American education. Spurred on by the emotional cries of the critics, the Congress readily laid blame for our technological lag to the educational system and passed the National Defense Education Act of 1958. To proponents of federal assistance, this legislation looked like a breakthrough for eventual general aid. To a degree it was, and considerable good has resulted from the Act. But one new ingredient was involved—the words *National Defense*. To the private education sector, these words provided a ready-made argument for federal assistance for nonpublic education at all levels. With the defense of the nation at stake, who would argue that better education was not required for everyone, no matter where he attended, and that an investment in improvement was not in the interest of all Americans?

Proposals began to appear before the Congress sponsored by professional associations (primarily in higher education), Presidential advisory committees, candidates for public office, and the Administration itself. The Council of Chief State School Officers insisted from the beginning, and in every instance, that a serious constitutional question existed, both on the federal and state level. Early analysis of the issues involved and continuing efforts to bring them before the appropriate courts for constitutional review were continued. The Council's position attracted the support of other organizations, although some fell by the wayside when the going became rough (33).

Because private and church-related colleges exercised such strong influence in their ranks, organized higher education took the lead to obtain federal funds for all public and private institutions of education, and the state departments followed the efforts. In 1959, a Council letter to all chief state school officers referred to a policy statement of the American Council on Education entitled "The Need To Close Ranks in Higher Education" as follows:

> This is a statement of the problems and policies committee of the American Council on Education. It makes no bones about the unity of the public and non-public colleges in a drive for federal funds. No less than the complete elimination of the idea of separation of church and state in the financing of higher education is argued as follows: "Private institutions no less than public institutions are by their charters dedicated to the public service. Private institutions receive direct or indirect benefits from tax-supported programs of student aid; many receive state and federal grants for research and other purposes. Most public institutions have income from student fees and individual donations; many receive substantial contributions from industry and philanthropic foundations. Institutions of both types enjoy tax-exemption because of their public purpose. Hence, in terms of financial support, no institution is strictly private or strictly public." Ignored is the fact that the courts have defined "public" and "private" institutions in terms of control. Haverford College and

> Notre Dame are private; San Diego State College and the University of Connecticut are public (34).

A year later, prior to the 1960 Presidential election, communications from the Council's office analyzed the position of the two candidates with respect to public funds for church-related institutions of higher education. They questioned Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming's statement in a press conference that he was "absolutely certain" that it was constitutional to supply federal funds for construction of permanent facilities in sectarian colleges and universities (35). In this report, there was a hint of what was to come in a 1961 opinion by the chief counsel of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare—that the Congress could vote funds for sectarian colleges without facing any court test of constitutionality, simply because no one had standing to bring the suit in a federal court:

> The constitutional question has never been squarely before the federal courts, and the burden of proof is on those who believe it is unconstitutional to use public funds to construct real property owned and controlled by a church or church-related educational institution. Presentation of the issue in a proper case is itself difficult. It is possible that the issue may be resolved on the basis of public policy without recourse to the courts (36).

A large majority of the Council members wanted the issue resolved through recourse to the courts. An ordered society is one based on law, not on how much emotion can be engendered on a given issue, and the preservation of public funds for public purposes appeared too important not to question the challenges presented to it. Records of the Council are replete with references to this matter as well as specific actions concerning it (37).

In 1962, the leadership of the nation's schools was well advised of these concerns. They were not difficult to understand.

> Federal aid for higher education is to some extent competitive with public school legislation, but its probable impact on elementary and secondary education extends far beyond financing. One of its influences will be on the type of higher educational opportunities that will be made available during the next decade. Will Congress implement with federal funds the fallacious image that private colleges are somehow superior to public institutions of higher education?
>
> Such folklore from publicity centers on the Eastern seaboard is notorious, and has influenced many people to believe that all private colleges, especially if they are expensive for students and parents, have the quality of a few large private universities such as Harvard, Columbia, the University of Chicago, or Stanford. It is my opinion that a majority of private colleges are limited seriously in educational effectiveness.
>
> Private higher institutions outnumber public institutions but enroll only one-third of all college students. Nevertheless, they control the educational policies of organizations of institutions, such as the American Council on Education and the Association of American Colleges, and, although the NEA Association for Higher Education is composed of individual memberships, it usually follows along. . . . All these higher education groups have testified that public, private nonsectarian, and sectarian colleges and universities *should receive federal funds without distinction* (38).

Later that year, at the Council's Annual Meeting, the executive secretary requested, and was granted, permission to serve as chairman of the Horace Mann League Committee on Constitutional Law to bring this important constitutional cause of action into the courts. He asked that he be allowed to serve in a private capacity in order that this activity would not be on behalf of the Council and would not "rub off on it" to any great extent. He managed this case for more than three years, but failed in his hope that his activities would not "rub off" (39). His activities had a major effect on every segment of government.

In September 1963, after a full year of preparation, the Horace Mann League and 13 citizens filed suit against officials of the state of Maryland, questioning construction grants to form sectarian institutions, in keeping with a 175-year-old practice in that state. These plaintiffs lost the first round in the Anne Arundel County Court in 1965, but on June 2, 1966, received favorable decisions in the Maryland Court of Appeals with respect to three of the four colleges—the court holding that one defendant institution was, in fact, secular rather than sectarian. This case thus became authority for allowing tax funds for secular private education and not allowing tax funds for sectarian private education, depending on the test for sectarianism that was applied in the case to determine eligibility for tax funds under the First Amendment of the federal Constitution.

The Supreme Court refused in November 1966 to review this case, lessening its applicability as a precedent, especially in regard to federal tax funds. The existence of the judgment, however, served as a deterrent to those who would legislate without constitutional reviews. The criteria have been met in some respects by some sectarian colleges since the decision of the Maryland Court on June 2, 1966.

In 1967, the Council of Chief State School Officers made arrangements with several leading educational organizations to join it as *amici curiae* in the U.S. Supreme Court in a brief filed to support elimination of the 1923 bar to federal adjudication of the question. Finally, this ban was lifted (40) by the Supreme Court on June 10, 1968, and other cases have been filed since that time to test federal financing of higher institutions that are sectarian under the criteria of the Maryland case and unconstitutional under the First Amendment of the federal Constitution.

Universal Military Training. The Council opposed universal military training and the drafting of 18-year-olds which would result in the interruption of their attendance at college. The Council's testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee included the following:

> We believe neither the drafting of 18-year-old boys nor a standby plan of universal training for them is necessary or desirable at the present time to develop the Armed Forces set as necessary for our national security. The military needs of the country can apparently be met for the forseeable future by extending the Selective Service Act, with slight changes in eligibility rules for induction (41).

Opposition to Tax Credits for Parents Supporting Children in College. On the face of it, anything that assists a parent who is supporting a child in college sounds, at the outset, worthy of the same support given motherhood. Politicians, with a finger in the wind toward their particular constituencies, rallied around this proposal with glee. Someone had to look into the specifics, however, and fortunately the Council of Chief State School Officers did so. The testimony was not helpful to the sponsors. Of the 41 returns to the Council's "Sentigram" dated December 10, 1963, 37 agreed that—

> . . . the proposal poses a clear and immediate threat to public higher education and an eventual threat to public elementary and secondary education as well. The Amendment would . . . subsidize private education and its institutions through greatly increased tuition fees paid by federal tax credits (42).

Opposition to Both the Emphasis on and Control of Federally Sponsored Research. After obtaining, with considerable difficulty, a complete listing of research contracts between various governmental agencies and institutions of higher education, as requested by the Council's membership, it advised the membership to the following effect:

> It is startling to know that scientific research in the United States now costs

> perhaps $6 billion each year. The federal government pays 60% to 70% of the cost of scientific research performed in institutions of higher learning. . . . When one considers that less than 3% of governmentally financed research in higher institutions is in any field other than physical or biological science, the social and political dangers in present trends are obvious. We are subsidizing means to destroy both our potential enemies and ourselves, but are doing little in centers of learning to discover ways for mankind to survive among his technological wonders.
>
> Research is paid for by government agencies, negotiated directly with individual colleges and universities, and then classified so that the general public cannot know what is being done. This may be necessary, but it is also dangerous (43).

Sponsoring New Approaches to Education. There are countless examples of the Council's sponsorship of new approaches to higher education at the state level, and a considerable number at the national level. One of the most important and most extended activities had to do with ensuring the availability of channels for ETV and keeping before the public and its elected leaders the tremendous educational potential inherent in this particular medium. Active in the formation of the Joint Council on Educational Television (JCET), the Council's executive secretary brought the CCSSO into a working relationship with six other agencies representing both communication and educational interests, helped secure Ford Foundation financing for JCET's operation, and served as JCET chairman during the critical years. On September 13, 1949, he wrote to the secretary of the Federal Communications Commission urging the retention of television channels for educational broadcasting:

> The educational potential of television is too great to be tied to the economics of advertising. Educators are necessarily slow to seize upon and use new and expensive technical devices to the satisfaction of tax-payers and others who support schools and colleges, and this is necessarily a much slower process than selling a product at a profit next week as a result of this week's broadcast. We believe it is the responsibility of the Commission to protect the educational potential in behalf of the public for at least some time to come (44).

Three years later, with the battle won, the leaders were able to commend the Commission on its decision to reserve channels for this purpose and proceeded to plan for activation of the channels (45).

Major areas where state departments of education have exercised leadership either individually or collectively through the Council abound as already noted. There are others. A careful examination of the record of the Council of Chief State School Officers shows it to be replete with references to Council activity in areas where leadership was required. Spirited support was offered, for example, for an extension of the G.I. Bill to Korean veterans, for obtaining eligibility for colleges and universities to receive surplus property previously made available only to the armed services, for promoting general rather than specific federal assistance, and for opposing unnecessary and unwarranted federal controls on higher education. Involvement of the state departments of education was not only intense, but sustained. Such involvement enabled officers of the Council to make appearances before Congress to present testimony as well as carefully prepared recommendations for amendments or alternate actions that had been derived from accurate information and carefully recorded opinions from educational leaders of a number of states.

No real measure can be made of the leadership provided at either the state or national level by the individuals representing departments of education in the various states. These men and women operate under statutes that charge them with the broadest of duties, ranging from membership on the governing boards of prestigious institutions of higher education, both public and private, to assessing the condition of the educational enterprise all over the world. In each state, they are mandated leaders, a role which the great majority have filled with distinction.

Regulation

State departments of education provide leadership and service, to a great degree, by their own volition. Regulation is a different matter. State laws, established to protect the public welfare, tend to be much more specific in this respect. State departments find themselves in the business of certifying teachers, accrediting institutions of higher education, approving teacher education programs, determining residency, and accounting for state and federal funds, among other things, because the laws specifically state that they shall perform these functions.

The accreditation of programs in institutions of higher education represents a major regulatory area in many states. While this function often has been transferred to state agencies concerned solely with higher education, the contribution made by state departments of education deserves high praise. Too many institutions suffering from poor leadership, limited size, and nonexistent resources were all too ready to provide programs of less than acceptable quality. Too many entrepreneurs were prepared to work out of a loft with a mimeograph machine and provide degrees —at a price—from New England to New Delhi. State departments of education often played a major role in insisting on quality offerings in higher education, and they were backed up by the law.

Helpful regulation has affected higher education in other areas. Colleges aspiring to offer higher level programs or new degrees found themselves being scrutinized by a state department of education before the legislature would accede to their demands. Junior colleges found it necessary, in many states, to have their teachers certified by the state department of education. Institutions seeking regional accreditation found they could not obtain it unless they had prior state department approval—and they found a state department representative on the regional accrediting team. All of these activities were clearly designed to protect the public—the young people seeking a college education and their parents and others who were to pay for it.

In instances where public institutions —primarily those established to prepare teachers—were under the direct control of state boards of education, regulation was extended to such matters as admissions policies, quotas for special areas of study, determination of the amount of budget requests to the legislature and transfer policies. These were regulatory controls inaugurated because the state board of education served in lieu of a board of trustees and not because the state department of education had capriciously decided to initiate them. Examples of two types of such regulatory functions are suggested here as illustrations.

Protecting the Public Welfare. One of the best illustrations of the Council's efforts to protect the public welfare is the positive measures taken to regulate correspondence, business, and trade schools. Had there not been a crackdown on the "diploma mills," the exploitation of countless individuals, here and abroad, would have continued unabated. The Committee on Fraudulent Schools and Colleges, chaired by Dean J. B. Edmonson of the University of Michigan, did yeoman work in the early 1950's verifying the existence of "low-grade" institutions of higher education. One major result of the study was a proposed statute offered by the Council to each state which set forth adequate legal controls for the regulation of institutions utilizing correspondence as a major means of instruction. With adaptations according to need, this legislation was adopted by many.

Working Toward Professional Standards. The establishment of a national accrediting agency for teacher education and the subsequent actions taken both to support the agency and defend it from irrational attack represent both a landmark action and a significant involvement in higher education on the part of state departments of education. The formation of a National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education can be traced back to a three-day meeting in Washington in April 1951. Representatives of the following groups were present: Council of Chief State School Officers, American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, National Association of State Directors of Teacher Education and Certification, and National Commission on Teacher Education and Professional Standards. At that time, the evaluation of teacher education programs was being carried out by the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. It was apparent to all concerned that some other means of providing professional accrediting would have to be devised and a formal link with legal approving agencies in the states provided. The Council of Chief State School Officers, representing the state departments which carry the legal approval function in their respective states, played a major role in arranging the initial meeting and promoting the plan which emerged.

The accrediting agency assumed its functions on July 1, 1954, and has served a most useful purpose in providing a professional quality control for a major segment of higher education. The office of the Council supplied the executive secretary for the developing agency during the critical 1953-54 period preceding its operation and continued as a participating agency. The chief state school officers assisted in providing stability in times of attacks against the agency and continue to do so.

Service

State departments of education have strong directives for service in the constitutions and statutes that affect them, and each year legislative sessions usually expand those responsibilities. The departments' concern has been primarily with elementary and secondary education. They have been permitted, requested, or ordered to provide such services as specialists to help in subject matter areas, supervisors for rural areas, assistance in redistricting, programs for the disadvantaged, workshops for administrators, testing programs, and so forth. Examples of service to higher education are less readily available, but they do exist in significant areas, especially if we would agree that higher education "must be considered not as a new level of education placed upon elementary and secondary schools, but as their extension—a new height growing up from these schools, resting upon them for foundation, nurtured by them, served and serving" (46).

As we begin to hear more clearly the voices that stress the view that state departments of education should provide service to institutions of higher education, let us suggest some of the major areas of service in which they have already made noteworthy contributions.

Planning. State departments of education have played many an "eyeball to eyeball" scene with legislative appropriation committees when "planning" was tied to considerably more concrete proposals than is generally imagined when the term is used. Millions of dollars in state aid have been secured or lost depending on how well the state department of education had "planned" for the future. Dealing with the raw material of population, school enrollments, the application of demographic factors, the mobility of families, and many others, departments have projected needs for education in such terms as teachers, new or expanded programs, instructional materials, equipment, and capital outlays. Institutions of higher education must work with these same elements as they do their planning. They have made great use of the work done in this area by the departments. Public institutions of higher education are fully aware that the cost and manner of support required for their expanding enterprises cannot be considered by a legislative body without reference to the continuing cost of elementary and secondary schools.

Neither can these institutions sensibly develop their academic offering without reference to what programs are available, and at what levels of instruction, in the secondary schools which will provide their clientele.

Record Keeping. The record keeping activities of state departments of education should be noted at this point because of their clear relation to planning. The facts which records provide constitute the beads that go on the planning string, whatever the level of planning. State departments are required to keep attendance records, analysis and summaries of legal opinions, financial records, college enrollment and degree records, minutes of meetings, legislative proposals and enactments, certification records, program approval records. As a logical coordinator of statewide meetings of educators, educationally minded citizens, and their organizations, and as the head of the state education agency, the chief state school officer naturally has many records. Higher education institutions have made use of these records and have not found it necessary to duplicate them.

Conducting Research. Departments have not carried out all of the research they might have desired, for reasons which will be stated later, but in recent years they have improved their record. Research activities which have relevance for higher education include establishment of standards which underlie rules and regulations and contribute to the formulation of proposals to the legislature; dissemination of research findings; identification, and possible funding, of particular research projects which are relevant to the alleviation of major problems; evaluation of new programs; encouragement of research efforts wherever found; and the providing of assistance in terms of techniques, procedures, and identification of sources.

Title X of the National Defense Education Act of 1958 brought data processing and eventually computer capability to state departments of education. The fact that the funds were federal and available without recourse to state legislatures made the advent of technology possible on an improved time schedule, thereby greatly benefiting research efforts.

Serving as a Conduit for Federal Programs. While the federal government has initiated programs, particularly those involving research, where contact is made directly with the college or university involved, there have been others where the state department of education has served as the awarding and distributing agent. Reference has been already made to the federal surplus property program which has made millions of dollars worth of surplus equipment available to institutions of higher education. Funds for vocational and technical programs and a variety of student assistance programs have also been channeled through state departments of education.

Providing Assistance Wherever Required. State departments of education have been utilized by institutions of higher education as a resource on many occasions. Staff members have been placed "on loan" to operate summer institutes for teachers, to help determine the need for new programs and to plan for them, to teach courses in school law, and to assist in preparing legislative proposals. Chief state school officers, by statute, have served on boards of trustees of both public and private institutions and have provided effective liaison between those institutions and the lawmakers. State department funds have brought in consultants for higher education, paid for conferences, and provided for articulation between public schools and colleges by hosting appropriate meetings. Traditionally, legislators have utilized the services of state department personnel in assessing the countless bills that are presented requesting special programs, special assistance to independent colleges, or special consideration for a given institution.

Even though state departments of education have not been responsible for the actual operation of institutions of higher education to any major extent, their relationships often result in valuable services to higher education. The above illustrations are drawn from positive relationships with institutions of higher education, with particular reference to leadership, service, and regulation.

Major Factors Limiting the Contributions of State Departments to Higher Education

Since World War II, and particularly in the past decade, states have been transferring responsibility for higher education to other, and new, agencies. The argument most often heard for such action is that state boards and state departments of education are so burdened with their responsibilities concerning elementary and secondary education that they cannot be expected to continue their activities with respect to higher education. While there is no question that responsibilities in the elementary and secondary areas have increased and are burdensome, it is patently ridiculous to ascribe the changes being made to that cause. Changes are being made for political and economic reasons, as well as for educational reasons, to provide a means of dealing with competing demands in higher education and, to a degree, to do some of the things that state departments of education have not been able to accomplish.

During the thirties and early forties, the demands of higher education were manageable at the political leadership level. Planning for the future was conditioned by the experiences of depression and war. Presidents of colleges were cautious in projecting expansion and prudent in their requests for increased support. The returning veteran, the increased participation of the federal government, and the heightened aspirations of families for their children greatly changed the picture. Expansion came, and with it pressures that created problems in political circles. State universities became concerned at the transition of state teachers colleges into state colleges with enlarged enrollments and new programs to match. Private institutions watched with considerable apprehension the creation of new public institutions and the unparalleled growth of all public colleges. Legislators found themselves pressed by parents who wanted spaces provided for their children and/or financial assistance for them, by representatives of recently organized and essentially nonendowed private colleges who feared they could not compete for students with the rapidly improving public institutions or meet the competition with respect to salaries, by earnest solicitors for every type of public institution claiming the highest priority on the states' resources. Higher education emerged as the number-one problem in some states. Study groups and special committees were appointed, and reports were made to governors and legislative leaders. The thread that ran through the problem identified it as being of too great significance to be solved by the state departments of education which were too small, or too conservative, or too involved with their own segment of higher education. New agencies were called for, and they were created.

As has been noted, state departments of education have made positive contributions to the development of opportunity in higher education. The emergence of coordinating agencies for higher education should not be interpreted as indicating that the departments failed in their efforts. Very real factors existed which limited the opportunity for the departments to accomplish more than they did.

Earlier reference has been made to the lack of liberal arts type "ivy" in state departments of education, to the fact that colleges and universities saw them as "public-school oriented," and to the reluctance of institutions of higher education to accept any degree of control from a central agency which might diminish or threaten their autonomy. Beyond these general attitudes, some specific concerns can be suggested.

Increased Expectations and Limited Resources. State departments of education plainly have been aware that their performance sometimes has failed to match their aspirations, that too much has been expected of them without a concomitant provision of adequate resources. The following resolution, adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Council of Chief State School Officers in Honolulu in 1965, presents both an objective analysis of the current situation and some rather specific recommendations for improvement. The circumstances it describes should be examined before any just evaluation of the accomplishments of such departments can be made.

> In recent years all state departments of education have been obliged to assume vastly expanded responsibilities for the administration of education in the states. Their heavier work loads have been due in part to new state and local demands, and especially to the requirements placed upon them by categorical federal financing of new federally defined programs of education. The eligibility of local districts and the states themselves to participate in such federally supported programs, and the quality of these programs throughout each state, depend largely upon the educational leadership and capacity for effective administration to be found in state departments of education.
>
> Many state departments of education have been neglected by their state governments in state financing of their functions to the extent that an emergency in this area of state competency now exists. Numerous state departments are financially unable to compete with local school districts, colleges, universities, and other employers for the services of competent professional personnel. Even in the expenditure of funds that may be available, state civil service restrictions and fiscal controls often prevent the employment of professional personnel in state departments of education adequate to meet the increased responsibilities of the departments.
>
> We call upon the governors and legislatures of the states to reexamine state standards for the employment of professional personnel of high quality in their respective state departments of education, including the salaries and working conditions necessary to attract and to retain such personnel. We also call upon the citizens of each state and our colleagues in education at all levels to assist in making possible the quality of state educational administration that is called for in these times (47).

The above assessment is an accurate one, but it could have gone one step further. When additional responsibilities in elementary and secondary areas fall on departments, they are much more likely to have a greater personnel capability, albeit limited, than they have with respect to higher education. Too many departments, through the fifties and into the sixties, have had a single professional staff member in higher education who often is saddled with teacher certification, adult education, and the veterans' programs. Adding to the duties of a department's "specialist in higher education" under such circumstances could hardly produce significant results.

Traditional Priorities. State statutes governing departments of education provide detailed and extensive directives for their activities, particularly with reference to the public schools. Over the years, much has been added and little deleted. Requirements exist for supervision and teachers institutes, the provision of special programs and the certifying of teachers. Parallel responsibilities with respect to higher education are meager or simply do not exist. Faced with the challenge of meeting their statutory responsibilities, state departments of education have had to concentrate on the elementary and secondary schools. The fact that there is no compulsory attendance law and that no legal mechanism has been established to guarantee either attendance or proficiency of instructors in institutions of higher education unquestionably has contributed to existing personnel and program priorities in state departments.

Even if the state departments of education could muster some personnel within their ranks for attention to matters of concern to higher education, there probably would be very limited success for at least two reasons. First, the highly specialized nature of the diverse fields represented in higher education would demand extensive and, in many cases, rare personnel. Secondly, in the usual university climate the typical "pecking order" of academic disciplines relegates professional education to the lower rungs. With education departments closely identified with professional education as a field, parochial reservations in a university would suggest hesitation about listening to people identified with an inferior status in the academic structure.

Academic Freedom and External Controls. Our system of public elementary and secondary schools was designed to transmit our culture and, to a degree, to reinforce our heritage and present forms of government. This is not the case with institutions of higher education. Whether public or private, they have a clear mandate to pursue truth and wish as little interference in that pursuit as possible. Institutions of higher education have not been anxious to become involved with state departments or any other governmental agency that might in any way restrict their right to seek the truth wherever they can find it. Furthermore, with a tradition of free inquiry and the relative political independence of those private institutions of higher education which serve as models, it is little wonder that institutions of higher education resist any domination by a state agency. The pursuit of higher education's freedom from pressures of executive administrative power of government probably has been matched in our society only by religious groups and the judicial branch of government. Indeed, the preponderance of religious influence in early higher education may have been a reason for trying to keep the colleges as unfettered from governmental pressures as were their religious sponsors.

The reservations of colleges in dealing with departments of education were noted repeatedly in the period of analysis of roles of state departments and the colleges that were under their legislation. While one might question how much of this reserve was the natural result of a general resentment of authority and how much the result of specifically identifiable causes, some specific reasons for the colleges' reserve have been offered:

> Some presidents, in fact, view the professional staffs of the departments of education with as much trepidation as they view the executive control agencies, and several have found that their work is compounded by having to settle all matters first with the bureaucracy in the department of education and then again with the regular state agencies. One, for example, was disturbed about the requirement that all personnel changes must be approved by the state department of education. "Here again," he said, "we see a state agency making professional judgments relative to the filling of vacancies and the establishment of new positions. Instead of having the help of the department, it represents a preliminary hurdle" (48).

Evidence on the other side, in support of state departments in a coordinating role, is meager. One would have to have experienced the relationship which existed in New Jersey to appreciate the following quotation: "In our state," said a New Jersey president, "the State Board of Education is ideal in its conception of its task and in its actions. We like its operation in every respect" (49).

State universities particularly have tended to see themselves as separate entities. Usually the largest of a state's public institutions, they have enjoyed, in addition to long established federal support, great public visibility. Their graduates have assumed positions of leadership in economic, cultural, social, and governmental affairs. Their relationship to state legislatures has been direct, and they have been singled out for particular support for a variety of reasons, ranging from the excellence of their programs or their great public service to the percentage of their graduates who sit in legislative halls. They have not seen state departments of education as capable of reviewing their activities, nor have they been anxious to accept more coordination than having the state commissioner of education serve as an ex officio member of their boards of trustees.

The Nature of Appointments. State departments of education are not always free of partisan politics. This is especially the case in those states where the chief state school officer is either elected or appointed by the governor. Professional qualifications can be lost in the shuffle when members of a state department of education are expected to display campaign material on their desk tops.

Whether the intrusion of partisan politics into such matters is real or just possible, it colors the relationship of the department with institutions of higher education. College and university administrators and faculty are not normally chosen on a political basis and are understandably hesitant about subjugating themselves to "educators" who are.

Planning and Bureaucratic Review. In their role as the executive arm of state boards of education, state departments of education may have served, in some instances, as an additional level of authority—and of frustration—to state academic institutions seeking expansion and new objectives.

The idea of having to submit an institution's plans for the future, or its budget request for the coming biennium, to the state department of education has created little joy on the campuses of public institutions of higher education. The time that such a review would take and the questionable qualifications of the men who would do the actual reviewing has aroused resentment—as did the thought of having one more set of explanations to construct or one more negative report to the legislature to overcome.

The total coordination of higher education, so greatly needed and so long opposed, could not readily be expected of state departments of education. While departments have accomplished much with the resources they have had, they have seldom been charged with this responsibility, much less expected to accomplish it. An analysis of this situation made by Commissioner James E. Allen, Jr., of New York, perceptively focuses upon this dilemma:

> Some State Education Departments have accepted responsibility for leadership in meeting the growing needs in higher education. They have warned of the need for the expansion of opportunities, of the shortage of college teachers and facilities, and have proposed plans for statewide action. In other cases, State Education Departments have been incapable or unwilling to assume leadership in higher education. In these cases, the states have created or looked to other state agencies for leadership (50).

Warning, timely in itself, could not suffice when appropriate support was lacking. State departments of education have not lacked the will to provide leadership in higher education; they have lacked the resources. Commissioner Allen, among others, warned state and federal leaders of the shortage that existed, but to no great avail. The control of, planning for, and coordination of higher education—never quite a full responsibility of state departments of education—now reposes in other hands.

THE SITUATION SINCE MIDCENTURY

As in most major wars, the participation of the United States in World War II, from 1941 to 1945, marked changes in the national economy and in the mode of life. Higher education was no exception. An expansive program of financial aid to veterans under the "G.I. Bill of Rights" expanded opportunities for attendance of veterans at institutions of higher education. The federal role increased after World War II at such a fast rate that at least one administrator, John D. Millett, chancellor of the Ohio Board of Regents, estimated that by 1968 the federal contribution to higher education would have surpassed that of the states (51).

Historically, federal agencies have tended to work with state departments of education in elementary and secondary education. In the collegiate area, however, the tendency has been to work directly with the colleges concerned. No significant change occurred in this regard until the second half of the twentieth century. Since that time, grants by the federal government have been processed increasingly through state, if not regional, agencies. Total amounts funded have increased constantly since 1950, but decreasing percentages of funds from Washington are being routed directly to the college campus. This situation exists even though higher education has never lent itself to statewide administration in the same fashion as have other areas of the education enterprise.

Factors Underlying Reorganization

After World War II, emerging factors called for a new kind of organization of higher education within the individual states. Table 1 shows dramatic increases in the number of students going to college. Principal reasons include a general increase in population; fewer dropouts from elementary and secondary education; delay of entrance of young people into the labor market; increased graduate school enrollments from 6,000 in 1900, 47,000 in 1930, to more than 320,000 today; and the increased aspirations of families in a mobile society.

Table 1—UNDERGRADUATE ENROLLMENT, BY DECADE, 1899-1900 THROUGH 1959-60

1899-1900	232,000
1909-1910	346,000
1919-1920	582,000
1929-1930	1,053,000
1939-1940	1,396,000
1949-1950	2,436,000
1959-1960	2,894,000

Sources:

Data for 1899-1900 through 1949-1950: U.S. Office of Education, *Biennial Survey, 1958-1959* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1959), p. 6.

Data for 1959-1960: U.S. Office of Education, *Total Enrollment, 1959-1960, Basic Data* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), p. 6; as reported in Alan M. Cartter, ed., *American Universities and Colleges* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1964), p. 24.

The kinds of pressure for additional higher education in England, aptly described by Sir Peter Venables, the principal of the College of Advanced Technology in Birmingham, are equally active in the American scene:

> Appetite grows by what it feeds on—increasing schooling has always been followed by increasing demands for further and higher education; first generation graduates and certificate holders see to it that their children have the advantage of a more prolonged education; graduates themselves prolong their own education; and firms managed by the professionally qualified expect more from the next generation and provide more for them (52).

Table 2 shows the rapid growth in the number of institutions of higher education being established; for example, junior colleges were being established at the rate of one a week by 1960.

Table 2—FOUR-YEAR INSTITUTIONS (BY PERIOD OF FOUNDING) TO 1957

1930-57	146
1900-29	323
1870-99	433
1840-69	299
1810-39	105
Before 1810	44
Total	1,350

NOTE:

More new four-year colleges were founded in the three decades from 1870 to 1900 than in any other three decades. Before 1900, the demand posed by increasing numbers of students was met by starting new institutions. The more recent pattern is to expand existing institutions.

Legislative concerns have developed because of the need for tremendous increases in appropriations at a time when there has been an apparent lack of system planning in a country becoming systems conscious.

Private colleges have become concerned about the increased rate of growth in public institutions, the entry of public institutions into extensive fund-raising activities, and the offering of programs in public institutions in direct competition with private colleges in the same geographic area.

To illustrate the demand for financial support, the current income for American higher education went from $598 million in 1935-36 to approximately 10 times that figure, or $5.8 billion, in 1959-60, as indicated in Table 3. Furthermore, a leading economist, Seymour Harris, has estimated that the annual cost for higher education's general and educational budget by 1969-70 will be $9.9 billion—a significant jump from $3.6 billion in 1957-58! He adds that ". . . a more realistic estimate is a 20% inflation in ten years and hence a total operating educational and general budget of $11,760,000,000" (53).

Various Approaches to Coordination

Technical and complex problems of administering higher education—as distinct from the administration of other kinds of state institutions and particularly in the face of the increased centralization of state administration—were noted repeatedly as states turned to improving the efficiency of their operation. Higher education—perhaps public and most certainly private—was recognized as "an enterprise distinctly different from the general administrative functions of the state government" (54). Because it was different, it required different treatment.

By 1940, governments in a number of states were being reorganized and centralized. This tendency toward centralization of state government was countered by the development of boards or systems of higher education which usually were outside of departments of education. Earlier systems of this sort—outgrowths primarily of the Depression period—clearly had been of an administrative and regulatory nature and designed to control and limit expenditures. In contrast, the more recent systems of higher education are of a more coordinative and service-oriented nature. One has only to examine the governing statutes in Utah, Massachusetts, California, Connecticut, and Colorado to verify the extent of change. By the early 1950's, it was generally apparent that a new type of organization for higher education was required.

During the three-year period from 1957 to 1960 alone, over half of the state legislatures, working with political scientists and higher education professionals, were considering coordination and/or planning structures vis-à-vis higher education (55). In a few instances, the state department of education was involved. In Oregon, the State Educational Coordinating Council was established by statute in 1965. The membership of this Council, appointed by the governor, is constituted as follows:

> The Council is presently made up of six laymen and four employees of public and private educational agencies or institutions. Of the six laymen, two are members of the State Board of Education, two are members of the State Board of Higher Education, one is an employee of the State Department of Finance and Administration, and the sixth is a citizen at large, having no official connection with educational or governmental bodies. The four members associated professionally with education are: the Chancellor of the State System of Higher Education, the State Superintendent of Public Instruction, the President of Lewis and Clark College, and the President of Willamette University (56).

The responsibilities of the Council are—

> (a) To coordinate, through advice to appropriate governing bodies, those educational functions which are related to

Table 3—CURRENT INCOME OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS BY SOURCE AND PERCENT DISTRIBUTIONS IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS

Year	Total current income	State and local	Percent	Federal	Percent	Student fees	Percent	Private gifts & endowments	Percent	Sales services, other	Percent	Auxiliary enterprises	Percent
1935–36	598	141	24	43	7	158	26	97	16	52	9	106	18
1939–40	715	176	25	39	5	201	28	112	16	44	6	144	20
1949–50	2,390	562	24	527	22	396	17	215	9	147	6	543	23
1959–60	5,813	1,541	27	1,041	18	1,162	20	590	10	379	7	1,100	19

Source:

American Council on Education, *A Fact Book on Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: The Council, December 1, 1962), p. 63.

> more than one area of education, including but not limited to educational television, community colleges, and teacher preparation and certification.
>
> (b) To prepare and study plans for participation of institutions in this state in federal government programs of assistance to public and private nonprofit institutions of education relative to construction, rehabilitation, or improvement of academic and related facilities of institutions of education.
>
> (c) To undertake such studies in the field of education as may be developed by the Council or as may be assigned by the Governor (57).

In the great majority of states, less reliance was placed on continuing relationships with the department of education and more on the need for a clear delineation of the task to be accomplished and an identification of the agencies and individuals best prepared to perform it. Certain basic inquiries into the matter provided valuable insights.

In 1957, a distinguished Committee on Government and Higher Education was formed, consisting of leaders in education, business, and the professions under the chairmanship of Milton S. Eisenhower, then president of Johns Hopkins University. Other members were A. Boyd Campbell; Rev. John J. Cavanaugh, C.S.C.; Margaret Clapp; Charles W. Cole; James B. Conant; Arthur S. Flemming; Clinton S. Golden; Virgil M. Hancher; J. L. Morrill; Herbert R. O'Connor; R. Sargent Shriver, Jr.; Edgar W. Smith; J. Russell Wiggins; and Alfred H. Williams. In 1959, the staff of this Committee prepared a monumental report which became the basis for *The Campus and the State* (58), a book which has contributed greatly to an understanding of the relationship between government and higher education. Two of the central issues with which the study wrestled are especially significant here. One is the extent to which centralized state administrative controls threaten freedom on the campus; the other is the extent to which the politics of the legislature and the governor affect campus climate (59).

After exploring the extensive nationwide move toward centralization of academic functions, the study came to grips with the unusually delicate balance required between state authority and campus freedom. Consideration was given in the study to legislative and executive coordination, voluntary coordination, consolidation, a central governing board, and a master board. Restricting attention to the public colleges, the study finally concluded that—

> At its best, an effective system of co-ordination can do much to relieve pressure for greater state control over higher education. For there can be little doubt that much of the pressure comes from the particularism and intensive competition that have long plagued higher education in some areas. But at its worst a tightly co-ordinated system of higher education can leach quality and originality out of state colleges and universities. It needs always to be borne in mind that some of the finest public institutions of higher education have sprouted in a highly uncoordinated administrative environment (60).

A political scientist, Lyman Glenny, later to become the chief of the staff of the Illinois Board of Higher Education, outlined some assumptions that are valuable in making an assessment of the diverse patterns of coordination noted above. After indicating that "some kind and degree of coordination of public institutions is desirable and necessary either through the legislature, state budget and fiscal authorities, or some board or voluntary council especially established for this purpose" (61), Glenny opined that there is no known ideal way of constructing a model for state coordination of higher education, decried anything that would promote uniformity or rigidity, and then warned colleges and universities to do their best to make maximum use of every dollar appropriated to them.

New state systems for coordinating higher education developed rapidly and took many forms. While there were differences of opinion as to the forms that the coordinating groups should take, increasing agreement developed on the need for some form of coordination.

> Most students of higher education believe in the greatest possible degree of institutional autonomy. Furthermore, they consider it essential to leave room for imagination, innovation, and improvement of the educational process all along the line. Nevertheless, many scholars are convinced that the essential outlines of the development of public institutions and public systems of higher education must be subject to the sanction of a coordinating body and responsive to an agency charged with planning a comprehensive statewide educational program sufficiently varied to accommodate the characteristics and needs of a diverse student body and of an incredibly complicated society (62).

It has become apparent that coordinating boards do not see themselves as automatically seeking complete authority for higher education on the state level. For example, the following recommendations, which make important distinctions between the various levels of responsibility for higher education, suggest, on the one hand, a decrease in the *general* authority of a state board of education, but, on the other hand, underscore its authority in regard to *specific* functions:

> . . . transfer from the State Board of Education to the Board of Higher Education the power to license private degree-granting institutions.
>
> . . . make clear that the comprehensive community colleges and the industrial education centers are under the jurisdiction of the State Board of Education, rather than the Board of Higher Education (63).

The period from 1950 to 1965 showed approximately a tripling of the number of states that set up state boards for planning or coordination of higher education. In 1950, no more than 10 states had such a board. By 1965, the majority of the states had developed boards or coordinating systems.

Improving Relationships Between State Departments and Institutions of Higher Education

While the states recently have been moving toward increased coordination of higher education outside of the education department, the coordinating agencies have found it necessary to maintain active liaison with the departments even in those cases where the departments have no direct legal responsibility.

Articulation between secondary school and college, the matter of teacher education, and statewide planning for elementary and secondary education are but a few examples of areas in, or related to, higher education in which state departments of education will appropriately continue to have sustained interest, whether these areas do or do not fall substantially under their aegis.

Table 4 indicates that in 1954 each of the 48 states had public elementary and secondary schools, vocational schools, and universities. Public community colleges, however, existed in only 29 states; state teachers colleges in 27; and "state colleges" in 38. While all state departments of education had regulatory and/or governing board responsibility over elementary and secondary schools, the same was not true in the other areas of education, particularly in higher education. In only 86 percent of the 29 states having junior or community colleges did the state department of education govern or regulate. In only 10 of the 38 states with "state colleges" did the state departments of education govern or regulate higher education. Most dramatic is the fact that in only 4 of the 48 states with public universities did the state department of education govern or regulate these institutions of higher education.

Since World War II, state departments of education, in their relationships to higher education, have had to deal not only with institutions of higher education but

Table 4—NUMBER OF STATES WITH PROGRAMS IN PUBLIC EDUCATION, AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF STATES WITH SDE REGULATION AND/OR GOVERNING RESPONSIBILITIES, 1954

	Elementary and secondary schools	Vocational schools	Junior or community colleges	State teachers colleges	State colleges	State universities
Number of states with programs	48	48	29	27	38	48
Number of states where state departments of education and/or chief state school officers have regulatory or governing board responsibility	48	40	25	10	10	4
Percentage of states (with programs) in which the state departments of education or chief state school officer exerts regulatory or governing board authority	100	83	86	37	26	8

Source:

Adapted from Fred F. Beach and Robert F. Will, *The State and Education*, in cooperation with the Study Commission of the Council of Chief State School Officers, Office of Education Misc. No. 23 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1955), p. 22.

with other agencies outside of their respective states as well as within.

Besides the obvious relationship with the federal government, departments have been involved with six regional accrediting agencies related to the department's geographic area: New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Middle States Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, Northwest Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, and Western Association of Schools and Colleges.

Still another out-of-state arrangement has been with regional boards for planning and coordination. The Southern Regional Education Board, which was established in 1948 and currently involves 16 states, was the first such board. By 1953, Congress authorized a second compact involving 11 Western states, Hawaii, and Alaska. Within two years, the New England Board of Higher Education was authorized for the six New England states.

In addition, state departments of education have been interested in the many spontaneous collegiate consortia existent throughout the country. These consortia, though varied, more often than not involve sharing of academic programs among colleges. Many other kinds of developmental relationships between colleges have arisen during the growth of these promising cooperative ventures. It has been estimated that over 1,000 such consortia existed by 1965 (64). The situation since midcentury has been characterized by less specific relationships between state departments of education and institutions of higher education and by evolving general relationships that auger well for the future.

CONCLUSION

The role of state departments of education in relation to higher education since 1900 has been active and positive. Departments have provided leadership and service, and they have taken meaningful regulatory action. They have encouraged necessary financial assistance to college students, supported new approaches to improvement of higher education, protected the public interest and the interest of the university against partisan political activity, initiated and supported commitments to equality of educational opportunity, and developed meaningful procedures for professional accreditation. It must be noted, however, in all fairness, that the relationship between state departments of education and institutions of higher education has not been as broad and intensive as it has between departments and elementary and secondary schools. A number of reasons for this can be either identified or hypothesized.

Since attendance in the elementary and secondary schools is compulsory, state departments, of necessity, have given priority to assuring appropriate levels of quality and performance. The steadily increasing proportion of support coming from state sources helped make that assurance possible.

The situation with respect to higher education is not comparable. From the beginning, state universities had a portion of their support from federal sources, another portion from tuition and other receipts, and a direct relationship with state legislators that did not invite department of education interest.

In most states, since there were few "general colleges or universities," supervision of any type by a state agency would have meant duplication of the highly specialized personnel that already existed in the state institutions.

A very real concern in the colleges and universities that precluded surveillance by state departments of education was academic freedom and the tradition of independence of colleges and universities.

When all of these factors are considered, there is little wonder that, although the departments of education stood willing to interest themselves in higher education, the responsibility was not assigned to them in any great measure outside of isolated examples, such as New York.

With the tremendous increase in the

number of colleges, state legislatures and the public quickly identified the need to coordinate development of public and private higher education. Resulting efforts to coordinate public and private higher education brought about the creation of state councils, commissions on higher education, regional boards of higher education, and consortia of various kinds. The creation of these agencies and arrangements represents an effort to provide new relationships between the public and higher education previously not identified with nor assigned to state departments of education.

The vitality of federal, state, and local support for state departments of education, the departments' vitally important capability to serve as planning and information agencies, and the existence of the Council of Chief State School Officers as a coordinating force assure their continuing contributions to higher education.

In developing priorities to meet the current and future needs of institutions of higher education on a statewide basis, the new coordinating agencies derive many of their theoretical and practical guidelines from the experience and informational resources provided by the departments. In mounting programs to improve opportunity in higher education, they appreciatively utilize the support patterns so carefully contructed by the departments over the years.

Along with intense public interest in higher education, there is an increasing commitment to the deeper values it represents and a clear recognition that greater numbers of professionally educated and technically trained persons are needed in our society. In the 1960's, education beyond the high school has been considered desirable and necessary by a majority of secondary school graduates. Coordinating agencies, building on the earlier and positive work of state departments of education, are guaranteeing its availability. In preparing for the changes which such expectations for higher education entail and in anticipating the contours of this change both in the nature and scope of American higher education, much credit may be given to the public agency that has already contributed so significantly to the progress of higher education. State departments of education have exhibited initiative and achieved marked success in promoting the evolution of public understanding with respect to the need for that extended education and have secured the necessary patterns of support required to achieve it. Their role has been an important one. While modified by legal, educational, and structural change, that role will nevertheless maintain its importance.

FOOTNOTES

1. Selma J. Mushkin and Eugene P. McLoone, *Higher Education in the Forty-Eight States: A Report to the Governor's Conference*. A Study of the Organization and Financing of State Programs in Higher Education (Chicago: Council of State Governments, 1952), pp. 13-14.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
3. *Morrill Act* (Agricultural Colleges), 12 Stat. 503, Title 7, ch. 130, secs. 301-305, 307-308 (1862).
4. *Agricultural Experiment Stations Act* (The Hatch Act), 24 Stat. 440, ch. 314, Title 7, 361a-361i (1887).
5. *Second Morrill Act.*, P.L. 242, 26 Stat. 417, 7 U.S.C. secs. 322-23 (1890).
6. Henry Steele Commager, "Social, Political, Economic, and Personal Consequences," *Universal Higher Education*, ed. by Earl J. McGrath (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1966), p. 12.
7. *Smith-Lever Act* (Agricultural Extension Work), 38 Stat. 372, Title 7, ch. 79, secs. 341-43, 344-46, 348 (1914).
8. Thorstein B. Veblen, *The Higher Learning in America: A Memorandum on the Conduct of Universities by Business Men* (New York: B. W. Huebsch, 1918).
9. Upton Sinclair, *The Goose Step* (Chicago: By the Author, distributed by Economy Bookstore, 1923).
10. Pearson v. Murray, 169 Md. 470, 182 A. 590 (1936).
11. *Servicemen's Readjustment Act* (G.I. Bill of Rights), P.L. 78-346, 57 Stat. 601, 26 U.S.C. sec. 722 (1944).

12. *National Science Foundation Act,* P.L. 81-507, 64 Stat. 149, 42 U.S.C. secs. 1868-71 (1950).

13. *Veteran's Readjustment Assistance Act* (Korean G.I. Bill), P.L. 80-550, 66 Stat. 633, 38 U.S.C. sec. 1601 (1952).

14. F. Ellsworth, "The Hectic Birth of the Board of Regents," *The University of Kansas Alumni Magazine* (January-February 1964), p. 22.

15. Louis Rabineau, "Success of Professions in Formulating Licensing Standards: Response of the Governors of New York to Legislation for Licensing Certain Professions" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, Graduate School of Education, Cambridge, Mass., 1954).

16. James E. Allen, Jr., "The State Education Department and the Expansion of Higher Education," address at the Annual Meeting of the Council of Chief State School Officers, Baltimore, Maryland, November 8, 1961, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XIV, Part I, pp. 361-72. The Council, Washington, D.C.

17. *Ibid.*, pp. 362-63.

18. John H. McNeely, *Supervision Exercised by States Over Privately Controlled Institutions of Higher Education,* U.S. Department of the Interior, Office of Education Bulletin 1934, No. 8 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1934).

19. *Ibid.*, p. 60.

20. Fred J. Kelly and John H. McNeely, *The State and Higher Education* (New York: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 1933), pp. 199-200.

21. Council of Chief State School Officers, *State and Local Responsibilities for Education* (Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1968).

22. Council of Chief State School Officers, *Our System of Education* (Washington, D.C.: The Council, 1950), pp. 11-13. (Out of print.)

23. Letter to the authors from E. T. Dunlap, chancellor, Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, September 11, 1967. May be found in the authors' files.

24. Brief reference is made to teacher education here as an area of significant initiating activity on the part of state departments of education with respect to higher education. For a more lengthy discussion, see T. M. Stinnett, "Teacher Education, Certification, and Accreditation in the States," ch. 9 of this volume.

25. Mushkin and McLoone, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-24.

26. S. V. Martorana and Ernest V. Hollis, *State Boards Responsible for Higher Education,* Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education Circular No. 619 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1960), p. 20.

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 30-32.

28. Malcolm Carron, S.J., *The Contract Colleges of Cornell University: A Cooperative Educational Enterprise* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 112.

29. U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, "Testimony on S. 1241 and Related Bills Pertaining to Federal Assistance for Higher Education," by Edgar Fuller, executive secretary, Council of Chief State School Officers, *Hearings Before Subcommittee on Education,* 87th Cong., 1st sess., August 21, 1961, pp. 559-89.

30. Finis E. Engleman, Letter to John S. Wood, chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities, Congress of the United States, Washington, D.C., July 7, 1949, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," II, pp. 33-34. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

31. Edgar Fuller, "How Much Influence Shall Be Used?" March 12, 1959, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XI, pp. 422-23. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

32. Council of Chief State School Officers, Resolutions adopted at the Annual Meeting, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 12, 1965, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XVIII, Part I, pp. 183-84. The Council, Washington, D.C.

33. Notably the National Education Association. At the special plea of its executive secretary to have the "room to maneuver, room to compromise," the Delegate Assembly in July 1963 cleared the way for its secretariat to support legislation for federal aid to education at its discretion.

34. Edgar Fuller, Review of "The Need To Close Ranks in Higher Education," March 12, 1959, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XI, p. 423. Council

of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

35. Edgar Fuller, "Report from Washington," *The Nation's Schools,* LXVI, No. 5 (November 1960), 130-32.

36. *Ibid.,* p. 130.

37. The Council's Resolutions, adopted at the Annual Meeting in 1961, include the following statement: "The Council will oppose all federal legislation that violates the principles of separation of church and state in educational financing or other aspects of educational government." Included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XIV, Part I, p. 289. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

38. Edgar Fuller, "Report from Washington: Does Higher Education Aid Violate the Church-State Principle and Implement False Image of Private Colleges?", *The Nation's Schools,* LXIX, No. 1 (January 1962), 116.

39. Dr. Fuller was commended on June 22, 1966, by resolution of the Council's Board of Directors for his activity in connection with this case. Melvin J. Sykes, attorney for the Horace Mann League, acknowledged in a letter to Dr. Fuller, dated June 16, 1966, that the eventual judgment of the court had been more dependent on Dr. Fuller's contribution than that of any other individual and added: "The formulation of the tests for sectarianism which the Court adopted as the legal test for validity of grants under the First Amendment came entirely from your expert testimony, which you developed according to your own theory. I regard this as a most significant contribution to the development of American constitutional law in this important field."

40. Florence Flast et al. v. Wilbur J. Cohen, Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, et al., 271 F. Supp. 1, 392 U.S. 83 (1968).

41. U.S. Congress, Senate, Armed Services Committee, *Hearings on S. 1: Universal Military Training and Service Act of 1951,* before the Johnson subcommittee of the Armed Services Committee, 82d Cong., 1st sess., January 30, 1951, pp. 1151-56.

42. Council of Chief State School Officers, "Sentigram No. 127: Tax Credit Plan," December 10, 1963, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XVI, Part I, p. 300. The Council, Washington, D.C.

43. Edgar Fuller, Letter on "Higher Education Research Contracts with Governmental Agencies," February 15, 1957, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," IX, pp. 264-69. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

44. Edgar Fuller, Letter to the Secretary of the Federal Communications Commission, September 15, 1949, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," II, p. 53. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

45. Joint Committee on Educational Television, "FCC TV Plan in Accord with JCET Proposals," news releases, April 14, 1952, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," IV, pp. 267-76. Council of Chief State School Officers, Washington, D.C.

46. Allen, *op. cit.,* p. 363.

47. Council of Chief State School Officers, Resolutions adopted at the Annual Meeting, Honolulu, Hawaii, November 12, 1965, included in "Letters to All Chief State School Officers," XVIII, Part I, pp. 187-88. The Council, Washington, D.C.

48. Malcolm Moos, et al., *The Campus and the State* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), p. 199.

49. *Ibid.,* p. 189.

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51. John D. Millett, Remarks at Conference of Coordinators of State Systems of Higher Education, Little Rock, Arkansas, August 1967, available in files of Commission of Coordinators of Higher Education Finance, Little Rock.

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57. *Ibid.*

58. Moos, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

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60. *Ibid.*, p. 226.

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63. Governor's Commission, *Education Beyond the High School*, a report of the Commission (Raleigh: State of North Carolina, 1962), p. 47.

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Chapter 16

Public Relations in State Departments of Education

Richard G. Gray

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Public Relations in State Departments of Education

INTRODUCTION

In 1917, a unique fair pitched its tents for five-day stands in county after county across the prairies of North Dakota. Instead of the usual horse racing, livestock shows, and cooking contests, however, the billboard attraction was mustering support for rural schools in the state. Neil Carnot Macdonald, superintendent of education in North Dakota at the time, built these so-called "Better School Rallies" around speeches by the governor and other prominent personalities, with side shows by song leaders, entertainers, and circus performers. And in the center of the midway stood the state superintendent, shaking hands on behalf of better schools (1).

In 1965-66, the Oregon state department of education captured some of the old-time personal appeal employed almost 50 years earlier on the plains of North Dakota, but wrapped its pleas for better schools in the trappings of modern public relations. With financial backing from the Ford Foundation, the Oregon agency arranged for State Superintendent Leon P. Minear and then Governor Mark Hatfield to appear before prestigious gatherings in six population centers across the state. More than 2,500 civic, business, and education leaders partook of dinner and dialogue in a series of "Public Conversations on Education." Special position papers on various problems confronting Oregon educators were distributed at the dinners and served as the focus of discussion (2).

Literally thousands of Oregonians were reached since opinion leaders who attended the dinner meetings carried the special reports and the sense of the discussions back to PTA's, business clubs, and service organizations in a kind of multistep campaign. Furthermore, 2,426 persons returned opinionnaires to the state agency in a feedback program that gave Oregon education leaders solid guidelines on which to base future decisions.

Within half a century, then, the state departments of education have moved dramatically from personal relations to public relations. From face-to-face contacts at county fairs in North Dakota to the subtle employment of opinion leaders in Oregon, the public relations activities of state education agencies since 1900 have been as diverse as the education departments of the 50 states. This chapter attempts to analyze nationwide trends in the concept and content of their public relations endeavors over the past 68 years. Since state department of education relations with such subpublics as legislators and professional organizations are dealt with in detail elsewhere in this volume, this chapter will concentrate on state agency relations with the general public.

SCOPE AND DEFINITION

Public relations, as defined here, encompasses the activities of an institution that bring it into contact with the public. When a General Motors dealer sells a car to an accountant in Boise, Idaho, the company is not engaging, per se, in public relations, although the quality of the car admittedly can affect the image of GM in the accountant's mind. But when GM agrees to sponsor a series of dramatic productions on nationwide television, it is practicing public relations, especially if the series can be considered a public service. Similarly, when a state department of education issues a new math curriculum guide, it is not engaging in public relations per se either, although the quality of the plan may color the public's opinion of the department. But when the department arranges a 30-minute discussion show on local radio stations to explain the philosophy behind its curriculum plan, that is public relations.

No matter how slick the PR campaign, no matter how brilliant the public relations counsel, it cannot for long cover up a poor product. In fact, it should not even try. The very best public relations—whether it be for an educational or an industrial concern—is to help produce fine results. One can have a good product, however, without others being aware of it. That is one situation in which public relations can play an important role. Public relations, if intelligently pursued, can also be a vital factor in improving inferior output. Carefully conceived and executed feedback techniques can be employed by the public relations division to survey the public's ideas as to what is wrong with the product and how it can be upgraded.

Public relations includes any means which an institution employs to disseminate information about itself, make itself known to the public, alter its image in the eyes of the public, or determine the public's attitude toward it. Public relations in state education departments includes, but is by no means limited to, efforts directed at the following goals:

1. Informing various publics of activities and policies of the department
2. Informing various publics of the conditions and progress of schools within the state
3. Building support among the citizens for education—both at the state and local level
4. Developing liaison between various publics and the department
5. Determining the knowledge, needs, and opinions of various publics and interpreting them to the department.

The approach employed in relating the history of such efforts by state departments of education will be basically chronological. Three distinct periods stand out in state education department public relations since 1900. The first was from the turn of the century until the early 1920's. This was a time of largely personal public relations by chief state school officers. Any contact which departments in this period had with the public was usually made through the superintendent. This was also the period when organized public relations was just beginning to emerge in entertainment, big business, and government.

The second period extended from the early 1920's until the end of World War II. In these years, state departments began to lift some of the public relations responsibilities from the superintendents and spread them among other officials. The departments occasionally experimented with new techniques such as radio and monthly magazines. A few actually created public relations or public information divisions.

The final period, from the end of the Second World War to the present, has witnessed a rapid proliferation of public information officers in state departments. Spurred by federal funds and public concern, the departments have attempted to bring their public relations into the space age and have borrowed freely from the efforts of industry and government.

Throughout, an attempt will be made to present changes in state education department public relations against the broader contextual background of American social-intellectual history. Particularly, developments of public relations in other segments of society will be compared with similar trends in state education departments (3).

THE RISE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS IN INDUSTRY

Perched on a packing case in the damp basement of an old brownstone building in downtown New York City, a dour and frustrated secretary struggled to master the keys of her new "Deluxe Key Printer" typewriter. She was the first of five employees in the office of the city superintendent of schools to learn the intricacies of that cantankerous machine, which eventually enabled the office staff to triple its information and clerical output (4). Several miles —and many income brackets—away from the basement office workers, another technological wonder was christened that year. John Pierpont Morgan pushed a button, and the converted gas jets in his 219 Madison Avenue mansion glowed a peculiar amber color to bathe the rooms in a soft, steady light. Morgan's house was the first in the world to be lighted throughout by Thomas Edison's recently invented light bulb. Frequent short circuits and breakdown of the basement generator that powered the bulbs troubled the Morgans for years, but John Pierpont remained faithful to what Frederick Lewis Allen calls "a wonderful invention, a wonderful investment, a wonderful chance for corporate promotion" (5).

Morgan and the "wonder inventions" of the late nineteenth century epitomize the spectacular economic and social changes then taking place in American society. The red-nosed, steel-eyed Pierpont had parlayed a small inherited fortune into a multimillion dollar complex of corporate investments and security companies that enormously influenced the conduct of the country's business by the 1870's. His fortunes were hitched to the fortunes of America's corporations, which had advanced from inauspicious beginnings prior to the Civil War to a place of predominance and preeminence in the nation. The war, with its demands for commodities ranging from shoes to cannon shells, supplied the initial boost for industrial production and the political power of the businessmen.

During succeeding decades, inventions adaptable to factory production, a labor force refurbished and augmented by the influx of immigrants and farmers to the cities, and the input of capital provided by the unique joint ownership of the corporations "marched the industrialists from victory to victory in the years following the triumph of Grant at Appomattox," note historians Charles and Mary Beard. They continue:

> Statistics but dimly show their progress. In 1860, just a little more than $1 billion was invested in manufacturing, and only 1,500,000 industrial wage earners were employed in the United States. In less than 50 years the capital had risen to more than $12 billion and the number of wage earners to 5,500,000. . . . The output of American iron and steel—that measure of modern power—was, in 1870, far below the tonnage of England or France; within 20 years the United States had outstripped them and was pouring from its forges more than one-third of the world's total supply annually (6).

The big businesses that enriched men like Morgan and James J. Hill in railroading and Andrew Carnegie in steel also destroyed a predominantly rural America of individual small farmers, isolated towns, and one-room schoolhouses. Vestiges of nineteenth-century rural America lingered far beyond their time in legislative bodies and state departments of education, however. For example, state school superintendents continued to communicate with their publics by means of face-to-face encounters in village schools and stores. Meanwhile, factories enticed farmers to the city with better-paying jobs and simultaneously eliminated work on the farms by discovering and mass producing technological marvels such as the steel plow and reaper. From 1850 to 1900, the percentage of the country's labor force working on the farms declined from 64 to 38; in the following 25 years it dropped an additional 16 points (7). The world of industry thus absorbed much of the rural population into the growing urban complexes of factories, stores, and slums at the same time it transformed a traditionally individualistic society of independent geographic sections into an interdependent economic machine controlled in the large cities of the East and Midwest.

Growing pains from the adjustment to an interdependent society led directly to the first organized public relations in the United States. Until the early twentieth century, great moguls of industry like oil king John Rockefeller espoused the intense individualism that had long been the product and pride of the country's small businessmen, farmers, and gunslinging frontiersmen. Rockefeller, for example, frequently asserted that it was his prerogative to run his shops as he saw fit, as though it were authorized permanently by holy writ (8). In fulfillment of this holy writ of independence, he and other industrialists gouged one another in a scramble for markets and profits. They strangled competitors by lowering prices, raised their profit margins by keeping the wages of disunited workers low, and unabashedly bought influence in the national and state governments. These tactics stirred ire in a nation unaccustomed to the gang of freewheeling economic giants who pounced on small businessmen and thrived in the very competitive atmosphere that theoretically braked their activities.

The ire ignited by the excesses of big businessmen was fanned by the new mass media, created by the very same forces that gave rise to the burgeoning world of industry. The Industrial Revolution not only produced new and better reapers but the linotype, the octuple press, the typewriter, and other prerequisites of the modern newspaper. Urbanization not only provided workers for steel and woolen mills, but readers for mass-circulation publications. The new modes of transportation not only carried raw materials and manufactured goods for the captains of industry, but gave rise to national advertising for the support of the new magazines and carried publications from New York to the hinterlands of the nation quickly and efficiently.

The magnates of the so-called New Journalism became as powerful in their own way as the captains of industry. Joseph Pulitzer, E. W. Scripps, and William Randolph Hearst in his younger days led a pack of newspaper journalists in hot pursuit of industrial evil-doers. On the magazine side, S. S. McClure, Ray Stannard Baker, and Lincoln Steffens launched liberal crusades that won them a reputation as muckrakers. Ida Tarbell, in particular, attacked big business by exposing the practices of John D. Rockefeller and the Standard Oil Company.

The public stir generated by the mass media and other social critics caused the nation's biggest businessmen considerable concern. As early as 1879, William H. Vanderbilt, who had consolidated a string of smaller railroads into the impressive New York Central system, found his one-man monopoly of the complex "publicly embarrassing." As he later told a reporter:

> A public sentiment has been growing up opposed to the control of such a great property by a single man or a single family. It says we rule by might. We certainly have control of this property by right. But no matter, this public feeling exists (9).

Vanderbilt, who had no gift for wooing the public, solved the problem by hiring Pierpont Morgan to sell out his controlling interest in the New York Central (10). Other moguls and corporation executives such as Andrew Carnegie salved public irritation—and perhaps their own consciences—by creating charitable foundations to bring part of the good life of the industrial elite to those less fortunate.

Other, and eventually most, businessmen turned to the information specialist as the ultimate diagnostician and healer of public indignation over corporate policies. Railroads, damned as the chief desperadoes of cutthroat competition in the late nineteenth century, were among the first to hire public relations experts. J. H. Baumgartner, publicity representative for the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, wrote in 1913 that the roads "moved to get closer touch with the public." He continued:

> [The departments of publicity] handle largely matters of business and public relations and, with the cooperation of the press, endeavor to effect a fair understanding between the business interests on the one side, the editor and the public on the other. . . . A railroad regards its publicity department as the mouthpiece of the management (11).

Other corporations soon imitated the railroads. "New press agents are being born every minute," commented the *Denver*

(Colo.) *Republican* in 1909. "You can hear 40 of them laughing and howling in every city block" (12).

As direct descendants of the stage and circus press agents of the nation's early years, the corporate press relations men borrowed many of their techniques from P. T. Barnum. That bulbous-nosed showman's penchant for discovering able fire-eaters and trapeze artists was matched by a remarkable talent for manipulating public opinion. He extracted testimonials for his shows from famous actors and politicians and cultivated his prime audience, the nation's children, by having a series of juvenile books ghostwritten under his name. One of them, *Lion Jack: A Story of Perilous Adventures Among Wild Men and the Capturing of Wild Beasts,* portrayed him as a "good-natured, benevolent-looking, middle-aged man" (13). He eliminated the then-current church hostility toward his circus shows by stressing the Christian character of performances and, more practically, by admitting clergymen and their wives free. Endowed with the same personable qualities as possessed by many of the state school superintendents of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Barnum often filled the role of public relations man by touring the show circuit to meet the people (14). But unlike many educators of the time, he believed that an organized public relations program was a necessity.

EARLY PUBLIC RELATIONS LEADERS IN STATE EDUCATION AGENCIES

One reason that state superintendents refrained from pouring money into public information services was the small size of most education departments. In 1900, the department in Mississippi consisted of the state superintendent, Henry L. Whitfield, and one clerical worker (15). By 1945, Mississippi's department had grown to 39; in 1967, to about 520 (16). Mississippi's growth is typical of the burgeoning size and complexity of modern state education departments. In 1967-68, the departments in Massachusetts and Wisconsin moved into separate office buildings, and the department in Louisiana was in the midst of constructing a new 13-story home. But until the influx of federal and other new funds, the state agencies remained small.

Considering the size of the state education departments more than 65 years ago, it is not surprising that in most cases the chief state school officer shouldered the responsibility for maintaining contact with the public. Perhaps it was this frequent and necessary contact with the public that forced some state superintendents to develop a forceful and outspoken style. Or perhaps dynamic and colorful personalities were the only ones who could rise to the chief educational post. Whatever the case, the period from the turn of the century until the end of World War I was filled with superintendents who became legends of their time.

No small part of the legends was the ability of these men to hold audiences spellbound while pleading the cause of more and better schools. James B. Aswell, superintendent in Louisiana from 1904 to 1908, is reputed to have been one of the best public speakers the state ever produced—no small feat in a state that has turned out such a demagogue as Huey Long. As Aswell traveled the state, people flocked to hear him. Perhaps it was these crowds that motivated him to go on to serve nine terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (17).

It was then left to his successor, T. H. Harris, to establish himself as "Mr. Education" in Louisiana. In a state where the superintendency is an elected office, the number of terms a man serves is a pretty fair indication of his effectiveness with the public and his own sense of public relations. Harris, served eight four-year terms —exactly twice as many as any other superintendent in the state's history. Beginning his educational career in small rural schools, such as Gilgal, where "with the assistance of two or three men of the community, [he] made the necessary desk and recitation benches and painted the walls for the blackboard" (18), Harris became one of the most well-known men in the state.

An important factor in Harris' success was his close contact with the Long family. When Huey Long was still a boy, he was entertained along with the rest of the Longs in Harris' home. This was long before Huey ascended to the pinnacle of Louisiana politics, but Harris recalled that the lad told him then that he was going to be the most powerful man in Louisiana some day. Years later, in 1928, after Huey became governor, Harris was still superintendent, but he was having trouble obtaining legislative approval for his scheme of providing free textbooks for schoolchildren. He invited Huey back to his home for dinner and convinced him of the wisdom of his plan. Shortly thereafter a law was enacted providing for free textbooks (19).

Harris of Louisiana had a counterpart in Payson Smith of Maine and Massachusetts. Smith served as commissioner of education in Maine from 1907 until 1917, then as commissioner of education in Massachusetts until 1935. For years he was known as "Mr. Education" throughout the New England states.

A stubborn and quick-witted man, Smith had no delusions about getting something for nothing in education. One of his basic beliefs was that teachers should be better paid. While serving in Maine, he pushed through the Legislature an innovative pension plan for teachers, and in Massachusetts he secured the first general pay raise for teachers in more than 100 years.

Smith's prowess as a public speaker was well-known throughout the area, and he seemed undaunted by age. On his eighty-third birthday he remarked: "After all, what are birthdays anyhow? The only birthday that's important is the birth day" (20). Eight years later, on the fiftieth anniversary of the conference of school superintendents in Maine, which he established while commissioner, he delivered the best speech of the meeting (21).

Had it not been for an unfortunate experience with the *Washington Star*, Smith might have spent his career writing newspaper copy rather then providing it. In 1900, he was hired by the *Star* but quit at the beginning of his second day when a feature story of his creation appeared as a three-line personal (22). But either the newspapers of the region did not know that he had snubbed journalism as a profession or they forgave him for it, because all during his career he received excellent press coverage. His public addresses were always attended by a large number of reporters, and his legislative proposals often provided page-one material (23).

Harris and Smith only typify the breed that came to run state departments of education between 1900 and the end of World War I. Nearly every state can point with pride to a superintendent or commissioner who, through personal commitment and persuasion, was able to grasp and direct the attention of the public toward improved education in the state. Traveling the state from one end to the other, by whatever means available, these superintendents would stump for basic improvements in all phases of the schools—better buildings, better teachers, better curriculum.

Superintendent Whitfield in Mississippi decried the condition of the school buildings, which, "as a rule," he claimed, "are a disgrace." He continued: "The foundation of the building should be sufficiently high as to permit under ventilation and should be closed to keep out hogs, sheep, and goats." In Texas, Annie Webb Blanton, perhaps because she was female, created tremendous support among the many women teachers in the state for her reforms. One of her greatest achievements along this line was passage of the Texas Free Textbook program. In order to implement the program, a hike in the ad valorem state tax was required. This, in turn, required an amendment in the Texas Constitution. Mrs. Blanton headed up a statewide "Better Schools Campaign" in support of the amendment, which was passed by a huge majority (24).

And so it went. Chief state school officers all over the country were exercising, probably without thinking about it, the most elementary kind of public relations: personal contact. Their techniques were those of the politician to a large degree, especially in the states of the old Confederacy. The superintendents made personal inspections of schools, delivered addresses before professional groups of administrators and teachers and the general public, made impassioned pleas for increased appropriations on the floor of the legislatures.

W. W. Stetson, Smith's predecessor in Maine from 1895 until 1907, was a pioneer in enlisting organized citizen support for the schools. In 1901, he began to organize School Improvement Leagues, whose members were drawn from the population of the local communities. The prime object of the league was "awakening a controlling interest in the schools on the part of its pupils and patrons." The superintendent's report for 1901 explains:

> This purpose will be best promoted by making the members of the League responsible for it. The teacher may advise and assist, but the movement, to be successful, must belong wholly to the members who compose it, and they should have the broadest possible freedom on action (25).

Stetson considered instituting the leagues as one of the best accomplishments of his administration. He firmly believed that the rural schools of his state were poor because the communities had no pride in them. School was just a place to go until the law allowed young people to quit and find a job. Stetson envisioned that the leagues would enlist intelligent support and cooperation of parents in providing better surroundings, books, and teachers. The leagues had a simple organization. Local leagues were formed in various schools. Town leagues were composed of the officers of local leagues. And, in turn, the state league was made up of delegates from the town leagues. The membership consisted of children, parents, teachers, superintendents, and interested citizens; everyone paid dues. Children were assessed not less than one cent per month, and adults paid not less than ten cents per month (26).

Payson Smith continued the tradition of making all elements of the society feel that they had a stake in the schools of Maine. He contacted representatives of all the major industries in the state and had them prepare short essays about the importance of education to their fields. Smith then included these reports in his annual report. A sample of the opinions of representatives of industry in 1910 reads as follows:

> Agriculture: Farmers are rapidly appreciating that agriculture can be made more profitable by adoption of scientific methods. Good common schools in the country are essential to the development of agriculture since men will leave the farms if it is necessary to do so in order to procure superior educational advantages for their children.
>
> Textile Industries: These industries employ large numbers of foreigners. A foremost need is that the English language be taught as speedily as possible. Evening schools for this purpose are essential in towns wherein many recently arrived foreigners are employed.
>
> Shoe Manufacturing: The shoe workers as a rule are graduates of the common schools. Those who enter with less education drop out of the trade, or, as a rule, remain in the poorer paying places (27).

The personal techniques of the turn-of-the-century superintendents, while undoubtedly effective in establishing a feeling of personal contact between the public and the departments, nonetheless slowed down the development of public relations in the state agencies. While other institutions such as entertainment and governmental groups were pioneering in the establishment of separate press relations divisions, state education departments sadly lagged behind. Their personal style reflected the concern of the departments with the rural areas, the farmers, the small towns and villages—perhaps because so many legislatures of the time were dominated by the same interests. Neither the state departments nor appropriate professional public relations were ready for each other.

In some ways it was just as well that none of these superintendents employed press agents for their departments. By the 1920's, the term *public relations* had become firmly implanted in the vocabulary of the nation, but the tactics of the industrial and circus publicists had given it a bad reputation. It was often ridiculed as "an absurdly pompous synonym for the use of press agents" (28). Disclosures made by special commissions following World War I further blackened the general reputation of public relations men. Investigations revealed that propagandists on both sides had fabricated stories concerning atrocities and war conditions. Particularly damaging was the revelation that the British had contrived stories about German atrocities against Belgian children in order to win neutrals to the Allied side. A general suspicion of publicity efforts of any type grew in many quarters, especially among intellectuals.

Had state departments turned to the efforts of press agents such as those employed by politicians, stage shows, circuses, railroads, hotels, and shipping interests (29) to gain mention of the department in the newspaper, they might have alienated many persons and impeded rather than facilitated the progress they sought. At the turn of the century, the battle for consolidation, better schoolhouses, a longer school year, better-trained teachers, and a stronger curriculum was uphill enough. Each improvement meant an increase in expenditures and hence a rise in taxes for a public that was not entirely convinced that school was the most profitable place to keep children for a large part of the year. To expend any of the hard-won increases in appropriations for mere "press agentry" might have been, at that time anyway, a suicidal diversion for educators.

The public mind at that stage in the nation's history firmly believed that education was a stern enterprise—one best conducted in austere surroundings and presided over by persons of only the highest moral character. And the objects of the educational endeavor, the children, were to absorb their learning in a spirit of reverence and docility. The Rules of Walkill Academy in New York typify the whole country's attitude about propriety in school:

- No immoral or unseemly conduct can be tolerated.
- The teachers must be treated with respect and all their just and reasonable orders promptly obeyed.
- The pupils must behave towards each other in a becoming and scholar-like manner.
- They must perform all the prescribed exercises with care and due dispatch.
- They must attend assiduously to the proceedings during recitation.
- When they are not engaged in reciting, they must study attentively and without intermission.
- They must be clean in their person, attend punctually and go directly to their seats on coming in.
- They must sit in a proper posture, abstain from all noise and unnecessary movements, and never leave their seats without permission, to be obtained by holding up the right hand.
- They cannot go out during recitation, except in cases of peculiar emergency.
- They must carefully abstain from injuring or disfiguring any property connected with the institution (30).

To inject into this kind of educational era a personality type chiefly associated with carnivals, hotels, railroads, and other special interest groups would have done education no good. There was, in fact, a general antipathy on the part of editors, publishers, and the general public toward the techniques of press agents. Theodore Peterson, et al., in *The Mass Media and Modern Society* write:

> From 1908 through the 1920's, the American Newspaper Publishers Association conducted a campaign against

free publicity and free advertising. The trade press repeatedly denounced press agents, with which public relations men were regarded as synonymous. In 1913 there were even attempts to make the use of press agents a legal offense (31).

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC INFORMATION SERVICES

State departments in the early 1900's avoided the general public hostility toward press agents by not hiring any of them. But it appears that they may have continued actions designed to avoid the pitfalls of public disapproval of press agents longer than was justified. Growing state departments on the one hand and the development of professional public relations on the other should have joined forces earlier.

Questionnaire returns for this study from 20 states indicate that by far the most frequently used public relations techniques in state education departments during the early period were speech-writing, legislative liaison (32), and statistical summaries. These techniques were used in carrying out what the questionnaires show were the most important public information functions of state departments then: (a) providing statistical and other information about the state's school districts to school officers in the state and (b) providing statistical and other information about the state's school districts to the news media and the public in general. Only five states said that improving the image of public education in the state was either "very important" or "important." And only one state department felt that improving its own image was an important function.

These views of public relations activities reflect in no small measure what were then the primary functions of state departments of education: "to gather and disseminate data; to enforce regulations; to inspect and accredit schools; and to issue certificates" (33). As the role of state departments changed more and more from record keeping to leadership, there was a corresponding shift in the philosophy and techniques behind public relations efforts.

But in the early 1900's, a method that the departments used to distribute information—probably second in importance only to the superintendent's personal appearances—was the annual report of the department. In fact, it was required by law in most states. Reports of education departments have a long history in this country. The first was published in New York in the legislative record in 1795, and every state in the Union had begun to publish reports of its education department by 1891 (34). The historic function of these reports has been to present to legislatures, local school officials, and the public in general the present conditions, past accomplishments, and future needs of the schools. "In addition to providing statistical information," Ward A. Reeder points out, "they often serve an evangelistic function—selling public schools, and the need for better schools to governors, legislatures, school employees and the general public" (35).

Departments of education frequently supplemented the information contained in their reports with other publications—curriculum guides, informational bulletins, building specifications, and the like. Superintendent W. W. Stetson wrote of Maine in 1904: "The major efforts of our department in the last 10 years include placing before the people of the state in oral, written, and pictorial forms the conditions of the schools as they existed in 1895-96." Among the documents issued to help in this effort were *Sketches, Designs, and Plans for School Buildings, School Grounds, and Outhouses; What the School Should Do for the Child; An Experiment in Child Study; The Law for Better Education of Youth;* and *The School As It Was, Is and Should Be* (36).

Massachusetts was also an early leader in using bulletins to disseminate information. The eightieth state board report reads:

> The board of education believes that one of the most fruitful methods of exercising its advisory functions is by careful

> reports, prepared by or under the direction of its staff. Seventy-seven bulletins will have been issued before the end of 1916. This method of reaching the public has proven successful, and the publications are sought not only by the citizens of Massachusetts, but by individuals and institutions throughout the entire country and abroad (37).

Across the continent in California, Superintendent of Education Hyatt issued in 1911 the first of a new series called *Superintendent's Blue Bulletin to the School People of California* (it had a blue cover). It consisted of only a few pages and was published sporadically. The idea behind the bulletin was that it would go to local administrators who would circulate it in their areas with supplementary notes and notices. It was replaced in 1915 with the *California Blue Bulletin* (still with a blue cover). Hyatt said of the new publication:

> This bulletin will be issued regularly hereafter. Its purpose is to establish a line of communication between the central school office in the Capitol and the fighting line of teachers and local officers in the school districts throughout the state. It starts as a quarterly. . . . It will be edited by the Superintendent of Public Instruction and the three Commissioners of Education, each in succession taking personal charge of one issue. . . . Its function is not literary or entertaining or pedagogical. It is intended primarily for official announcements, decisions, opinions, explanations, and information (38).

In spite of the fact that this bulletin was directed primarily at local school people, quite a few of the copies found their way into the hands of newspapermen and other interested citizens.

Thus the public relations activities of the state education departments, whether conscious or not, centered on three areas in the early years of this century. First and most important were the individual actions of the superintendents. These men, through their speeches, inspection tours, and personal contacts, created—to a large extent personally—the image that the state departments had with the people. Both the departments themselves and the populations they served were small enough so that by inspecting the rural school, talking to the women's clubs in the towns, and asking members of the farmers' cooperative to write about education for the annual report, the superintendent could give the citizens of the state a feeling of personal contact with the state department.

The second area of public relations activity was the reports of the state departments, primarily informational and statistical but also to a certain degree evangelical. Finally, the public relations function was served by the publications and bulletins of the state departments.

Not until the 1920's did it really occur to anyone that formal public relations might be an appropriate enterprise for state departments of education to examine and perhaps utilize. C. P. Carey, superintendent in Wisconsin, hinted at it in 1920 when he wrote that one of the services to be rendered by a state department should be "to stimulate public interest in education and to inform the public of the educational needs of the state" (39). Seven years later, Arthur Moehlman said:

> The state department of education or public instruction has a peculiar problem in the field of public relations. It must maintain contact with the general public, the teachers, school boards and executives, the legislature, teacher-training institutions, publishers, and architects. There should be in every state department an editorial specialist whose function would be the development of public relations in addition to the routine editorial work. Contacts with the people and teachers are general in their scope. They may be satisfied through continuous stories in the daily and weekly press and through use of the radio. Both these agencies will reach teachers and school boards as well, but should be pointed directly to the public. . . . The state department cannot afford to neglect any of

> these sources or any section of its audience if it hopes to carry the state with its programs over a period of time (40).

But it was to be nearly 20 years before any state department followed Moehlman's advice by appointing a man to head up public relations.

DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC RELATIONS IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

While state departments of education relied on their superintendents, state reports, and occasional publications for their contacts with the public, the early press agents were honing and refining their craft—a process that eventually made public relations an integral feature of industry and government. By 1920, Barnum and his heirs, the corporation public relations men, had created the techniques and the methods of media use that would endure almost unchanged until the dawn of the space age. Even before 1920, they were appealing to the public with movies, competitions, educational pamphlets, brochures, and mass media advertising (41). Their messages contained public relations themes still common today: the importance of the American way of life, the free enterprise system, better race relations, and the small businessman (42). As journalist Joseph Pimlott points out, the major change in public relations since World War II has not been in technique or method, but rather in the cohesion and self-consciousness of PR men. In 1935, public relations counselors formed the National Association of Accredited Publicity Directors to "promote the highest standards of service and of conduct by all members of the publicity profession." Beginning with Edward Bernays in 1923, public relations people have asserted their status as a profession comparable to education or medicine.

For the business world, public relations at first provided a tool to assuage adverse public opinion, a side effect of the snarling scraps among corporations and later of the heavy-handed activities of trusts and monopolies. By example, the image-conscious press officers of the corporations also stimulated and channeled the development of public relations in the federal government. Since the 1850's, Congress had permitted the executive departments and agencies to "inform and educate" the public without Senate or House supervision. For example, the *Congressional Directory* for 1901 notes that the division of publications of the Department of Agriculture was issuing, "in the form of press notices, official information of interest to agriculturists" (43). Heads of the department or their personal aides distributed information to newspapermen who dropped in the offices for coffee and a chat with staff members. By trading notes, the reporters could get almost complete saturation coverage of the executive branch.

The reporters' coffee-brunch circuit was destroyed about 1910 when both Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft ordered executive officials to stop issuing information directly to the press. Roosevelt admitted privately that the order was intended to prevent his subordinates from making bloopers and to shelter them from the proliferating ranks of prying reporters. But by short-circuiting the long-established, informal method of press relations, the Presidents forced the department heads to hire newspapermen to represent them when reporters called. By the 1920's, as the activities of the departments increased in response to the federal government's growing role in the nation's life and economy, busy government executives more and more embraced the convenience of referring newsmen to specialists who could dig out information needed to answer sometimes complex questions and who were savvy enough in the ways of the press to avoid indiscriminate answers. One of these early specialists, Jesse L. Suter, publicity agent of the Post Office Department, catered so well to the needs of the press that Washington correspondents petitioned the new Postmaster General not to dismiss him (44).

Anxious to keep their superiors happy and eager to instill in the public a proper regard for their agencies' activities, the early government press agents soon found themselves copying the tactics of their brothers in the business world. Congress immediately balked at the new direction of relations with the press and the public. As early as 1913, Representative Frederick H. Gillett complained that the publicity expert in the Office of Public Roads of the Department of Agriculture was appointed to "advertise the work and the doings" of a government department and to "extol and exploit their virtues." He was particularly disturbed by the requirement that the expert have "affiliations with newspaper publishers and writers . . . extensive enough to ensure the publication of items prepared by him" (45). Gillett carried his complaints to the floor of the House, proposed and got enacted a law banning press agentry in the departments, and initiated a feud over governmental public relations that continues down to the present.

Since the time of Gillett, many Congressmen have fumed that public relations programs designed to improve administrative efficiency in the executive branch actually result in concentration of power in the executive at the expense of Congress. Traditionally, senators and representatives also fret about the possibility that such press relations campaigns will impair their long-established role as chief communicator between Washington and the voters back home. Their negative attitude toward press agentry generally wins public support because of the prevalent association of public relations with back-stairs politics and the underhanded activities of corporations.

Congressional committees have long kept watch over the executive agencies and departments to ensure that their press relations officers in dealing with the administration of legislation that the committees have sponsored in Congress restrict themselves appropriately in distributing information. Regular House and Senate committees on government operations and special Congressional subcommittees created for special purposes sometimes enter this field. Determining what kind of information is appropriate in various circumstances is often controversial; the majority of a committee promoting legislation often supports favorable publicity about it, while the minority of the committee opposing the legislation may be quick to attack its propriety.

Mustering massive resources of money and personnel, the War Department's public relations program illustrated growth in size, sophistication, and technique of the government's information programs during World War II. The department sent 50 speakers around the country to discuss medical and Selective Service laws and showed a film in support of universal military training to 680,000 people. A Women's Interests Unit plugged for the support of women's organizations by mailing pamphlets and hiring speakers to appeal to the patriotism of American mothers. According to the Propaganda Subcommittee, these activities were "unworthy of any department of government" and were clearly in violation of the 1913 Congressional resolution limiting public relations in the executive departments (46). War Secretary Henry Royall categorically denied that there had been "any effort to influence legislation by illegitimate means" but admitted that some of the activities might influence Congress as well as the public (47).

The Secretary and other department heads found it difficult to avoid straying across the narrow line that divides information distribution from opinion influence. Furthermore, the public relations function in government expanded just as rapidly as the Washington press corps, which found itself ever-increasing to keep up with the rapid growth of the federal government during the Depression and World War II.

EXPANSION OF PUBLIC RELATIONS IN EDUCATION DEPARTMENTS

The nation's schools were undergoing growth and transformation patterns very similar to trends in business and government during this period. For example, school enrollments across the country in kindergarten through the twelfth grade more than doubled between 1890 and 1930. The actual school-age population (5 through 17 years of age) increased only about 70 percent in the corresponding period (48). Clearly, education was growing at a greatly accelerated rate. Most of the new faces in the classrooms appeared in the big cities, where compulsory school attendance laws, increasing industrial demands for more skilled workers, and child labor laws freed children from sweatshop drudgery and enrolled them in the country's schools. Expanded vocational education stimulated by Congress' Smith-Hughes Act of 1917 (49), combined with progressive education reforms such as the kindergarten, helped pace the proliferation of school buildings, teachers, pupils, and administrators. From a one-horse, shoestring operation in most states in the 1890's, local school systems in the cities and some rural areas were transformed into big businesses by 1930, some with budgets of $1 million.

C. P. Carey of Wisconsin— Political Progressive

In a flurry of reform excited in response to tremendous growth and guided by the political progressives, state departments of education slowly reorganized to take on other jobs in addition to the traditional statistical and clerical chores. C. P. Carey, Wisconsin state school superintendent and a protégé of Robert LaFollette, urged in 1920 that the state departments revamp and expand in order to meet the needs of public education. The spectacled, mild-mannered superintendent called on the states to—

> . . . advise legislatures on all educational matters, study educational problems by the best, modern scientific methods, make more or less thorough surveys of cities and counties to determine educational needs, and furnish real, vital educational leadership in the state (50).

A few years later, describing a study of state education departments, Carey reported some progress in reorganization:

> The process . . . goes on. This means . . . the gradual strengthening of state departments of education. It means abler men at the head of such departments, greater authority, larger appropriations for such departments, more and better trained members of the staff, longer tenure in the office of state superintendent (51).

From the time of Carey's writing to shortly after World War II, the responsibilities of the state departments increased by about one-third (52), primarily because of federal laws encouraging such programs as school lunch and vocational education.

For superintendents in states with the largest populations, the bustle of new activities meant mounds of paper work, the coming and going in their offices of strangers from Washington, and a multitude of typists and underlings who crowded, then overflowed, existing quarters. Coping with the details of increasingly far-flung administrative domains jammed the chief school officers into the shoes of business and government executives of 20 and 30 years before. They, too, could no longer keep a close eye on all that went on around them, and conferences with reporters, legislators, and local PTA's must have become sources of increasing frustration.

Yet, incredibly, the superintendents retained the major responsibilities for public relations in the 1920's, the 1930's, and into the 1940's. In 1925, no state department yet listed an employee in charge of public relations, and some 20 years later only 10 states reported staffing a part- or full-time office in public information work (53). Unlike corporation executives and federal officials who were turning their public information and public relations activities over to specialists by the 1920's, many superintendents continued to function as their own best PR men.

M. D. Collins of Georgia—Educational Evangelist

For example, M. D. Collins of Georgia, a lay Baptist preacher and super salesman, won over the press and the public on behalf of public education in his own colorful style. He would often bring audiences or reporters around to his point of view with a homespun anecdote. One of his favorites was about a teacher who, in the depths of the Depression, was approached by a friend in the bank. The teacher was carefully counting the few bills that constituted her salary. And each time she counted off a bill she would lick her thumb for the next one. The friend, a bit shocked at this procedure, finally asked, "Aren't you afraid you'll get germs off that money?" "Not on your life," replied the teacher. "No germ could live on my salary" (54).

When Collins retired in 1958, after 25 years in office, a newspaper article described him as—

> . . . a genial educator who would do it all again. . . . A smile is nearly always on Dr. Collins' face—a great help when dealing with teachers, officials, and legislators. . . . He gave as well as he got, too, in a nice way. And he was more than willing to stand up and fight for what he believed to be the best of interest of the department and the children (55).

The praise was well deserved. Among the accomplishments during his tenure were the first Minimum Foundation Program, more vocational education, the twelfth grade, the school lunch program, a longer school term, the beginning of educational television in the state, and an increase in state appropriations for education from $6 million to $134 million (56).

Progress in Other States

Another "moving and shaking" superintendent in the middle period was Colin English, who served in Florida from 1937 until 1949. Dr. English considers that the two most important things that he accomplished for education in Florida were guiding through the Legislature a new budget law and a revised textbook law. On the way to these legislative changes, he had quite a job to do in "educating the public." Once the people were informed and made up their minds, the Legislature would do what they wanted (57).

One method that English used to educate the public was to appoint a committee in 1943 to make a complete study of education in the state and submit a report with recommended changes. This committee was formed from a cross section of the state. It included state senators and representatives, newspapermen, bankers, lawyers, housewives, farmers, and doctors. One immediate result of the committee's work was that every candidate for governor for the next year promised to do more for education (58). All this was done primarily through the personal efforts of the chief state school officer.

In the course of time, however, administrative and human endurance demanded that at least some of the public relations burden be lifted from the backs of superintendents. While few turned to professional communication specialists, a number of the more harried executives began to push PR responsibilities down the "staff and line" ladder of the bureaucracy to subordinates in charge of the department's individual activities. This arrangement, still prevalent in the less populous states, diverts press and public inquiries for information from the chief school officer to knowledgeable specialists. For example, the director of school food services for Colorado recalls: "Our division head answered the questions of reporters who wanted to know this or that fact. They were referred to him by the central switchboard or by the superintendent's office" (59). Besides saving time for the superintendent—and sometimes rescuing him from the embarrassment of giving out inaccurate information or demonstrating a total lack of knowledge—the "staff and line" arrangement for public relations provided instant resources for his speeches or for ammunition useful in hassles with the legislature. Conveniently, the experts were normally housed in the same building or nearby (60) and were small enough in number so that the superintendent could easily keep an eye on them, knocking heads together when mistakes were made and retaining overall control of public relations.

Unfortunately, the school officers could not always prevent their subordinates from fluffing the role of fact supplier. For many, jealous and resentful of their boss or cursed by an ineptness for dealing with reporters, the opportunity must have presented itself to release information the superintendents would rather have kept quiet or to expound views that the press accepted as the opinions of the whole department. These troubles plague any administrative organization that attempts to involve a whole string of employees in a function that properly requires coordination by a single individual (61). This very problem had caused Presidents Theodore Roosevelt and William Taft to isolate their subordinates from the press. The school chiefs could scarcely do this without destroying their method of information distribution. They found themselves in the curious position of having given birth to a time-saving, supposedly efficiency-promoting practice which had turned into a perplexity almost as irritating as the problem it was intended to solve.

Despite these troubles, superintendents from the 1920's through the 1940's resisted adopting the polished public relations departments and techniques then making such great inroads in industry and other branches of government. Perhaps some were convinced that the new tactics, which connoted to many people the art of fast-talking people into things they did not want, were morally wrong. Perhaps some thought that utilizing such techniques would be politically disastrous. More realistically, many were just too conservative and too slow to keep up with the times.

In all fairness, however, it must be admitted that even those who wanted to initiate public information offices were restricted by the hostility of legislators to anything on the part of public administrators that smelled like organized public relations. Like national Congressmen, state legislators generally regarded professional public relations programs as an unwarranted aggrandizement of executive power. Consequently, legislators—sometimes through open pressure and sometimes by more subtle means—discouraged state departments of education from building professional public information programs to meet the needs of the times.

The legislators had to hatchet with more finesse than usual in dealing with elected chief state school officers, however. C. P. Carey, a successful promoter of public relations in Wisconsin, frequently defied that state's sometimes recalcitrant Legislature by campaigning in the press to eliminate boards and commissions which he believed were blocking centralized administration of education in the state (62). Yet more often than not those superintendents who tried to install a public relations office went down to defeat before state assemblies that hounded them and cut off funds for anything that smacked of press agentry. In California, noted for its peculiar brand of politics, the Legislature installed public relations men in the executive departments, disguising them under the title of "administrative assistant." Later, when the assemblymen discovered evidence of press agentry among the assistants, they abolished their jobs, only to completely about-face a few years later (63). Despite this apparent triumph in California, progress across the nation was slow in moving toward professional public information work in this period.

As organized public relations programs struggled to take root in the late 1930's and 1940's, state departments sought other means to get their story to the public. By 1947, some 15 states had created publications divisions usually outgrowths or consolidations of earlier publications efforts—which in the following years poured out a stream of curriculum guides and help books for teachers and administrators. The new division chiefs studiously avoided the taint of being called public relations practitioners, yet information distribution and public relations often became an important part of their work. In the state of Washington, the publications section began producing a monthly magazine in 1941 called *Education in Washington.* The first issue commingled articles of interest to teachers and administrators with stories that could appeal to the general public. Titles of the articles ranged from a poem called "I Teach School" ("To battle front no soldiers lead; In halls of state I boast no skill; I just teach school") to "Certification Reminders" to the more general "School Lunch Programs" (64). Twelve years later, the magazine was publishing articles such as "A Report on 1953 High School Graduates" and "What the Public Needs To Know About Our Schools" (65).

Some superintendents experimented with the big squawkbox radios of the time as a means for reaching the public. In 1923, Massachusetts first produced short radio programs promoting adult education. The department reported in 1938 that—

> . . . broadcasts by radio have continued this year to be one of the important means used by the division to announce the educational opportunities available to adults. . . . [The radio programs also] acquaint the general public with the various activities of the state department of education and give informational talks on the latest trends in education, particularly adult education. The division had the cooperation of 13 radio stations for 145 free broadcasts, or 36½ hours of program time. This is more than a 100 per cent increase over the previous year (66).

The Great Depression and World War II, both of which bit into the working funds of the state departments, curtailed such experiments. Many states continued to issue a magazine, less lengthy and often aimed at boosting the war effort, but only one of the states surveyed by the authors reported extensive use of radio during the 1940's (67).

World War II and the Depression built public relations into a big—and almost publicly acceptable—business. The armed forces and such pump-priming federal agencies as the Works Progress Administration made extensive use of public relations during the 1930's and 1940's. Out of the dark of economic and international crisis emerged a new cadre of PR men, a respectable collection of college-trained men who were wise in the ways of media use and knew how to address—and to convince—people. These young men, leaving the army and the disbanding emergency agencies of the Depression, filled posts in government and corporate public relations programs. Their image differed sharply from the stereotype of the sharp-eyed operator—ready to deceive and short on scruples—which had so long prevailed among the public. They lent their respectability to their occupation, and the growing acceptance of public relations as a decent if not yet honorable field of work was reflected in the founding of formal public information offices in the state departments of education.

In 1945, state departments in Maine and Kansas were two of the first to create posts for coordinators of public relations. Maine titled the job "supervisor of publications and statistics," and Kansas called it "information counselor," evidence that they still regarded the label "public relations man" too controversial for use. Only the Maine coordinator was a full-time employee, in charge of "everything in information and publications." In Kansas, the public relations man was also secretary of the state board of education and in charge of district reorganization. Both of the people who first held these jobs had journalism and teaching experience. Though they ran their offices on a shoestring budget with the help of a single secretary, their existence now meant a single voice speaking for the superintendent and the department. The old "staff and line" approach to public relations was dying in some states, and the taint long attached to it was expiring too (68).

Pearl Wanamaker—PR Transcendentalist

Instrumental in bringing about these changes were a group of farsighted superintendents, who worked hard to prepare the way for the professional public information programs that were to come in the 1950's and 1960's. M. D. Collins of Georgia and Colin English of Florida already have been mentioned. Pearl Wanamaker, who served as chief state school officer in Washington state from 1940 through 1956, is another. All three helped bridge the Depression-World War II period and the postwar era. All three initiated public relations programs that played an important part in strengthening the leadership role of state departments in American education. And, significantly enough, all three laid the underpinnings for public information programs that are noted for their excellence today.

The far-reaching efforts of Washington state's attractive superintendent, Pearl Anderson Wanamaker, provide a revealing case in point (69). Pearl, as friends and political foes alike call her, is a handsome lady who attained stature as one of the country's most powerful education figures during her 16-year tenure in office. *Time* magazine, after examining the record, called her "the most adroit political battler for education that Washington has ever known" (70). Her reputation and influence extended far beyond the mountain ranges of the Pacific Northwest, however. She served as president of the National Education Association, president of the National Council of Chief State School Officers, vice president of the American Association for School Administrators, and played a key role in the 1955 White House Conference that issued a ringing call for the type of federal aid to education that Congress finally passed in the mid-1960's.

Mrs. Wanamaker's admission to national leadership was based in large part on the astounding accomplishments she made at home. She helped raise state support for education from 11 percent to 50 percent. She lobbied successfully for the redistricting of schools, general certification, and improved education for the handicapped. She won enough new school aid to see 875 buildings added to the state's school system, and she boosted the minimum salary for teachers from $1,200 to $2,780. By the end of her four terms in office, Washington state could boast of having the lowest failure rate in the armed forces mental qualification tests, as well as being ranked among the top five states in the nation as to literacy, a low school dropout rate, and excellence in public school education.

In accomplishing all this, Mrs. Wanamaker employed many of the techniques being refined by public relation experts. "The Legislature wouldn't have permitted a public relations staff in those days," Mrs. Wanamaker recalled (71). So she relied on her own resources and the resources of the education professionals on her staff.

One of her strongest talents was legislative relations. She had served in the Washington State Legislature for three terms as a representative and two terms as a senator before becoming superintendent, and so she was well acquainted with the inner workings of the legislative process. Her success with the Legislature became legendary. In the process, she set patterns that any chief state school officer and his public relations staff would do well to emulate today. Sometimes she used her easygoing charm. Other times she proved herself a ruthless fighter when a penny-pinching legislature tried to short-change Washington schoolchildren. "She drives right into your home town and tells your constituents you're voting against their kids," one state senator fumed (72). Another legislator recalled her tactics:

> First she would be buddy-buddy, with her arm around your shoulders. When things were not going so well, the next thing was tears. If things got worse, she would back them against the wall, grab their coat lapels, and give them some strong lumberjack talk including references about their early political demise. You had to go all the way or nothing on her programs (73).

These commentaries, though hyperbolic, give some meaningful insights into Mrs. Wanamaker's mode of operation. She realized that sometimes the only way to get a bill through is to do a little browbeating. "I've been in the Legislature," she explained, "and there are so many pressures . . . ; if you don't pressure your interests, they are going to get lost" (74). She was not above bringing schoolchildren into the legislative chambers to observe the proceedings. And she was known to appear in the chambers herself when important education bills were to be voted on. At the time of the controversial school reorganization bill, Mrs. Wanamaker happened to be in the back of the House and was invited, along with Secretary of State Belle Reeves, to come to the speaker's rostrum while the vote was being taken. An opponent to the measure took exception, charging that Mrs. Wanamaker was there to influence the outcome. On another occasion, an Indian visited the legislative chambers dressed in full regalia. When he was invited to appear on the rostrum, a Republican legislator stood up and shouted, "That is Pearl Wanamaker in disguise up there to count our votes" (75).

Mrs. Wanamaker showed great skill at legislative maneuvering and proved herself a master of in-fighting at the committee level, where most of the work of the legislative bodies really takes place. The secret of her success, however, was her ability to communicate with hard-nosed legislators. Julia Butler Hansen, who long served Washington constituents in Olympia before attaining national stature as a Congresswoman, assessed Mrs. Wanamaker as follows:

> One of Pearl's outstanding qualities was her ability to appear before committees with excellent briefing material. . . . Education is a costly item and men measuring their votes don't see youngsters voting. Therefore, it was she, who with her adept way of mastering public support and appearing before the Legislature with irrefutable facts, her knowledge of parliamentary procedure and her skill with the use of words who did more for the young people of the State of Washington than anyone probably in our history (76).

Communicating with members of the Legislature was important, but Mrs. Wanamaker realized that there was more to success than that. She also developed close relations with important pressure groups around the state. While a member of the Legislature, she had helped form the so-called Allied Committee of Sixteen—a powerful organization composed of representatives from such groups as the state education association, the county school superintendents, the school directors, the state parent-teacher congress, and the state department of education.

After becoming superintendent, Mrs. Wanamaker met regularly with members of the Allied Committee to discuss issues facing Washington schools, to iron out a united front on legislation, and to muster support for her educational reforms. When several local school board members served notice that they thought her budgets were running too high, Mrs. Wanamaker had the school directors draft their own budget and submit it to the Allied Committee. "In the final analysis, they ended up about where I had been originally," Mrs. Wanamaker recalled, "but we had the force of not only the school directors, but all the other groups represented on the Committee behind the budget" (77). Once the Allied Committee reached a consensus, the program was written up in brochure form and distributed around the state. The recommendations were also publicized through the mass media.

In the final analysis, the Wanamaker formula was to (a) become fully informed about the issues, (b) pull knowledgeable persons together to help formulate a legislative package, (c) muster the power of pressure groups and the general public on behalf of better education, and then (d) fight for the measures in the Legislature and the governor's office with fact-laden information campaigns. Through it all ran a strong commitment to the two-way process of communication and the necessity of involving people—two basic ingredients of any successful public relations program. Mrs. Alta Grim, a member of the Washington State Library staff and a long-time Olympia observer, summed up the Wanamaker approach:

> She knew how to legislate and get a program through. That was her power. She worked hard and so did her staff. They worked with the lobbyists, but they did not wine and dine people like the others did. There was no such thing as a machine in the usual sense. It was just a knowledge of how legislation is passed. She kept on things. She knew what was going on in all the communities (78).

Having seen the results of involving people through the Allied Committee, Mrs. Wanamaker extended the principle to a variety of persons in a variety of problem areas. When a fight developed over the issue of redistricting, she appointed a nine-member statewide committee to study the issues and make recommendations. Later, she held public hearings in various parts of the state and formed local advisory committees. Figures on population growth and industrial development were supplied to the local groups. Mrs. Wanamaker went on the theory that if people are supplied with all the facts, they will reach the right conclusions. Her theory worked, for the reorganization plan passed with strong support on the part of lay groups.

From then on, the pattern was set. When Mrs. Wanamaker pushed for Washington to become the first state to require a five-year certification plan, a committee was organized to involve classroom teachers, PTA members, and school board directors. When she urged a program for educating handicapped children alongside normal children, a committee was formed to solicit aid and understanding from parents. When she called for equalization legislation to give rural as well as urban children educational opportunities, a lay committee was formed to muster public support. She believed so strongly in the principle of involving citizens in education that she succeeded in transforming the State Board of Education from a professional body into a lay board. "She was always taking groups of people into her confidence," explained Miss Borghild Helgesen, who served as Mrs. Wanamaker's administrative assistant for 16 years.

> That was an important part of her success. She always brought people in and spelled out the alternatives. She always gave the opposition a chance to air their views. She knew how to involve people, how to bring them along (79).

In short, she proved herself a polished practitioner of group dynamics.

Mrs. Wanamaker was also adept at press relations. What newsman wouldn't like a dignified, white-headed lady superintendent who was willing to demonstrate log "rafting" at an outdoor summer school for the benefit of a *Look* magazine photographer (80)? (Pearl learned the art from her father, Nils "Pegleg" Anderson, a Swedish immigrant who lost a leg but nevertheless made a fortune in the Puget Sound logging industry.) And what reporter could fail to appreciate a school official who spoke in quotable language rather than educational jargon? Once, after a gubernatorial budget address placed more emphasis on conservation than education, Pearl quipped to reporters: "Money for trees and money for fish, but not a damn cent for children" (81). On another occasion Governor Arthur B. Langlie proposed a balanced budget without new state taxes. Pearl—who had her eye on the bumper crop of war babies beginning to move into Washington's schools—rapped the state's highest elected official squarely on his political nose, asking: "Where are you going to put the children, in the deep freeze" (82)?

Newsmen liked Pearl Wanamaker for more than her colorful style. She had something to say, and the programs she advanced on behalf of public education were substantive. In fact, her ideas were catching national attention; she was winning fame for Washington's educational system. That makes for headlines in anybody's newspaper and for bulletins on anyone's broadcast. Furthermore, Mrs. Wanamaker's direct style appealed to newsmen. She took them into her confidence, just as she took members of state advisory boards into her confidence on matters pertaining to them. She regularly gave newsmen copies of her proposed budget early so they could prepare advanced copy before the formal presentation to the Legislature. Whenever she was out around the state visiting schools, she would drop in on publishers, editors, and reporters to discuss legislation and school affairs. As a result, newsmen felt a rapport with Mrs. Wanamaker even though their publishers might not always agree with her politically.

The trust developed to the point that some newsmen were even willing to participate in an occasional Wanamaker maneuver on behalf of better schools for Washington. One year the education bills were all tied up in committee politics. Mrs. Wanamaker concocted a scheme to relieve the situation with help from her old ally, Julia Butler Hansen, who was then chairman of the House Education Committee. "You charge me with holding up the bills," Mrs. Hansen instructed her long-time friend. "Then the newspaper boys will come to my defense and tell the truth. That way we'll put the pressure on and get some action" (83). Mrs. Wanamaker recalled that a Seattle reporter sat up late into the night helping her prepare the press release. "The wire services picked it up the next morning," she declared, "and we got almost immediate results."

These relations with outside groups would not have been possible had not Mrs. Wanamaker taken steps to see that she maintained good internal relations with her own staff and school personnel around the state. She held frequent meetings of her immediate staff to, as she put it, "keep personnel informed about what was going on and give them a chance to talk back" (84).

She also instituted what came to be known as the Mountain Conference. Once a year local superintendents, principals, members of the Wanamaker staff and education specialists would gather at one of Washington's mountain lodges for several days of stimulating talk, hearty food, and good fun. Mrs. Wanamaker became notorious for the fines she imposed. Educators are not known for their generous tipping, and so to ensure that the lodge staff got something for their efforts, Mrs. Wanamaker imposed fines on the guests and put the money in a kitty for the waitresses. "I fined the U.S. commissioner of education once for being late to breakfast," Mrs. Wanamaker declared. "It was all in good fun and helped break the formality" (85). Not all was fun and fines, however. The annual gatherings served a vital role in building communication ties between the Wanamaker administration and educators in the field. Not only was Mrs. Wanamaker able to explain her views to representatives from schools around the state, she also gained valuable information about trends in the field by listening.

Thus, Pearl Anderson Wanamaker served as a pace setter, a precursor of the good times in public relations that were to come. She established relationships and practices early that many states still have not adopted. But the more advanced states —directly and indirectly—have benefited from her example by hiring professionals to expand on the type of exemplary public relations she pioneered. Her own state of Washington has continued the tradition under Superintendent Louis Bruno and his information officer, Dorothee Brown, with one of the strongest public information programs among the 50 states. In this sense, Mrs. Wanamaker transcended her times and helped prepare the way for the public relations of the future.

THE EMERGENCE OF PROFESSIONAL PROGRAMS

Even before the end of World War II, discharged servicemen began a fast-paced pilgrimage to the campus to take advantage of the G.I. Bill passed in 1944. A heavier wave of returned GI's hit the colleges in the fall of 1945, and by 1946 the nation's institutions of higher education were struggling to cope with one of the most startling growth periods in the history of education. The focus on education began with the technological and scientific advances of the war effort and the accompanying realization that the country was going to have to do a better job of educating more people if it was to continue to enjoy the fruits of rapid technological progress. The G.I. Bill not only made it possible for thousands of returned soldiers to attend college, but spread the fact and the desirability of education into corresponding thousands of homes. These same GI's were fathers of many of the legendary "war babies" and naturally had a heightened interest in the kind of education their children were receiving as they started to school in the early 1950's. Even though they were fairly passive about it, the ex-GI's found a great deal to criticize about the educational system. In a sense, they planted the seed of militancy and unrest that the American colleges and high schools are experiencing today.

The new emphasis on education—set off by the GI's and perpetuated by the war babies—reached astronomical proportions by 1968. Close to one-third of the entire population is now involved full-time in education (86). When parents and grandparents are added to these millions who are directly a part of the educational process, it is safe to estimate that at least two-thirds of all Americans have a strong interest in the country's institutions of learning. It is not hard to see why public interest in education has grown in recent years.

The fact that education has become big business has further piqued the public's interest. This year some $58.2 billion is being shelled out by public and private sources for education (87). Some state departments of education are responsible for overseeing as much as 60 percent of the entire state budget, which helps explain the growing public interest in the operations of chief state school officers and their staffs.

Furthermore, the school has fallen more and more into the public spotlight as it has taken on increasing social and political significance in American life. On the international scene, the quality and quantity of education have become determining factors in how well a given country can survive in a world of fiercely competing nations. The role education plays in the space race is only one of many examples that could be cited. Internally, education becomes more and more a factor in maintaining social stability and rejuvenating national life. Is patriotism at a low ebb? Then put more emphasis on civics. Is crime rising in the streets? Then teach moral values in the classroom. Is the population growing more neurotic? Then hire school psychiatrists.

Education has become so important to our society that some social observers believe that entrance to the governing-managerial class is no longer based on wealth or birth or status, but on academic background and credentials. John Kenneth Galbraith summed up the situation as follows: "Educators and scientists stand in relation to the industrial system much as did the banking and financial community to the earlier stages of industrial development" (88).

Little wonder, then, that state departments began to recognize the need for better public information programs in the postwar period. As the educational system grew ever larger and ever more important to society, newsmen and the public demanded more information about what was going on in the schools.

Criticism of education has also played a part in the growth of public relations programs in state departments. The process started in earnest in 1957 when the launching of Sputnik touched off near-hysteria about the quality of education in this country. Critics and reformers rallied behind spokesmen like James Conant and Hyman Rickover. And hundreds of Americans asked in the pages of the nation's press the embarrassing question of why Ivan was reading and spelling and adding better than Johnny.

The schools were under more or less the same kind of public attack and criticism that years earlier had been directed at the industrialists. And just as the Carnegies and Vanderbilts turned to press agents, the state education departments began to turn to public relations specialists. About a third of the respondents to the questionnaire circulated to state agencies for this study cited negative public attitudes toward the department or toward education in general as a factor in the growth and development of their public relations programs.

As a direct response to Sputnik, Congress in 1958 passed the National Defense Education Act. Although this legislation was specifically aimed at improving science, mathematics, and foreign language training in the schools, its Title X provided funds for the improvement of statistical services in state education agencies. Statistical services were in many ways the forerunners of information services, and the questionnaire responses show that several states established a formal public relations program shortly thereafter—in 1958 and 1959.

By the early 1960's, state information officers were circulating letters to one another in search of new ideas and cross fertilization. The number of full-time information officers was growing, and so was the desire of these men and women to band together. In June of 1963, representatives from 17 states gathered in Hot Springs, Arkansas, to form NASEDIO—the National Association of State Education Department Information Officers. The very title of the organization indicated that state departments were still leery of the term *public relations,* but at least those engaged in public relations work had joined together, in the words of the charter they drafted, "to improve the communication methods of the state departments of education in informing the public and the profession about public education in the various states throughout the United States and its territories" (89).

By the end of 1965, there were 25 information offices in the 55 state and territorial education agencies— a measure of just how far things had progressed since 1945 when Maine and Kansas organized the first two such operations (90). Manning these offices were 37 full-time employees, including information directors, publication editors, staff writers, photographers, and artists. As a mark of their growing importance, in more than half of the agencies the information director reported directly to the superintendent and had a voice in policy decisions.

Besides these organizational advances, progress was being made in terms of techniques and practices. Freely borrowing from successful programs in big business and big government, the state departments began to reach out to the public in ways unprecedented for them. A survey taken of the state agencies in late 1966 and early 1967 by Project Public Information revealed 20 departments were holding news conferences on a fairly regular basis or at least as often as special events dictated (91). Ten departments were also holding news briefings on a fairly regular basis, and 31 were issuing news releases on a systematic basis. Many were issuing professional magazines and newsletters. In short, state agencies were beginning to employ the resources at their command. The fact that the vast majority of the information officers previously had done public relations or media work before coming to the agencies no doubt helped. Most of the information offices were not employing sophisticated techniques in any sense of the word, but at least they were making sure state departments took more systematic efforts than ever before to relate to their various publics.

A big boost for public relations in the state education departments came in 1965 with the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Title V of this legislation made direct provision for informational services in the departments. And the states made good use of this provision. Nearly two-thirds of the respondents to the state agency questionnaire indicated that financial aid from the federal government was a significant stimulus to the development of public relations (92).

In an effort to provide more than raw dollars, the U.S. Office of Education, in cooperation with seven sponsoring states, funded Project Public Information—a special Title V program to strengthen public information programs in state departments of education. The project, with headquarters in Madison, Wisconsin, initiated a variety of activities in 1966 to help build an attitude of professionalism among state information personnel and to improve public relations practices in the state agencies. A conference was held to orient chief state school officers and their deputies to the need for better communications with various publics. Workshops were set up to train information officers in publications work, television, film, and radio. Demonstration programs were initiated to test and illustrate techniques of communicating with such specialized publics as students, parents, legislators, and people living in the ghettos. Specialists were sent to individual states to consult on personnel problems, policy matters, and program. Demonstration publications, films, and a radio series were produced in the hopes of upgrading the output of similar materials in the states.

Near the termination of Project Public Information in 1968 the staff assessed the states and found that significant advances had been made in the public information field. In the two-and-a-half years the project had been in operation, the number of persons employed in information work almost tripled, reaching 104, an all-time high (93). The median salary for persons doing information work increased from $10,000 to $12,000 a year. Nine more information directors were reporting directly to the chief state school officer and seven more were being given a voice in policy decisions than had been the case in 1965. Twelve new state department magazines had come on the scene, and many of the old publications had undergone major face-lifting in terms of content, writing style, and design. Finally, 19 state agencies were issuing internal newsletters of one sort or another, whereas they had done little in this area in 1965.

In part, such gains were probably the result of the new federal funding. In part, they were also probably a result of the efforts made by Project Public Information. And they were surely a reaction to the new impetus stirring within the state departments themselves. Whatever the reasons, significant things were happening in the public relations programs of state agencies around the nation.

Case Studies of State Programs

It would be impossible, even foolhardy, to attempt to pick and choose among the states and say that State X has the best overall public relations programs in its education department, or that States Y and Z are doing the best job in this area or that. There are 55 different situations in which the public relations departments must operate; what works in one state or territory has no guarantee of succeeding in another. A series of case studies can shed light on the type and extent of public operations practiced in state departments of education since World War II.

Marion Cooper, who has been developing a small but effective public relations program in Maine for almost a quarter of a century, holds the senior rank among state department information officers in terms of length of service. When she came to the Maine department in 1945, she was called "supervisor of publications and statistics." She had no staff to assist her, and she was responsible for everything in information and publications. Today she holds the title of "information officer," still has no staff, and continues to be responsible for everything in information and publications. "It's hard to talk about the history of a program," she says, "when that program consists of you" (94). Her job has never been the same two years in a row, but she has seen certain trends emerge both in the department and in the media since she began her work there.

Miss Cooper has, since she came to the department, been in charge of the following: all publications in the department, educational radio, audiovisual aids, educational television, all questionnaires coming to the department, public relations for the state colleges, and liaison with various special interest groups in the state—men's clubs, PTA's, and the Maine Education Association. As each of these responsibilities grew, she handed them over to other people in the department, so that today most of her work is concentrated on newspaper releases, a departmental newsletter, and media relations. She still edits many of the department's publications, but would like to hand this responsibility over to an assistant, if she had one.

The department has excellent relations with the press and wire services in Maine, Miss Cooper reports. Perhaps this is because she and many of the reporters in Augusta "grew up together." She came to the department from the Lewiston *Journal* and knew many of the capitol newsmen "in the old days." Before 1945, she says, there was not the interest in school news in Maine that there is now. Then school news meant covering PTA meetings, school pageants, and high school football games. Now, four of the nine dailies in the state have an education editor. Miss Cooper explained:

> The media and the people have been convinced of the notion that without education you won't get anywhere. Automation has meant a need for more knowledge, a need for science. This has meant that parents are naturally more concerned about the education their children are receiving (95).

Howard J. Friedman, another longtime public relations director, has been in the Florida State Education Department for more than 20 years. Friedman came to the Florida department in October 1946, at the bidding of then-Superintendent Colin English. English at the time was thinking of running for governor and wanted someone to get the department and himself before the public (96). English also felt that he needed someone to help put his minimum foundation program across to the people (97).

Like Miss Cooper, Friedman worked without a staff at first; today his office has two secretaries, an artist, and a writer. He says that the department did not really know it needed a public information man until it had one. Friedman's second boss, Superintendent Thomas D. Bailey, began to assign him more responsibilities. Bailey used Friedman as a source of contact with the local school systems, as the editor of the new departmental magazine, to write press releases, and to gather data for speeches (98).

Florida's present superintendent, Floyd T. Christian, firmly believes in the necessity of an effective public relations program within the department. In 1966, he delivered an address before the Florida Public Relations Association in which he outlined Friedman's current responsibilities. He pointed out that information goes out from the department in three basic forms to the media: as prepared releases, as background memoranda from which reporters can make their own stories, and as copies of speeches which Christian makes around the state (99). Friedman adds that his current time is almost completely taken up with getting information out to the newsmen and with legislative liaison.

Over the years, Friedman has become known as somewhat of an innovator in applying techniques from public relations in general to state departments of education in particular. For example, he regularly collects clippings about education from newspapers around the state and distributes them to editors and reporters. Thus, newsmen are able to keep abreast of what is going on in Florida education, as well as pick up story ideas. Friedman pioneered internal communications in state departments with his *Monday Blue Report,* which brings members of the Florida department up to date on happenings in their own department. It is also distributed to educational leaders throughout the state.

Friedman has also gained fame for the highly professional publications produced by him and his staff members. With backing from his chief state school officer, Friedman has been allowed the resources to hire highly qualified writers and a talented artist. As a result, publications produced by his office have won national awards and are sought as models by other state departments.

Another of the Southern states, Georgia, has long been active in public relations. The first public information director in the education department there was Luke Greene—now community relations director for WAII-TV in Atlanta. He was hired away from the *Atlanta Constitution* by Dr. Collins in 1942, and his chief responsibilities were to the vocational rehabilitation section of the department. Congressional legislation in 1929, 1934, and 1936, sponsored by Senator Walter George of Georgia, had made federal funds available to the states for vocational rehabilitation efforts (100). Authorization had been obtained to use some of the money to set up the post of information director. Greene's service in the department was interrupted for three years by World War II, and when he returned to the state in 1946, he began to devote more and more of his time to the entire department rather than just the vocational rehabilitation division. His duties included the standard informational activities—getting out releases, working with the capital press corps, and doing a weekly column for distribution to the state press. He felt more could be accomplished by maintaining good relations with newsmen than by trying to feed them too much information and "canned releases" (101).

After Greene left the department in 1947 to return to reporting, his old job was vacant until Mrs. Bernice McCullar took it in 1951. She brought to the department a bustle of activity and outspoken ideas about public relations. One of her pet peeves was the frequent use of jargon by many professional educators. "Parents don't care about 'total evaluative criteria' and 'environmental learning' and other hogwash like that," she declared. "They just want to know what the school is doing for their kids in language they can understand" (102). When she retired from the department in 1966, she was one of the most popular persons in the city with the press. The *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* editorialized:

> The departure of Mrs. McCullar from state government was a blow to newsmen covering the capitol. She was never too busy to stop whatever she was doing and go all out to explain complicated Education Department matters. She has been aroused from bed hundreds of times by phone calls asking information (103).

In addition to continuing the public information begun by Greene, Mrs. McCullar started a whole string of activities aimed at increasing the public's understanding of the schools. The department sponsored clinics around the state to help local school officials recognize school news and prepare it for the press. Taking advantage of the electronic media, Mrs. McCullar began a series of weekly five-minute radio programs and a weekly half-hour television show which was broadcast by four commercial and three educational stations.

Since 1966, Jarrot A. Lindsey has continued to build the department's public information program. He and his staff have upgraded the quality of publications produced by the department, setting a quality example for local school districts. He has also helped Superintendent Jack Nix organize multimedia presentations on the proposed biennial education budget (104). Under this plan, meetings were held in each of the state's 10 Congressional districts, attracting audiences of 150 to 500. The program featured an 8½-minute film titled *Do You Care Enough?*, produced by Lindsey's staff to provide a mind-set for the rest of the program. This was followed by a prepared budget presentation with 75 accompanying colored slides. The gathering closed with question-and-answer sessions.

Currently, plans are under way to pull all informational services and personnel that have been dispersed throughout the department into one central unit, which when completed will give Georgia the largest information staff of any state department of education to date (105). The 17-member office will include 11 writers, 2 artists, and 4 secretaries. The reorganization plan calls for three divisions: one for informational services, a second for publications, and a third for graphics.

While the programs in Maine, Florida, and Georgia are noteworthy because of their longevity and significant developments, a number of others—some of very recent vintage—also deserve mention to illustrate the varying type of activities being undertaken by state agencies.

In Washington, Miss Dorothee Brown, who came to the department in 1960, directs a staff that has experimented with a roving filming operation called "Communicar" (106). The van has taken photographers and writers into far-flung areas of the state to make documentaries on innovative educational programs. Miss Brown, who runs an effective media relations program, also oversees an award-winning publications division. She was one of the first to publish an internal newsletter, which is titled *Open Channel* and ranks among the best produced by state agencies. Very recently, she and her staff set the pace for other states with a conference report entitled *Seeking*. The booklet demonstrates that conference reports need not be dull and turgid if one takes some pains to employ dramatic photos, interesting design, and intelligent condensation.

In the early 1960's, Donald J. Roberts, then of West Virginia, carried on pioneer work in the use of radio and television to interpret state department activities (107). Roberts wrote and taped a series of 32 four-minute radio programs in 1962 for distribution to stations around the state. The programs, which were used more than 1,700 times on various stations, focused on such topics as team teaching, special language instruction, and the new math. In later years, Roberts roamed the state, shooting film and writing scripts for use by commercial television stations.

In the past three years, other significant contributions have been made by Mrs. Virginia Cutter of Texas, who produced a series of highly professional television spots on innovations in education; Walter King of New York, who arranged for hundreds of children to hear concerts jointly sponsored by the New York Department of Education and Lincoln Center; E. Dean Coon of Colorado, who commissioned one of the first, if not the first, rigorous surveys of state department legislative relations; Raymond Morton of South Carolina, who not only surveyed that state's newspapers on their coverage of education news, but convened one of the first media relations conferences sponsored by a state department; Mrs. Almetta Brooks of North Carolina, who was instrumental in setting up one of the first, if not the first, statewide superintendents' conference on communications sponsored by a state education agency; Mrs. Evelyn Gunther of Oregon, who helped set up an experimental program to inform high school students more about education by allowing them to set up and operate a school district of their own (108).

Thus, it is apparent that state departments of education have come a long way in both the variety and the sophistication of their public relations since the days when the chief ran whatever informational efforts there were out of his hip pocket, in addition to overseeing scores of other administrative duties. This is not to say that the role of the chief has diminished. Indeed not. It is changing, however. He is still the single most important PR factor, but he is turning the details of public information over to professionals. Behind every one of the significant PR activities just cited stands a superintendent who makes sure that his public relations staff receives backing in terms of time, resources, personnel, and understanding. Without the cooperation and support of the chief, the most professional public relations director would, in the final analysis, be rendered ineffective. Happily, within the past three years in particular, more and more chief state school officers have been assuming this role. Consequently, state departments of education have more advanced public relations programs than ever before in history.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE FUTURE

As encouraging as these advances are, a great deal remains to be done. It has already been made clear that state departments generally have lagged behind big business and big government in public relations endeavors. They also have lagged behind other educational groups. For example, interest in college public relations work was sufficiently widespread by 1917 for a number of institutions to join forces that year to found the American College Public Relations Association (109). And enough local school districts had professional programs going to form the National School Public Relations Association (NSPRA) in 1935 (110). As already pointed out, interest was not high enough in state departments to bring about the formation of NASEDIO until 1963.

Instead of state departments setting the pace for local districts, the state agencies have concentrated on their own programs. For instance, state department public information officers were attending workshops and seminars sponsored by NSPRA long before local school district people were invited to meetings on public relations convened by state agencies. One of the greatest challenges confronting state departments, then, is to stimulate and train local district personnel to do a better job of communicating with their various publics. Only a handful of state agencies have made gestures in this direction, but they are going to have to provide a variety of services—from workshops to demonstrations to consultation—if they are going to realize their announced intention of providing dynamic leadership. Just building a good public information program for the department is not enough.

In assuming this leadership role, state agencies need to offset some of the practices and techniques that have stigmatized public relations in the past. All too often, school public relations people think that they have done their job if they turn out reams of press releases or devise some imaginative gimmick to help get this year's bond issue past the voters. Frequently, they have been more interested in grabbing column inches in newspapers and fighting public relations fires than in building genuine public understanding of education or cementing long-range relations with constituent groups. There is a critical need for schools to find new and meaningful ways of reaching important groups who feel themselves alienated by what they call the "school establishment." The politically disfranchised students and the economically disfranchised minorities are two cases in point. For the most part, educators attempt to reach these persons through established middle-class, white avenues of communication, but there is growing evidence that the young and the disfranchised do not give attention to these media. State departments would do a great service, then, if they could innovate ways of communicating with these groups about what is happening in American education.

Reaching the young and the disfranchised is only part of the challenge. In a real sense, the malaise of our time has as much to do with public frustration at failing to "get through" to the decision makers as it has to do with officials failing to "get through" to the constituent groups of society. For too long, PR has been synonymous with one-way communication "down" to the various publics. State departments have a waiting opportunity to introduce school administrators to the growing body of behavorial science knowledge about feedback and opinion surveying and to help them apply this knowledge to local situations.

Leadership is also needed in demonstrating how the electronic media can be utilized in educational communications. Traditionally, local districts as well as state departments have been print-oriented. Educators seem to think that if they want to reach a given audience, all that is needed is another pamphlet, another newsletter, or another magazine. In actuality, many times they would do better with a film, a slide presentation, a tape, a radio documentary, or a television program. The least they should do is consider utilizing these media to better advantage in this age of what Marshall McLuhan calls the "hot media."

Even when, after careful investigating, educators decide that print will best serve their purposes, they need guidelines on how to go about producing publications that are engaging, readable, and attractive as well as substantive. Publications do not have to look dull and read laboriously to be educationally justifiable. Interesting design and inviting layout need not cost more than drab efforts along these lines. The point is: Inexperienced local district personnel need guidance to produce quality publications, and state departments of education should be making sure that they get it.

State agencies could also perform a valuable service on behalf of better communications by providing guidelines as to how local districts can take advantage of Title I and Title III funds. Many administrators do not know when and how to employ federal funds that are available to disseminate information about educational innovation and special programs for the disadvantaged.

Not all of the challenge lies outside the state capitol, however. There are a number of critical needs to be met right in the home office. Even though a fair number of public information directors have access to the chief and sit in on policy discussions, many still do not. Consequently, the public relations programs in a great many states suffer. Having the public information officer involved in policy not only allows him to contribute feedback information that can be crucial in reaching proper decisions, but also ensures that the public information officer has the understanding and background necessary to interpret departmental policy to reporters and the public once it has been determined.

In order to perform these functions effectively, public information officers are going to have to be better trained. Many now are prepared in communications, but have little or no background in education. Others have had adequate experience in the educational realm, but lack experience in communications work. State departments would do well to join with institutions of higher learning in designing special programs to train specialists who have understanding in both areas (111). Historically, recruiting competent personnel has been one of the most acute problems standing in the way of developing quality public relations programs in state agencies. Today, more than ever, state agencies need highly trained persons who can go beyond the slick, superficial approach that has characterized too many public relations programs in the past.

Recruiting and training competent personnel will have only minimal results in the long run, unless the chief state school officer has adequate appreciation and understanding of the role communications should play in a democratic school system. Some chiefs are seriously deficient in this regard, and the public information efforts in their departments reflect it. Little wonder, for there are few opportunities along the way to give the chief this background by the time he emerges at the head of his state's school structure. As Duane Mattheis, commissioner in Minnesota, pointed out, superintendents have taken education course after education course, but nowhere along the line do the colleges of education do anything to prepare them for two realities they face the very first day they enter the superintendency: (1) the necessity of giving speeches and (2) the challenge of handling a thorny public relations problem. The state agencies would do well to cooperate with colleges and universities in setting up workshops, special courses, and units in regular classes in administration to prepare future administrators and provide in-service programs for those already in administrative positions for their public relations responsibilities.

Finally, state agencies need to clear away some of the bureaucratic roadblocks now standing in the way of effective public relations. For example, present printing regulations in many states work against the production of timely publications of professional quality. Archaic regulations in some instances slow the process down so that documents are outdated by the time they come from the press. In other instances, creative staff members are continually frustrated by regulations that prohibit them from working directly with the printer, or from using color, or from deviating from predetermined paper stock, or even from employing variations in makeup and design. In still other instances, rules keep staff members from making use of the electronic media.

The bureaucratic red tape leads to other ill effects. Many times outdated business procedures mean that contractors, speakers, and others have to wait weeks and even months for expense and honorarium checks. Naturally, the image of the department suffers under such circumstances.

These, then, are some of the challenges of the future. In a real sense, they provide a measure of just how far state departments of education have progressed. Discussion of how to communicate more meaningfully with groups in the ghetto is a far cry from the county fairs Superintendent Neil Carnot Macdonald staged across the prairies of North Dakota some 50 years ago. Undoubtedly, the state agencies have graduated from purely personal relations to public relations.

FOOTNOTES

1. Bertha R. Palmer, *A Brief History of the Department of Public Instruction* (Bismarck: North Dakota State Department of Public Instruction, 1932).
2. Telephone interview by author with Mrs. Evelyn Gunther, public information officer, Oregon state department of education, September 3, 1968.
3. Research for this chapter has been based largely on two methods: (1) personal interviews with state agency personnel and (2) mail questionnaires, which were sent to states where personal interviews could not be scheduled. States where interviews were held were selected to ensure a representative sample on the basis of securing a good cross section as to geography and population, including states with long-established public relations programs as well as ones with newer programs, and sampling different types of operations. States visited for this assignment were Arkansas, California, Colorado, Georgia, Florida, Iowa, Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Nevada, New York, Washington, and Wisconsin. In addition, the author was able to draw upon information collected over the past three years by himself and other staff members of Project Public Information (PPI). During that period, PPI staff members visited all of the states and all of the territories, with the exception of Guam and American Samoa, and also corresponded with all of the state and territorial agencies. The author was assisted especially by John Durham and Tim Petrusak.
4. Louise Hatcher, *My Years* (New York: Bancroft Press, 1903), p. 56.
5. Frederick Lewis Allen, *The Great Pierpont Morgan* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949), pp. 64-65.
6. Charles Beard and Mary Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 176.
7. Gerhard Colm and Gerald Geiger, *The Economy of the American People: Progress, Problems, Prospects* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1927), p. 25.
8. Arthur Robert Burns, *The Decline of Competition* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1936).
9. Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 36.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
11. J. H. Baumgartner, "The Railroads and Public Relations," *Editor & Publisher,* XIII (July 19, 1913), 97.
12. "Comments," *Editor & Publisher,* IX (August 14, 1909), 6.
13. Martin Werner, *Barnum* (New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1923), p. 151.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 196.
15. Jim B. Pearson and Edgar Fuller, eds., *Education in the States: Historical Development and Outlook,* Vol. I, report of a project sponsored by the Council of Chief State School Officers (Washington, D.C.: National Education Association, 1969), ch. 24.

16. Telephone interview by author with John Ethridge, public information officer, Mississippi State Department of Education, September 11, 1967.

17. Rodney Cline, *Builders of Louisiana Education* (Baton Rouge: Bureau of Educational Materials, College of Education, Louisiana State University, 1963), p. 15.

18. T. H. Harris, *The Memoirs of T. H. Harris* (Baton Rouge: Bureau of Educational Materials, College of Education, Louisiana State University, 1963), p. 58.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 136.

20. *Portland (Maine) Evening Express*, February 11, 1956.

21. Interview by author with Marion Cooper, public information officer, Maine State Department of Education, in Augusta, August 18, 1967.

22. *Portland (Maine) Sunday Telegram*, June 28, 1960.

23. Cooper interview.

24. Response from Texas to a questionnaire, "A Survey of the History of Public Information in the State Departments of Education," prepared especially for this study.

25. Maine State Department of Education, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools for the School Year Ending June 30, 1901* (Augusta: The Department, 1901), p. 130.

26. Richard A. Herbert, *Modern Maine: Its Historic Background, People, and Resources*, I (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1951), p. 130.

27. Maine State Department of Education, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools for the School Year Ending June 30, 1910* (Augusta: The Department, 1910), pp. 53-56.

28. Theodore Peterson, Jay W. Jensen, and William L. Rivers, *The Mass Media and Modern Society* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston, 1965), p. 194.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

30. Harlan Hoyt Horner, ed., *Education in New York State 1784-1954* (Albany: University of the State of New York, State Education Department, 1954), p. 59.

31. Peterson, et al., *op. cit.*, p. 197.

32. There has been very little work on the interlocking political forces that result in educational legislation in state legislatures. For a summary of school politics in the Northeast, see Stephen K. Bailey, et al., *Schoolmen and Politics* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1962).

33. Thomas D. Bailey, *Trails in Florida Education* (Tallahassee: privately published, 1963), p. 54.

34. Frank Shaw, *State School Reports* (New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1926), pp. 4-7.

35. Ward A. Reeder, *An Introduction to Public School Relations* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1953), p. 98.

36. Maine State Department of Education, *Annual Report of the State Superintendent of Public Schools for the Year Ending June 30, 1904* (Augusta: The Department, 1904), pp. 5-6.

37. Massachusetts State Board of Education, *Eightieth Annual Report* (Boston: The State Board, 1916), p. 17.

38. Leighton H. Johnson, *Development of the Central State Agency for Public Education in California, 1849-1949*, University of New Mexico Publications in Education, Bulletin No. 4 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1952), pp. 76-77.

39. C. P. Carey, "The Making of a State Department of Public Instruction," *School and Society*, XI, No. 273 (March 20, 1920), 336.

40. Arthur B. Moehlman, *Public School Relations* (New York: Rand McNally and Co., 1927), pp. 221-22.

41. Joseph Pimlott, *Public Relations and American Democracy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 8.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 9.

43. U.S. Congress, House and Senate, Joint Committee on Printing, *Congressional Directory*, 57th Cong., 2d sess., January 1901 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901), p. 240.

44. "Comments," *Editor & Publisher*, XIII (September 13, 1913), 257.

45. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

46. "Denies Influence," *Washington Post*, January 17, 1948, p. 1.

47. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments, *Investigation of the Participation of Federal Officials of the War Department in Publicity and Propaganda, As It Relates to Universal Military Training*. Supplemental Report. H.R. 1510, 80th Cong., 2d sess., March 4, 1948.

48. Samuel Schloss and Carol J. Hobson, "Statistics of State School Systems: 1957-58," *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States,* U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1961), pp. 5-7.

49. The Act provided federal funds to states for teaching agricultural subjects, the trades, home economics, and industrial subjects.

50. Carey, *op. cit.,* p. 336.

51. C. P. Carey, "Final Report of the Committee on State Administration of Schools," *National Education Association Addresses and Proceedings of 1922* (Washington, D.C.: The Association, 1923), p. 359.

52. U.S. Office of Education, *Federal and State School Officers,* Part I of *Educational Directory* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), pp. 7-34.

53. *Ibid.*

54. "'Doc' Collins Guided Georgia Education 25 Years," *Georgia Alert,* I, No. 5 (March 1967), 7.

55. *Ibid.*

56. *Ibid.*

57. Interview by author with Colin English at Tallahassee, Fla., July 24, 1967.

58. *Ibid.*

59. Interview by author with Charles W. Lilley, Director of Food Services, Colorado State Department of Education, at Denver, July 23, 1967.

60. This was largely untrue of large corporations and federal departments, which often have divisions scattered across the country. This may account for the comparative scarcity of "staff and line" public relations in big business and big government.

61. Harold Jacobsen, *Administrative Organization* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955).

62. Carey, "Making of a State Department," p. 365.

63. Interview by author with Bernard J. Fitzpatrick, public information officer, California State Department of Education, at Sacramento, July 25, 1967.

64. Washington State Department of Education, Publications Section, *Education in Washington,* I (December 1941), 1-2.

65. Washington State Department of Education, Publications Section, *Education in Washington,* XIII (March 1953), 1-3.

66. Massachusetts Commissioner of Education, *Annual Report of the Massachusetts Department of Education for the Year Ending November, 1938* (Boston: The Department, 1939), pp. 71-76.

67. Nine states, however, reported extensive use of newspaper releases, and eight reported extensive use of newsletters.

68. Responses from Maine and Kansas to the questionnaire, "Survey of History of Public Information in State Departments of Education."

69. Unless otherwise stated, information on Mrs. Wanamaker was taken from the following sources: Marie Catherine Barovic Rosenberg, "Pearl Anderson Wanamaker, Politician" (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Washington, Pullman, 1964); interviews by author with Mrs. Wanamaker in Seattle, Wash., June 9 and 10, 1968; interview by author with Miss Borghild Helgesen, Mrs. Wanamaker's administrative assistant during her tenure as state superintendent, at Olympia, Wash., June 4, 1968.

70. "Fighting Lady," *Time,* February 6, 1956, p. 60.

71. Wanamaker interview, June 9, 1968.

72. "Education's No. 1 Saleswoman," *Look,* October 19, 1954, p. 54.

73. Anonymous, quoted in Rosenberg, *op. cit.,* p. 56.

74. *Ibid.,* p. 85.

75. Letter from Julia Butler Hansen to Marie C. B. Rosenberg, July 2, 1964, quoted in Marie Catherine Barovic Rosenberg, "Pearl Anderson Wanamaker, Politician" (Unpublished master's thesis, University of Washington, Pullman, 1964), p. 48.

76. *Ibid.,* p. 82.

77. Wanamaker interview, June 9, 1968.
78. As quoted in Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 86.
79. Helgesen interview.
80. "No. 1 Saleswoman," p. 58.
81. Wanamaker interview, June 9, 1968.
82. *Ibid.*
83. *Ibid.*
84. Helgesen interview.
85. Wanamaker interview, June 10, 1968.
86. Based on figures cited in "The Magnitude of the American Educational Establishment," *Saturday Review,* November 16, 1968, p. 105.
87. *Ibid.*
88. Quoted in speech by Stanley Elam, editor, *Phi Delta Kappan,* at Project Public Information conference on "Public Understanding of Education as a Field of Study," Palo Alto, Calif., November 30, 1967. (Mimeographed.)
89. National Association of State Education Department Information Officers, "Constitution and Bylaws, 1963" (Mimeographed.) Information available from the National School Public Relations Association of which NASEDIO became an allied organization in 1968.
90. Project Public Information, *Final Report,* project financed by funds provided under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, P.L. 89-10, Title V, and administered by the Wisconsin State Department of Public Instruction (Madison: The Project, 1969).
91. Project Public Information, *The State of the Art,* a survey report on public information programs in the state departments of education (Madison: The Project, 1968).
92. Project Public Information, *Final Report.*
93. *Ibid.*
94. Cooper interview.
95. *Ibid.*
96. Interview by author with Howard J. Friedman at Tallahassee, Fla., July 21, 1967; English interview.
97. *Ibid.*
98. Interview by author with Thomas D. Bailey at Tallahassee, Fla., July 24, 1967.
99. Floyd T. Christian, address before the Florida Public Relations Association, May 13, 1966. (Mimeographed.)
100. Shirley Seib, ed., *Federal Role in Education,* 2d ed. (Washington, D.C., Congressional Quarterly Service, 1967), p. 10. This short booklet gives an excellent condensed history of federal legislation relating to education.
101. Interview by author with Luke Greene at Atlanta, Ga., July 26, 1967.
102. Interview by author with Bernice McCullar, at Decatur, Ga., July 25, 1967.
103. "Bernice McCullar Retires from Office, Not Activities," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution,* May 1, 1966.
104. Letter to author from Jarrot A. Lindsey, December 10, 1968.
105. *Ibid.*
106. Interview by author with Dorothee Brown at Olympia, Wash., June 4, 1968.
107. Letter to author from Donald J. Roberts, October 21, 1968.
108. Based on numerous interviews, visits to the states mentioned, and correspondence from the individuals named as well as surveys conducted by Project Public Information.
109. "Fifty Years of ACPRA Publications," *College and University Journal,* Fiftieth Anniversary Supplement, VI, No. 2 (Spring 1967), 18.
110. National School Public Relations Association, *Public Relations Seminar Newsletter,* Anniversary issue, July 7, 1960.
111. Project Public Information, *Public Understanding of Education as a Field of Study,* A Conference Report (Madison, Wis.: The Project, 1968).

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